

The Grand APUSH Study Guide

01 New World Beginnings

33,000 B.C.E. - A.D. 1680 C.E.

225 Million Years Ago - Pangaea started to break apart.

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

2 Million Years Ago - Great Ice Age

35,000 Years Ago - The oceans were glaciers and the sea level dropped, leaving an isthmus connecting Asia and North America. The Bering Isthmus was crossed by people going into North America.

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

Peopling the Americas

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

By the time Columbus arrived in America in 1492, over 54 million people may have been living in North & South America.

The Earliest Americans

Unlike in Mexico with the Aztecs, dense populations did not exist in North America. This may have made it easier for the Europeans to colonize the continent.

Europeans Enter Africa

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

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

Columbus Comes upon a New World

Columbus was actually looking for a new trading route with the Indies when he stumbled upon the Americas.

When Worlds Collide

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

The **Columbian Exchange** refers to the increase of global commerce (globalization).

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

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

The Conquest of Mexico and Peru

In the **1500's**, Spain became the dominant exploring and colonizing power. The **Treaty of Tordesillas** divided the Americas between the Spanish and the Portuguese.

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

Encomienda: The process by which the Spanish government allowed Indians to be enslaved by colonists as long as the colonists promised to Christianize them.

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

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

The Spanish arrived in **Tenochtitlan**, the Aztec capital, with the intention of stealing all of the gold and other riches.

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

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

The influx of precious metal from South America helped grow the European economy.

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

Exploration and Imperial Rivalry

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

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

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

Chronology

33,000-8,000 B.C.	First humans cross into Americas from Asia.
5,000 B.C.	Corn is developed as a stable crop in highland Mexico.
4,000 B.C.	First civilized societies develop in the Middle East.
1,200 B.C.	Corn planting reaches present-day American Southwest.
1,000 A.D.	Norse voyagers discover and briefly settle in northeastern North America. Corn cultivation reaches Midwest and southeastern Atlantic seaboard.
1,100 A.D.	Height of Mississippian settlement at Cahokia.
1,100-1,300 A.D.	Christian crusades arouse European interest in the East.
1295	Marco Polo returns to Europe.
Late 1400s	Spain becomes united.
1488	Diaz rounds southern tip of Africa.
1492	Columbus lands in the Bahamas.
1494	Treaty of Tordesillas between Spain and Portugal.
1498	Da Gama reaches India. Cabot explores northeastern coast of North America for England.
1513	Balboa claims all lands touched by the Pacific Ocean for Spain.
1513, 1521	Ponce de Leon explores Florida.
1519-1521	Cortes conquers Mexico for Spain.
1522	Magellan's vessel completes circumnavigation of the world.
1524	Verrazano explores eastern seaboard of North America for France.
1532	Pizarro crushes Incas.
1534	Cartier journeys up the St. Lawrence River.
1539-1542	De Soto explores the Southeast and discovers the Mississippi River.
1540-1542	Cabrillo explores present-day Southwest.
1542	Cabrillo explores California coast for Spain.
1565	Spanish build fortress at St. Augustine.
Late 1500s	Iroquois Confederacy founded, according to Iroquois legend.
1598-1609	Spanish under Onate conquer pueblo peoples of Rio Grande valley.

1609	Spanish found New Mexico.
1680s	French exploration down Mississippi River under La Salle.
1769	Serra founds first California mission, at San Diego.

02 The Contest for North America

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

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

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

France Finds a Foothold in Canada

France issued the **Edict of Nantes** in 1598, which provided tolerance for French Protestants, who had been persecuted in France up to that point. After this, France transformed into a strong European power and began exploration of the New World.

Quebec was where France established their foothold in the New World (in 1608).

Samuel de Champlain was considered the "**Father of New France**" (present-day Canada).

New France Fans Out

French trappers in New France spread out in search of **beavers** for their fur.

French explorers spread south into the New World in attempt to limit Spanish expansion.

Antoine Cadillac founded **Detroit** in 1701. Robert de La Salle named the basin along the Mississippi River "**Louisiana**".

The Spanish in North America

The Spanish founded St. Augustine (in present-day Florida) in 1565, making it the first permanent European settlement in North America. The Spanish also spread into the west of North America, expanding north from Mexico.

England's Imperial Stirrings

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

Elizabeth Energizes England

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

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

England on the Eve of an Empire

An economic depression that hit England in the later part of the 1500s caused many people to lose their homes. This, coupled with peace with the Spanish, set the stage for the English to start moving to North America.

England Plants the Jamestown Seedling

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

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

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

Cultural Clashes in the Chesapeake

Lord De La Warr reached Jamestown in 1610 with supplies and military. He started the **First Anglo-Powhatan War** when he started raiding and burning Indian villages.

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

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

Old Netherlands at New Netherland

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

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

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

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

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

The company established outposts in Africa and Brazil.

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

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

Friction with English and Swedish Neighbors

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

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

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

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

Dutch Residues in New York

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

The Indian's New World

Disease was the biggest killer of Indians and their cultures. It took a particularly high toll on elderly Indians, which led to the extinction of cultures.

Chronology

1534-1542: Jacques Cartier explores the Canadian coast

1558: Elizabeth I becomes queen of England

1565-1590: English crush Irish uprising

1577: Drake circumnavigates the globe

1585: Raleigh founds Roanoke colony

1588: England defeats Spanish Armada

1598: Edict of Nantes

1603: James I becomes king of England

1604: Spain and England sign peace treaty

1607: Virginia colony founded at Jamestown

1610: Spain established Santa Fe, New Mexico

1612: Rolfe perfects tobacco culture in Virginia

1614: First Anglo-Powhatan War ends

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

1624: Virginia becomes a royal colony

1634: Maryland colony founded

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

1644: Second Anglo-Powhatan War

1655: New Netherland conquers New Sweden

1664: England seizes New Netherland

The Thirteen Original Colonies

Name	Founded By	Year
Virginia	London Co.	1607
New Hampshire	John Mason and Others	1623
Massachusetts	Puritans	1628
Plymouth	Separatists	1620
Maine	F. Gorges	1623
Maryland	Lord Baltimore	1634
Connecticut	Mass. Emigrants	1635
New Haven	Mass. Emigrants	1638
Rhode Island	R. Williams	1636
Delaware	Swedes	1638
North Carolina	Virginians	1653
New York	Duke of York	1664
New Jersey	Berkeley and Carteret	1664
Carolina	Eight Nobles	1670
Pennsylvania	William Penn	1681
Georgia	Oglethorpe and others	1733

03 Settling the English in the New World

Virginia: Child of Tobacco

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

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

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

Maryland: Catholic Haven

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

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

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

The West Indies: Way Station to mainland America

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

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

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

Colonizing the Carolinas

Civil war plagued England in the 1640s.

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

Rice became the primary export of the Carolinas.

Late-Coming Georgia: The Buffer Colony

The English founded Georgia to primarily serve as a **buffer** to protect the Carolinas from the Spanish in Florida and the French in Louisiana.

Georgia was founded in **1733**.

The Protestant Reformation Produces Puritanism

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

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

When King Henry VIII broke his ties with the Roman Catholic Church in the **1530s**, he formed the Protestant Church. There were a few people who wanted to see the process of taking Catholicism out of England occur more quickly. These people were called **Puritans**. A tiny group of Puritans, called **Separatists**, broke away from the Church of England (Protestant). Fearing that his subjects would defy him both as their political leader and spiritual leader, King James I, the head of state of England and head of the church from **1603-1625**, threatened to kick the Separatists out of England.

The Pilgrims End Their Pilgrimage at Plymouth

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Bay Colony Bible Commonwealth

Charles I dismissed English Parliament in **1629** and approved of anti-Puritan persecutions of Archbishop William Laud.

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

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

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

Building the Bay Colony

The Massachusetts Bay Colony was not a democracy because its governor (Winthrop) did not like Democracy. He did not think that the "commoners" could rule.

The colony's religious residents (freemen) annually elected the governor and his assistants and a representative assembly called the **General Court**. Non-religious residents could not vote.

Visible Saints was another name for the Puritans.

John Cotton- a very devoted Puritan.

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

Trouble in the Bible Commonwealth

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

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

The Rhode Island "Sewer"

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

New England Spreads Out

Hartford was founded in **1635**. Boston Puritans settled into the Hartford area lead by Reverend Thomas Hooker.

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

New Haven was established in **1638**.

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

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

Puritans versus Indians

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

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

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

English Interference and Neglect

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

Each colony had 2 votes, regardless of size.

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

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

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

In **1686**, the **Dominion of New England** was created by royal authority. Unlike the homegrown New England Confederation, it was imposed from London. It embraced all of New England until in **1688** when it was expanded to New York and East and West Jersey. The leader of the Dominion of New England was Sir Edmund Andros - an able English military man. He established headquarters in **Puritanical Boston**.

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

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

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

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

Penn's Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania

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

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

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

Quaker Pennsylvania and Its Neighbors

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Middle Way in the Middle Colonies

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

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

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

The Stuart Dynasty in England

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

Chronology

1517: Martin Luther begins Protestant Reformation
1536: John Calvin of Geneva publishes *Institutes of the Christian Religion*
1620: Pilgrims sail on the Mayflower to Plymouth Bay
1629: Charles I dismisses Parliament and persecutes Puritans
1630: Puritans found Massachusetts Bay Colony
1635-1636: Roger Williams convicted of heresy and founds Rhode Island colony
1635-1638: Connecticut and New Haven colonies founded
1636-1638: Pequot War
1638: Anne Hutchinson banished from Massachusetts colony
1639: Connecticut's Fundamental Orders drafted
1642-1651: English Civil War
1643: New England Confederation formed
1649: Act of Toleration in Maryland.
1650: William Bradford completes Of Plymouth Plantation
1670: Carolina colony created
1675-1676: King Philip's War
1681: William Penn founds Pennsylvania colony
1686: Royal authority creates Dominion of New England
1688-1689: Glorious Revolution overthrows Stuarts and Dominion of New England
1711-1713: Tuscarora War in North Carolina
1712: North Carolina formally separates from South Carolina
1715-1716: Yamasee War in South Carolina
1733: Georgia colony founded

04 17th Century America

The Unhealthy Chesapeake

Half the people born in early Virginia and Maryland did not survive past age 20 due to widespread disease.

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

The Tobacco Economy

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

Because of the massive amounts of tobacco crops planted by families, "**indentured servants**" were brought in from England to work on the farms. In exchange for working, they received

transatlantic passage and eventual "freedom dues", including a few barrels of corn, a suit of clothes, and possibly a small piece of land.

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

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

Frustrated Freeman and Bacon's Rebellion

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

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

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

Colonial Slavery

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

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

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

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

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

Starting in **1662**, Virginia enacted "slave codes" (laws) made blacks and their children the property of the white masters for life.

Southern Society

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

Social Scale:

- Planters: owned gangs of slaves and vast domains of land; ruled the region's economy and monopolized political power.
- Small Farmers: largest social group; tilled their own modest plots and may have owned one or two slaves.
- Landless Whites: many were former indentured servants.
- Black Slaves

The New England Family

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

Family came first with New Englanders.

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

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

New England women usually gave up their property rights when they married (to maintain the unity of marriage). In contrast to old England, the laws of New England made provisions for the property of widows and even extended important protections to women with marriage. Above all, the laws of Puritan New England sought to defend the integrity of marriages.

Life in the New England Towns

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

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

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

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

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

The Half-Way Covenant and the Salem Witch Trials

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

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

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

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

The New England Way of Life

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

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

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

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

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

The Early Settlers' Days and Ways

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

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

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

Estimated Slave Imports to the New World, 1601-1810

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

Chronology

1619: First Africans arrive in Virginia

1636: Harvard College founded

1662: Half-Way Covenant for Congregational Church membership established

1670: Virginia assembly disfranchises landless freeman

1676: Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia

1680s: Mass expansion of slavery in colonies

1689-1691: Leisler's Rebellion in New York

1692: Salem witch trials in Massachusetts

1693: College of William and Mary founded

1698: Royal African Company slave trade monopoly ended

1712: New York City slave revolt

1739: South Carolina slave revolt

05 Colonial Society

Britain governed most of North America by 1775 (32 colonies), but only 13 colonies had rebelled against the crown by this time. Canada, Jamaica, and others did not rebel. This was due to the social, economic, and political differences between the colonies.

Conquest by the Cradle

Over the course of the 1700s, the population in the North American colonies exploded. By the end of the century, Britain no longer had more people than its colonies.

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

About 90% of people lived in rural areas.

A Mingling of the Races

Colonial America was a melting pot.

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

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

By the mid 18th century, a series of Scots-Irish settlements were scattered along the "**great wagon road**", which hugged the eastern Appalachian foothills from Pennsylvania to Georgia. The Scots-Irish led the armed march of the **Paxton Boys in Philadelphia in 1764**, protesting the Quaker oligarchy's lenient policy toward the Indians. A few years later, they led the **Regulator movement** in North Carolina, a small but nasty insurrection against eastern domination of the colony's affairs.

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

Africans in America

By about 1720, the proportion of females in the Chesapeake area soon began to rise, and the number of families increased.

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

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

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

The Structure of Colonial Society

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

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

In all the colonies, the influx of indentured servants added to the population of the lower classes.

The black slaves were the lowest class in society.

Workday America

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

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

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

Triangular Trade: a ship would leave a New England port with rum and sail to Africa. It would pick up slaves and then sail to the West Indies. It would pick up molasses and take this to New England where it would be converted to rum.

Manufacturing in the colonies was of only secondary importance.

Lumbering was the most important manufacturing activity. By 1770, about 1/3 of the British merchant marine was American built.

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

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

Clerics, Physicians, and Jurists

A position in the Christian ministry held the highest prestige.

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

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

Lawyers were also not held in high regard.

Horsepower and Sailpower

The roadways in the colonies were in terrible condition.

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

Dominant Denominations

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

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

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

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

The Great Awakening

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

Jacobus Arminius was a Dutch theologian who preached that individual free will, not divine decree, determined a person's eternal fate (**Arminianism**). This challenged the Calvinist doctrine of predestination.

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

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

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

Schools and Colleges

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

College education was regarded very highly in New England. In New England, the schools were focused on training men for the ministry.

9 local colleges were established during the colonial era.

A Provincial Culture

The red-bricked Georgian style was introduced in 1720.

Art & architecture were popular in the colonies.

Scientific progress in the colonies lagged behind progress in Britain. Ben Franklin was considered the only first-rank scientist in the New World.

Pioneer Presses

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

The Great Game of Politics

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

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

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

06 Road to Revolution

In the late 1600's and early 1700's, Spain, England, and France fought over territory in North America. The four big wars were: King William's War, Queen Anne's War, King George's War, and the French and Indian War.

The Clash of Empires

The early battles between the Europeans for control over North America were mostly between British and French colonists. At this time, neither European power saw North America as a place worth devoting significant military resources. The British colonists referred to these conflicts as **King William's War (1689-1697)** and **Queen Anne's War (1702-1713)**. The wars ended in **1713** with peace terms signed at **Utrecht**. France was terribly beaten in these conflicts, and Britain received French-populated Acadia and Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay. The British also won limited trading rights in Spanish America.

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

George Washington Inaugurates War with France

In **1754**, George Washington was sent to the Ohio Valley to secure land that had been purchased by some Virginians. His 150 Virginian militia killed the French leader, causing French reinforcements to come. The Virginians were forced to surrender on **July 4, 1754**. The increase in conflict caused the British in Nova Scotia to worry that the French in Acadia would attack them. So in **1755**, the British in Nova Scotia attacked and defeated the French **Acadians** and scattered them as far as Louisiana.

Global War and Colonial Disunity

The **French and Indian War** started in **1754**. It was the American theater of the **Seven Years' War**. This war was fought in America, Europe, the West Indies, the Philippines, Africa, and on the ocean.

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

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

Braddock's Blundering and Its Aftermath

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

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

Pitt's Palms of Victory

In **1757**, William Pitt became a prominent leader in the London government. He started to take control of British military leadership in North America. He attacked and captured **Louisbourg** in **1758**.

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

Montreal fell in **1760**. The **Treaty of Paris (1763)** ended the battle and threw the French off the continent of North America. Out of this conflict, the British became the dominant power in North America.

Restless Colonists

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

War's Fateful Aftermath

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

The British countered these attacks and eventually defeated the Indians.

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

The Deep Roots of Revolution

Two ideas had taken root in the minds of the American colonists by the mid 18th century (not mutually exclusive):

1) **Republicanism**: all citizens willingly work towards the common good, which trumps their private interests. The stability of society and the authority of government depended on society's capacity for selflessness, self-sufficiency, and courage. This school of thought opposed authoritarian institutions.

2) **Radical Whigs**: The Radical Whigs was a group of British political commentators who criticized the monarchy's corruption and encouraged citizens to be vigilant against attempts to take away liberty.

Mercantilism and Colonial Grievances

British mercantilism in the colonies was a system in which the British expected the colonies to export raw materials to Britain and import manufactured goods exclusively from Britain.

Georgia was the only colony to be formally created by Britain.

The British viewed the American colonists as tenants: the colonists should exclusively support Britain (via supply of raw materials, purchase of British exports, etc).

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

The Merits and Menace of Mercantilism

British mercantile laws were not strictly enforced in the colonies and these laws benefited the colonies in some ways. However, many colonists did not like the mercantile laws.

The Stamp Tax Uproar

Britain incurred a large debt due to the Seven Years War, most of which was created defending the North American colonies. Britain began to look for ways of getting the colonists to pay for this debt.

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

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

In **1765**, Grenville imposed a **stamp tax** on the colonies to raise revenue to support the new military force. This stamp tax, known as the **Stamp Act**, required colonists to use stamped paper to certify payment of taxes on goods like newspapers, legal documents, and diplomas. American colonists started to rebel against the newly passed taxation measures as they felt the laws were starting to impinge on their liberties.

Forced Repeal of the Stamp Act

27 delegates from 9 colonies met in New York City for the **Stamp Act Congress of 1765**. The members drew up a statement of their rights and grievances and requested the king and Parliament to repeal the hated legislation. The meeting was largely ignored by England, but it was one step towards **intercolonial unity**.

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

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

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

Parliament passed the **Declaratory Act**, which reaffirmed England's right to rule absolutely over the American colonies.

The Townshend Tea Tax and the Boston Massacre

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

American colonists were rebellious to the new taxes and as a result of these rebellions, the British landed 2 regiments of troops in the colonies in **1768**.

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

The Seditious Committees of Correspondence

Lord North, the prime minister of Britain, was forced to persuade Parliament to repeal the Townshend revenue duties.

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

Committees of Correspondence were created by the American colonies in order to maintain communication with one another. They were organized in the decade before the Revolution when communication between the colonies became essential.

In March of **1773**, the Virginia **House of Burgesses**, the lower house of the Colony of Virginia, proposed that each colonial legislature appoint a standing committee for intercolonial correspondence. Within just a year, nearly all of the colonies had joined.

Tea Brewing in Boston

In **1773**, the **British East India Company** was overstocked with 17 million pounds of unsold tea. If the company collapsed, the London government would lose tax revenue. Therefore, the London government gave the company the exclusive right to sell tea in America (at a discount).

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

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

Parliament Passes the "Intolerable Acts"

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

The **Quebec Act** was also passed in **1774**, but was not apart of the Intolerable Acts. It gave Catholic French Canadians religious freedom and restored the French form of civil law. The American colonists opposed this act for a variety of reasons: it angered anti-Catholics; it extended the land area of Quebec.

Bloodshed

In **1774**, the **First Continental Congress** met in Philadelphia to respond to colonial grievances over the Intolerable Acts. 12 of the 13 colonies (excluding Georgia) sent 55 men to the convention. (The First Continental Congress was not a legislative body; it was a consultative body. It was a convention rather than a congress.)

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

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

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

Imperial Strength and Weaknesses

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

Unfortunately for the British, though, British troops were committed to fighting the rebellion in Ireland. Troops were also needed in case France decided to attack Britain. (France was bitter from its recent defeat.) Britain was therefore forced to divert much of its military power and concentration away from the Americas.

Britain's army in America had to operate under numerous difficulties; provisions were short, officers were not well-trained, troops were operating far from their home base, the Americans did not have a single city from which they operated (ex: Paris for the French).

American Pluses and Minuses

Americans benefited from good leadership and from the fact that they were fighting defensively. They were poorly organized, though.

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

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

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

A Thin Line of Heroes

Food and military supplies were limited in the colonies. At **Valley Forge**, Pennsylvania, American men went without food for 3 days in the **winter of 1777-1778**.

Baron von Steuben: German who helped train the America fighters to fight the British.

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

07 Secession from the Empire

The Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in 1775. All 13 colonies were represented. The objective of the meeting was to draft a set of appeals to which the king would respond; independence was still not a widely accepted goal.

Congress Drafts George Washington

The Second Continental Congress selected George Washington to lead the Continental army.

Bunker Hill and Hessian Hirelings

From April 1775 to July 1776, the colonists were mixed in their feelings for independence: some voiced a desire to mend differences, while others raised armies to fight the British.

In May 1775, a small American force lead by Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold captured the British garrisons at **Ticonderoga and Crown Point**.

In June 1775, the colonists captured **Bunker Hill**. The British took it back, but they had heavily casualties.

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

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

The Abortive Conquest of Canada

In October 1775, the **British burned Falmouth** (Portland), Maine. In the same month, colonists attacked Canada, hoping that they could add it as a 14th colony and remove it as a possible source for a British base. The attack failed when General Richard Montgomery was killed.

In January 1776, the **British burned the town of Norfolk, Virginia**

Thomas Paine Preaches Common Sense

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

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

Paine and the Idea of "Republicanism"

Thomas Paine called for the creation of a new kind of political society, specifically a **republic**, where power flowed from the people themselves. This was outlined in a pamphlet called the *Common Sense*.

Jefferson's Explanation of Independence

At the Second Continental Congress, Richard Henry Lee proposed that the colonies declare their independence. Thomas Jefferson was appointed to draft up the **Declaration of Independence**. The Declaration of Independence was formally **approved** by Congress on **July 4, 1776**. The "declaration" was more of an "explanation" of why the colonists sought their independence.

Patriots and Loyalists

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

The American Revolution was a minority movement. Most colonists were apathetic or neutral. Patriot militias did a good job of winning the "hearts and minds" of the colonists.

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

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

The Loyalist Exodus

Before the Declaration of Independence, the Loyalists were not extensively persecuted. After the declaration, though, they were subjected to more ridicule, hangings, and imprisonment. Many Loyalists fled to the British lines.

General Washington at Bay

The **British** concentrated their forces in **New York City** instead of Boston because Boston was evacuated in March 1776.

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

General William Howe was General Washington's adversary.

On **December 26, 1776**, Washington crossed the Delaware River to surprise and capture **1,000 Hessians** in **Trenton**.

Burgoyne's Blundering Invasion

London officials developed a plan for capturing the vital **Hudson River valley** in **1777**. It would sever New England from the rest of the states and paralyze the American cause. The main invading force, lead by General Burgoyne, would push down towards Lake Champlain from Canada. General Howe's troops in New York, if needed, could advance up the Hudson River to meet Burgoyne near Albany. The third force was commanded by colonel Barry St. Leger, who would come in from the west by way of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk Valley. General Burgoyne was forced to surrender his entire command at **Saratoga** on **October 17, 1777** to American general Horatio Gates (**Burgoyne's Blunder**). This win made it possible for the Americans to receive much-needed aid from **France**. (Turning point in war.)

Revolution in Diplomacy?

The French wanted to support the American quest for independence in the hopes that they could destabilize the British empire. The Continental Congress drafted a **Model Treaty** which dictated that the Americans would only have a **commercial** trading connection with the French (i.e. no political or military connections).

The British offered the Americans **home rule** after the British lost at the Battle of Saratoga. The French feared American-British reconciliation, so in **1778**, the **French made an open alliance** with the Americans. The French would join the fight against the British for American independence.

The Colonial War Becomes a World War

Spain and Holland became allied against Britain in **1779**. Catherine the Great of Russia led the creation of the **Armed Neutrality**, which passively allied the remaining neutral European countries against Britain.

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

Blow and Counterblow

General Benedict Arnold turned a traitor against the Americans in 1780.

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

The Land Frontier and the Sea Frontier

In **1784**, the Iroquois were forced to sign the **Treaty of Fort Stanwix**, which was the first treaty between the United States and an Indian nation. They ceded most of their land to the Americans.

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

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

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

Yorktown and the Final Curtain

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

British General Cornwallis retreated to the Chesapeake Bay at **Yorktown** to await seaborne supplies and reinforcements. Admiral de Grasse joined the Americans in an assault of Cornwallis via the sea. George Washington, along with Rochambeau's French army and Admiral de Grasse, cornered Cornwallis. He was forced to **surrender on October 19, 1781**.

Peace at Paris

In 1782, a Whig ministry (favorable to the Americans) replaced the Tory regime of Lord North.

Conditions of the Treaty of Paris of 1783:

- British formally recognized the independence of the United States.
- Florida is given to Spain.

- The independent American now consisted of territory stretching to the Mississippi on the west, to the Great Lakes on the north, and to Spanish Florida on the south.
- Yankees were to retain a share in the fisheries of Newfoundland.
- The Loyalists were to no longer be prosecuted.
- Congress was to recommend to the state legislatures that confiscated Loyalist property be restored. The states vowed to put no lawful obstacles in the way of Loyalist property collection.

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

08 Confederation and Constitution

Constitution Making in the States

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

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

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

Economic Crosscurrents

Economic democracy preceded political democracy.

After gaining its independence, the United States had limited trade with Britain, so it had to start making more products "in-house."

The post-war economy was not very good, and many Americans were poorer after the war.

Creating a Confederation

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

The Articles of Confederation: America's First Constitution

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

Congress had 2 major handicaps: 1) It had no power to regulate commerce, and this loophole left the states free to establish conflictingly laws regarding tariffs and navigation. 2)

Congress couldn't enforce its tax collection program. The states were NOT required to pay the government taxes, they were merely asked.

The Articles of Confederation had many faults, but it was a stepping stone towards the Constitution.

Landmarks in Land Laws

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

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

The World's Ugly Duckling

Britain declined to make any commercial treaty with the colonies or to repeal its Navigation Laws (required the use of British ships to trade with Britain). Lord Sheffield argued in his pamphlet that Britain could win back America's trade without repealing the navigation laws.

The **British remained in the Americas** where they maintained their fur trade with the Indians. The American states did not honor the treaty of peace in regard to debts and Loyalists. The British primarily stayed because they wanted to keep the Indians on their side in case the Americans decided to attack Canada.

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

The Horrid Specter of Anarchy

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

A Convention of "Demigods"

In **1786**, Virginia called for a convention at Annapolis, Maryland to deal with the issue of interstate commerce. Alexander Hamilton saved the convention from collapsing (delegates from only 5 states showed up). He called Congress to meet in Philadelphia the next year to fix entire fabric of the Articles of Confederation.

Alexander Hamilton was an advocate of a powerful central government.

On **May 25, 1787**, 55 representatives from every state except for Rhode Island were sent to Philadelphia to discuss how the government should operate. (**Constitutional Convention**) George Washington was elected as the leader.

Patriots in Philadelphia

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

Hammering Out a Bundle of Compromises

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

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

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

A "**Great Compromise**" was eventually agreed upon. It called for representation by population in the **House of Representatives**, and equal representation in the **Senate**. Each state would have 2 senators. The new **Constitution** also called for a President. Because of arguments over if the slaves would count towards the general population of the state, the "**three-fifths compromise**" was created. The new Constitution also called for the **end of the slave trade by the end of 1807**. All new state constitutions except Georgia's forbade overseas slave trade. The Constitution was meant to be a broad document. It grew out of **common law**, in which it is unnecessary to be specific about every possible detail.

Rhode Island was not present at the Constitutional Convention.

Safeguards for Conservatism

The members of the Constitutional Convention **agreed economically** (they demanded sound money and the protection of private property), and they **agreed politically** (they favored a stronger government with 3 branches and with checks and balances system).

The Clash of Federalists and Anti-federalists

Anti-federalists opposed the stronger federal government because they feared it would take away the power of the common man. They were led by Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, and Richard Henry Lee. The anti-federalists mostly consisted of the poorest class.

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

The Great Debate in the States

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

The Four Laggard States

Virginia and New York eventually ratified the Constitution before it was put into effect. Rhode Island and North Carolina were the last states to ratify it, and they did so only after the new government had been in operation for a few months. These 4 states did not want to ratify the Constitution, but they could not safely exist as the only states "outside of the fold."

A Conservative Triumph

The architects of the Constitution believed that every branch (executive, judiciary, and legislative) effectively represented the people.

The Pursuit of Equality

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

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

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

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

Civic Virtue: the idea that democracy depended on the unselfish commitment of each citizen to the public good.

Republican Motherhood: the idea that the mother was selflessly devoted to her family; this was described as the model of a proper republican mother.

09 Launching this New Ship

Growing Pains

The American population was doubling every 25 years in the late 1700s.

Washington for President

George Washington was unanimously elected as President by the Electoral College in **1789**. He took the oath of office on April 30, 1789. He established the cabinet. Washington's cabinet consisted of: Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, and Secretary of War Henry Knox.

Bill of Rights

James Madison wrote the **Bill of Rights** and helped get them passed by Congress in **1791**. The **Judiciary Act of 1789** created the the federal court system, including the Supreme Court. It also created the office of attorney general. John Jay became the first Chief Justice.

Hamilton Revives the Corpse of Public Credit

Alexander Hamilton set out to fix the financial system of America. One of his first objectives was to strengthen national credit. In this vein, he pushed for **funding at par**, which meant that the federal government would pay off its debts at face value plus interest. He also pushed for **assumption**, in which the federal government would pay states' debts. States with large debts, like Massachusetts, accepted Hamilton's proposal, but states with small debts, like Virginia, did not want the government to assume state debts. Hamilton's plan was passed by Congress in 1790 in a deal that placed the District of Columbia on the Potomac River (next to Virginia).

Customs, Duties, and Excise Taxes

Hamilton believed that a **national debt** was good for the country: the more creditors to whom the government owed money, the more people there would be with a personal stake in the success of the government.

Hamilton supported the first tariff law (**1789**), which imposed taxes on certain imports. This brought in much-needed revenue for the government and protected small American industries. In **1791**, Congress passed an **excise tax** on a few domestic items, including whiskey.

Hamilton Battles Jefferson for a Bank

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

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

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

The Edges of the Nation

Various conflicts and battles broke out between Native Americans and expanding settlers. The American army lost the Battle of the Wabash in 1791.

Mutinous Moonshiners in Pennsylvania

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

The Emergence of Political Parties

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

The personal feud between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton developed into a political rivalry.

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

The Impact of the French Revolution

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

Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans: supported states' rights and a smaller government

Hamilton Federalists: supported a powerful federal government

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

Washington's Neutrality Proclamation

Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans wanted to **support** the French in their war against the British. The Federalists were **opposed**.

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

Embroidments with Britain

For years, the British had retained the frontier posts on U.S. soil, all in defiance of the peace treaty of 1783. The London government did not want to abandon the valuable fur trade in

the Great Lakes region, and British agents openly sold firearms to the **Miami Confederacy**, an alliance of 8 Indian nations who terrorized Americans.

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

Jay's Treaty and Washington's Farewell

In a last attempt to avoid war, President Washington sent Chief Justice John Jay to London in **1794** to negotiate. Opposed by Democratic-Republicans, Jay hammered out a treaty, **Jay's Treaty**, in which the British promised to evacuate the chain of posts on U.S. soil and pay for damages for the seizures of American ships. Britain did not agree to anything about future maritime seizures or about supplying arms to Indians. The treaty also called for the U.S. to continue to pay the debts owed to British merchants on pre-Revolutionary War accounts. Jay's Treaty caused Spain, which feared an Anglo-American alliance, to strike a deal with the U.S. In **Pinckney's Treaty of 1795** with Spain, Spain granted the Americans free navigation of the Mississippi River and the large disputed territory north of Florida. In his Farewell Address to the nation, Washington urged against permanent alliances. He left office in **1797**.

John Adams Becomes President

John Adams (Washington's Vice President) beat Thomas Jefferson to become to the **2nd President in 1797**.

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

Unofficial Fighting with France

France was upset with Jay's Treaty and it started capturing American merchant ships. President John Adams sent John Marshall to France to negotiate in **1797**. Hoping the meet **Talleyrand**, the French foreign minister, Adams's envoy was secretly approached by 3 go-betweens, later referred to as X, Y, and Z (Mme de Villette, Jean Conrad Hottinguer, and Lucien Hauteval). The French spokesmen demanded a bribe of \$250,000 just to talk to Talleyrand. Angered by the intolerable terms, Marshall and the envoy returned to the U.S. Infuriated with the **XYZ Affair**, America began preparations for war: the Navy Department was created; the three-ship navy was expanded; the United States Marine Corps was re-established.

Adams Puts Patriotism Above Party

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

Napoleon Bonaparte was the dictator of France.

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

The Federalist Witch Hunt

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

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

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

The Virginia (Madison) and Kentucky (Jefferson) Resolutions

Kentucky and Virginia passed resolutions that stated that the states had the right to refuse laws created by the government. Virtually no other state followed the two states' resolutions.

Federalists versus Democratic-Republicans

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

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

10 Jefferson's Republic

Federalist and Republican Mudslingers

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

The Jeffersonian "Revolution of 1800"

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

Revolution of 1800: the term given to the election of 1800; no Federalist became president after this election.

Responsibility Breeds Moderation

Unlike his predecessors, after Jefferson's election, he dismissed few public servants for political reasons.

Jeffersonian Restraint

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

Jefferson also did away with the excise tax.

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

The "Dead Clutch" of the Judiciary

Judiciary Act of 1801: passed by the expiring Federalist Congress; created 16 new federal judgeships and other judicial offices. The new **Republican-Democratic**

Congress quickly **repealed** the act and kicked out the 16 newly seated judges. One **Federalist judge**, Chief Justice John Marshall, was not removed. He served under presidents including Jefferson and others for 34 years. He shaped the American legal tradition more than any other person.

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

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

Samuel Chase: a Supreme Court justice that the Democratic-Republican Congress tried to impeach; he was not removed due to a lack of votes in the Senate.

Jefferson, a Reluctant Warrior

Jefferson preferred to make the military smaller.

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

The Louisiana Godsend

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

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

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

- 1) He failed to re-conquer the island of Santo Domingo, for which Louisiana was to serve as a source of foodstuffs.
- 2) Because Britain controlled the seas, Napoleon didn't want Britain to take over Louisiana. Selling the land to America removed this possibility and it gave Napoleon much-needed cash. He also hoped giving the land to America would help make America a world-power that would disrupt the ambitions of the British king.

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

Louisiana in the Long View

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

Changes in the West

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

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

A Precarious Neutrality

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

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

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

Chesapeake Affair: a royal ship attacked the U.S. frigate, the Chesapeake, after the Americans refused to return four alleged British deserters.

The Hated Embargo

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

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

The embargo failed because Jefferson overestimated the dependence of Britain and France on America's trade. Britain was able to trade with the Latin American republics and France had enough land in Europe to support itself.

Madison's Gamble

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

Congress issued **Macon's Bill No. 2**. It reopened American trade with the entire world, but it had a clause stating that if Britain or France repealed its commercial restrictions, then the U.S. would reinstate its trading embargo against the non-repealing country. Napoleon convinced James Madison to give Britain three months to lift its Orders in Council. Madison did, but Britain chose not to lift its Orders in Council, and Madison had to re-enact the United States's trade embargo, but this time just against Britain.

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

Tecumseh and the Prophet

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

Tecumseh & Tenskwatawa: Shawnee brothers who unified many Indian tribes in a last ditch battle with the settlers; allied with the British.

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

Mr. Madison's War

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

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

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

11 Surging Nationalism and the War of 1812

On to Canada over Land and Lakes

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

The Americans then attacked by sea and were more successful.

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

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

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

Washington Burned and New Orleans Defended

In August of 1814, a second British force attacked Washington D.C. They **burned** most of the capital, including the **White House and Capitol**.

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

Andrew Jackson defended New Orleans at the **Battle of New Orleans**.

The Treaty of Ghent

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

Federalist Grievances and the Hartford Convention

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

- Financial assistance from Washington to compensate for lost trade from embargoes.
- Constitutional amendments requiring a 2/3 vote in Congress before an embargo could be imposed, new states admitted, or war declared.
- The abolition of slavery.
- A President could only serve 1 term.
- The abolition of the 3/5 clause.
- The prohibition of the election of 2 successive Presidents from the same state.

Few took serious interest in the demands in the wake of the Ghent treaty. The Hartford resolutions marked the **death of the Federalist party**. The party nominated their last presidential candidate in 1816.

The Aftermath of War

The **War of 1812** showed other nations around the world that America would defend its beliefs.

The **Rush-Bagot Agreement** was made between the U.S. and Britain in 1817, and it limited the naval armament on the Great Lakes.

Nascent Nationalism

The most impressive by-product of the War of 1812 was heightened **nationalism**.

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

"The American System"

Congress instituted the **1st protective tariff**, the **Tariff of 1816**, primarily for **protection for American companies**. British companies were trying to put American factories out of business by selling their British goods for much less than the American factories. The tariff placed a **20-25% tax** on the value of dutiable imports. This tax increased over time, creating problems of no competition between companies.

Henry Clay created a plan for developing a profitable U.S. economy. It was called the **American System**. It had **3 main parts**:

- 1) A **strong banking system** that would provide easy and abundant credit.
- 2) A **protective tariff** that would allow eastern manufacturing to flourish.
- 3) A **network of roads and canals** that would transport raw materials across the country.

President Madison vetoed a bill to give **states aid for infrastructure**, deeming it unconstitutional. The Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans were opposed to using federal money to support interstate improvements.

The So-Called Era of Good Feelings

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

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

The Panic of 1819 and the Curse of Hard Times

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

The Bank of the United States was hated by western farmers because it foreclosed on many farms.

Growing Pains of the West

Between **1791** and **1819**, **9** states from the West had joined the United States. People moved west because of cheap land, the construction of highways, and many Indian territories had been eliminated.

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

Slavery and the Sectional Balance

The House of Representatives passed the **Tallmadge Amendment**, making it more difficult for Missouri to become a state. It did not allow for anymore slaves to be brought into Missouri and for the gradual emancipation of children born to slave parents already in Missouri. The amendment was defeated by the slave states in Congress.

Peculiar Institution: an expression used to describe slavery and its economic impacts in the South

The Uneasy Missouri Compromise

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

The **Missouri Compromise** by Congress forbade slavery in the remaining territories in the Louisiana Territory north of the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$, except for Missouri.

James Monroe was re-elected President in **1820**.

John Marshall and Judicial Nationalism

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

Cohens vs. Virginia (**1821**) involved the Cohens appealing to the Supreme Court after being found guilty of illegally selling lottery tickets in Virginia. **Virginia won** and the conviction was withheld, but the ruling further cemented the powers of the federal government.

Gibbons vs. Ogden (1824) came up when New York tried to give a private company a monopoly of waterborne commerce between New York and New Jersey. (Meaning that no other company could use the waterway.) **New York lost.**

Judicial Dikes Against Democratic Excesses

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

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

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

Sharing Oregon and Acquiring Florida

John Quincy Adams: Secretary of State to James Monroe.

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

With the many revolutions taking place in South America, Spain was forced to take many of its troops out of **Florida**. General Andrew Jackson went into Florida saying he would **punish the Indians** and recapture the runaways who were hiding away in **Spanish Florida**. He did this and captured **St. Marks and Pensacola**, the 2 most important Spanish posts in the area. In the **Florida Purchase Treaty of 1819**, Spain ceded Florida and Spanish claims to Oregon in exchange for America's claims to Texas.

The Menace of Monarchy in America

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

George Canning: British foreign secretary; asked the American minister in London if the United States would band together with the British in a **joint declaration** renouncing any interest in acquiring Latin American territory, and specifically warning the European dictators to keep out of Latin America.

Monroe and His Doctrine

Secretary Adams thought the British feared that the Americans would take Spanish territory in the Americas, ultimately threatening Britain's possessions in the Caribbean.

Monroe Doctrine (1823): President Monroe's warning to the European powers; its two components were **noncolonization** and **nonintervention**; it had little immediate impact.

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

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

Monroe's Doctrine Appraised

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

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

Russo-American Treaty of 1824: the Russians retreated farther north into Alaska

12 A Rise in Mass Democracy

The **Democrat** party emerged in **1828**.

The "Corrupt Bargain" of 1824

Well-organized parties had not yet emerged, and there were 4 main "Republican" candidates in the election of **1824**: Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, William Crawford, and Henry Clay.

No candidate won the majority of the electoral votes, so, according to the Constitution, the House of Representatives had to choose the winner out of the top 3 candidates. Henry Clay was eliminated because he received the 4th most votes. Being the **Speaker of the House**, though, he did have much say in who became president. Clay convinced the House to elect John Quincy Adams as president. Adams agreed to make Clay the **Secretary of State** for getting him into office. The public felt that a "corrupt bargain" had taken place because Andrew Jackson had received the popular vote.

A Yankee Misfit in the White House

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

Land and the "Five Civilized Tribes"

Five Civilized Tribes: Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole

These tribes were called "civilized" because their ways of life somewhat resembled those of whites, including owning slaves, domesticating animals, and practicing Christianity.

Going "Whole Hog" for Jackson in 1828

Before the election of 1824, two parties had formed: **National Republicans** and **Democratic-Republicans** (also referred to as just "Democrat"). **Adams and Clay** were the figures of the **National Republicans** and **Jackson** was with the **Democratic-Republicans**.

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

"Old Hickory" as President

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

The Spoils System

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

The Tricky "Tariff of Abominations"

In 1824, Congress significantly increased the tariff on imports.

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

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

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

"Nullies" in the South

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

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

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

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

Prior to the compromise, Congress had passed the **Force Bill**, which authorized the Federal government to use force to collect the tariffs.

Indian Removal

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

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

Despite Supreme Court rulings that consistently favored the Indians' land rights, Congress passed the **Indian Removal Act in 1830**. It moved more than 100,000 Indians living east of the Mississippi to reservations west of the Mississippi. Many Indians died on forced marches along the **Trail of Tears**.

Black Hawk led Indians to fight against the relocation in the **Black Hawk War** of 1832. The Indians were defeated.

The **Seminoles in Florida** retreated to the Everglades, fighting for several years until they retreated deeper into the Everglades or were moved to the Oklahoma area.

The Bank War

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

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

The **Bank War** erupted in **1832** when Daniel Webster and Henry Clay presented Congress with a bill to renew the Bank's charter. Clay wanted to make it an issue for the election of 1832. He felt that if Jackson signed off on the bill, then Jackson would **alienate the people of the West** who hated the Bank. If Jackson vetoed the bill, then he would **alienate the wealthy class of the East** who supported the Bank. Clay did not account for the fact that the wealthy class was now a minority. Jackson vetoed the bill, calling the Bank unconstitutional. The veto showed that Jackson felt that the Executive Branch had more power than the Judicial Branch in determining the Constitutionality of the Bank of the United States. This was despite the fact that the Supreme Court had already ruled that the Bank was constitutional in *McCulloch vs. Maryland* (1819).

"Old Hickory" Wallops Clay in 1833

A third party entered the election in the election of 1832: **The Anti-Masonic party**. The party hated the Masonic Order, a secret society, because it thought the Order was comprised of privileged, elite people. Although Jackson was supported egalitarianism and "the common man", he was a Mason himself; therefore the Anti-Masons were an **anti-Jackson party**. It gained support from evangelical Protestant groups.

The Jacksonians (Democrats) were opposed to government involvement in social and economic life.

Andrew Jackson was reelected in **1832**.

Burying Biddle's Bank

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

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

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

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

The Birth of the Whigs

The Whigs were conservatives who supported government programs, reforms, and public schools. They called for **internal improvements** like canals, railroads, and telegraph lines. The Whigs claimed to be defenders of the common man and declared the Democrats the party of corruption. They absorbed the Anti-Masonic Party.

The Election of 1836

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

Depression Doldrums and the Independent Treasury

The basic cause of the panic of 1837 was rampant speculation by banks. (Banks gave a lot of loans to people/businesses who, in the end, could not afford to repay the loans.) Jacksonian's financial policies also contributed to the panic. In 1836, the failure of two British banks caused British investors to call in foreign loans. These loans were the beginning of the panic. The panic of 1837 caused hundreds of banks to collapse, commodity prices to drop, sales of public to fall, and the loss of jobs.

The Whigs proposed government policies to fix the economic downturn: expansion of bank credit, higher tariffs, subsidies for internal improvement. Van Buren rejected these proposals because he wanted to keep government involvement out of the economy.

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

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

Gone to Texas

Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821. Because of this, ownership of Texas passed from Spain to Mexico. Mexico gave a large chunk of Texas land to Stephen Austin, who promised to bring families into Texas.

Texans differed in many ways from the Mexicans, including the fact that Mexicans were against slavery, while the Texans supported it.

Santa Anna: dictator of Mexico; in 1835, he removed Texans' local rights and started to raise army to suppress the rebelling Texans.

The Lone Star Rebellion

Texas declared its independence in 1836. Sam Houston: commander in chief for Texas army. General Houston forced Santa Anna to sign a treaty in 1836 after Houston had captured Santa Anna in the **Battle of San Jacinto**. The treaty defined the Rio Grande as the southwestern boundary of an independent Texas.

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

Log Cabins and Hard Cider of 1840

William Henry Harrison defeated Van Buren to win the election of 1840 for the Whigs.

Politics for the People

There were 2 major changes in politics after the Era of Good Feelings that were highlighted by the election of 1840:

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

The Two-Party System

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

13 Forging a National Economy

The Westward Movement

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

Shaping the Western Landscape

Fur trapping was a large industry in the Rocky Mountain area. Each summer, fur trappers would meet with traders from the East to exchange **beaver pelts** for **manufactured goods** ("rendezvous" system).

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

The March of Millions

By the **mid-1800s**, the population was **doubling every 25 years**. By **1860**, there were **33** states and the U.S. was the 4th most populous country in the western world. The increased population and larger cities brought about disease and decreased living standards.

In the 1840s and 1850s, more European immigrants came to the Americas because Europe seemed to be **running out of room**. Immigrants also came to America to escape the aristocratic caste and state church, and there was more opportunity to improve one's life. Transoceanic steamboats also reduced ocean travel times.

The Emerald Isle Moves West

In the **1840s**, the "**Black Forties**," many **Irish** came to America because of a **potato rot** that induced a famine through Ireland. Most of the Irish were Roman-Catholic. They were

politically powerful because they bonded together as one large voting body. They increased competition for jobs, so they were hated by native workers. The Irish hated the blacks and the British.

The German Forty-Eighters

Between **1830 and 1860**, many **Germans** came to America because of crop failures and other hardships (collapse of German democratic revolutions).

Unlike the Irish, the Germans possessed a modest amount of material goods when they came to America. The Germans moved west into the Middle West (Wisconsin).

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

Flare-ups of Antiforeignism

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

The American party (**Know-Nothing party**) was created by native Americans who opposed the immigrants.

Many people died in riots and attacks between the American natives and the immigrants.

Creeping Mechanization

In **1750**, steam was used with machines to take the place of human labor. This enabled the **Industrial Revolution** in **England**.

It took a while for the **Industrial Revolution** to spread to **America** because soil in America was cheap and peasants preferred to grow crops as opposed to working in factories. Because of this, labor was scarce until the immigrants came to America in the 1840s. There was also a lack of investment money available in America. The large British factories also had a monopoly on the textile industry, with which American companies could not compete.

Whitney Ends the Fiber Famine

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

Eli Whitney: built the first **cotton gin** in **1793**. The cotton gin was much more effective than slaves at separating the cotton seed from the cotton fiber. Its development affected the entire world. Because of the cotton gin, the South's production of cotton greatly increased and demand for cotton revived the demand for slavery.

New England became the industrial center of the Industrial Revolution in America because it had poor soil for farming; it had a dense population for labor; shipping brought in capital; seaports enabled the import of raw materials and the export of the finished products.

Marvels in Manufacturing

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

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

In 1798, Eli Whitney came up with the idea of using machines (instead of people) to make each part of the musket. This meant that the musket's components would be consistently manufactured, and thus, could be interchanged. The principle of interchangeable parts caught on by 1850 and it became the basis for mass-production.

Elias Howe: invented the sewing machine in 1846. The sewing machine boosted northern industrialization. It became the foundation of the ready-made clothing industry.

Limited Liability: an individual investor only risks his personal investment in a company in the event of a bankruptcy.

Laws of "free incorporation": first passed in New York in 1848; enabled businessmen to create corporations without applying for individual charters from the legislature.

Samuel F. B. Morse: invented the telegraph.

Workers and "Wage Slaves"

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

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

President Van Buren established the ten-hour work day in 1840 (for federal employees on public projects).

Commonwealth vs. Hunt: Supreme Court ruled that labor unions were not illegal conspiracies, provided that their methods were honorable and peaceful.

Women and the Economy

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

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

Catharine Beecher: urged women to enter the teaching profession.

The vast majority of working women were single.

Cult of Domesticity: a widespread cultural creed that glorified the customary functions of the homemaker.

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

Western Farmers Reap a Revolution in the Fields

The trans-Allegheny region, especially Indiana and Illinois, became the nation's **breadbasket**.

Liquor and hogs became the early western farmer's **staple market items** because both of these items were supported by corn.

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

McCormick Reaper: a horse-drawn mechanical reaper that could cut and gather crops much faster than with previous methods (i.e. hand-picking). This enabled larger-scale farming.

Highways and Steamboats

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

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

Robert Fulton: installed a steam engine on a boat and thus, created the first **steamboat**. The steamboat played a vital role in the economic expansion of the West and South, via their extensive waterways.

"Clinton's Big Ditch" in New York

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

The Iron Horse

The most significant contribution to the expansion of the American economy was the **railroad**. The first one appeared in 1828.

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

Cables (Telegraphs), Clippers, and Pony Riders

In the 1840s and 1850s, American navel yards began to produce new ships called **clipper ships**. These ships sacrificed cargo room for speed and were able to transport small amounts of goods in short amounts of time. These ships were eventually superseded by steamboats after steamboats were improved.

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

The Transport Web Binds the Union

The **transportation revolution** was created because people in the east wanted to move west. The South raised cotton for export to New England and Britain. The West grew grain and livestock to feed factory workers in the East and in Europe. The East made machines and textiles for the South and the West. All of these products were transported using the railroad; the railroad linked America.

The Market Revolution

The **market revolution** transformed the American economy from one in which people subsisted on things they grew/created to one in which people purchased goods that were produced all over the country.

14 Ferment of Reform and Culture

Reviving Religion

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

Unitarianism was derived from Deism. Unitarians believed that God existed in only one person, and not the Trinity. It appealed to mostly intellectuals.

The **Second Great Awakening** began in **1800**. A wave of religious fervor swept over the country. Women became more involved in religion during the Second Great Awakening. Peter Cartwright: a revivalist, traveling preacher who converted thousands to Christianity. Charles Grandison Finney: one of the greatest revivalist preachers.

Denominational Diversity

The Second Great Awakening widened the gap between the societal classes and regions. The more prosperous and conservative denominations in the East were little touched by revivalism. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Unitarians derived its members from the wealthier parts of society, while Methodists and Baptists came from less prosperous communities in the South and West.

The issue of slavery split the churches apart.

A Desert Zion in Utah

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

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

Free Schools for a Free People

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

Horace Mann: campaigned effectively for a better school system.

Higher Goals for Higher Learning

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

The University of Virginia was founded by Thomas Jefferson.

Women's schools at the secondary level came in the 1820s because of Emma Willard. At the time, it was still widely believed that a women's place is in the home.

An Age of Reform

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

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

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

Demon Rum - The "Old Deluder"

In the early 1800s, many people developed drinking problems due to social norms and hard/monotonous life. This included women, clergymen, and members of Congress. The **American Temperance Society** was formed in **1826**. Its members persuaded people to stop drinking.

Drinking decreased worker efficiency and threatened the family structure.

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

Women in Revolt

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

Gender differences were emphasized in the 19th century because the market economy was separating women and men into distinct economic roles (women were viewed as artistic and the keepers of society's conscience, while men were viewed as strong but crude).

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

Wilderness Utopians

Several **utopian communities** were created in the early 1800s, but all of them ultimately failed.

Robert Owen: founded a communal society in **New Harmony**, Indiana in **1825** to seek human betterment.

The Dawn of Scientific Achievement

Americans were more interested in **practical gadgets** than in **pure science**. Americans invented practical gadgets, but they borrowed and adapted scientific findings from the Europeans.

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

Artistic Achievements

Early American architects used a **Federal Style** that emphasized symmetry, balance, and restraint (columns, domes, pediments).

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

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

The Blossoming of a National Literature

Before the mid-1800s, most literature in America was imported from Britain.

Following the War of 1812, American literature received a boost from the wave of nationalism and the arrival of **romanticism** to America.

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

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

Trumpeters of Transcendentalism

The transcendentalist movement came about in the 1830s. The transcendentalists believed that knowledge transcends the senses and can't be found just by observation; knowledge comes from within the person. Associated traits included self-reliance, self-culture, and self-discipline.

Ralph Waldo Emerson: transcendentalist poet and philosopher; urged American writers to forget European traditions and write about American interests; wrote "The American Scholar," which was an intellectual declaration of independence.

Henry David Thoreau: transcendentalist who believed that people should ignore bodily desires and pursue truth through study and meditation.

Glowing Literary Lights

Not all poets and writers of the time were transcendentalists.

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

Literary Individuals and Dissenters

Edgar Allan Poe: wrote with a pessimistic tone, unlike the literature at the time.

Herman Melville: wrote the novel *Moby Dick*.

Portrayers of the Past

In the mid-1800s, American historians began to emerge.

15 Slavery and the South

In the late 1700s, slavery was starting to die out, but the invention of the cotton gin prompted plantation owners to keep their slaves to support the larger cotton harvests.

"Cotton is King!"

Cotton accounted for half the value of all American exports after 1840. In the 1850s, Britain's most important manufactured item was cotton cloth. Britain imported 75% of its raw cotton from the South. Because of this, the South had a significant influence in Britain.

The Planter "Aristocracy"

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

The Southern plantation wife commanded the female slaves.

Slaves of the Slave System

The economic structure in the South became increasingly **monopolistic**. The Southern economy was very dependent on cotton, which made the economy unstable. Many plantation owners **over-specified** in land and slaves, causing them fall into debt.

The White Majority

The white population of the South was as follows (from smallest to largest): a) Wealthy slave owners. b) Less wealthy slave owners. These people didn't own a majority of the slaves, but they made up a majority of the masters. c) Non-slave-holding whites (3/4 of South white population). These whites supported slavery because they wanted to eventually own slaves and achieve the "**American dream**" of moving up in society. The less prosperous non-slave-holding whites were known as "poor white trash" and "hillbillies." Civilization hadn't reached mountain whites who lived in the valley of the Appalachian range. They supported Abraham Lincoln's Union party.

Free Blacks: Slaves Without Masters

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

Free blacks were generally not liked in the North and South. In the **South**, free blacks were prohibited from having certain jobs and forbidden from testifying against whites in court. They were known as the "**3rd Race**."

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

Plantation Slavery

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

Planters regarded slaves as major **investments**.

Life Under the Lash

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

Blacks managed to sustain family life in slavery.

Blacks formed their own religions from a mixture of Christian and African elements.

Responsorial: style of preaching in which the congregation responds to the preacher with remarks of "amen."

Resistance

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

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

Nat Turner's Rebellion: southern rebellion against slavery led by Nat Turner; the rebellion was defeated.

Enslaved Africans aboard the slave ship *Amistad* rebelled and took control of the ship in 1839. The ship landed in Long Island, but the Africans were eventually returned to Sierra Leone.

Early Antislavery

American Colonization Society: founded in 1817; focused on transporting blacks back to Africa.

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

By 1860, all southern slaves were born in America, and many did not have a desire to return to Africa.

The Second Great Awakening inspired many abolitionists to speak out against the sins of slavery.

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

Radical Abolitionism

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

American Anti-Slavery Society: founded in 1833 to oppose slavery.

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

Frederick Douglass: black abolitionist who lectured for abolitionism; looked to politics to end slavery; published his autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*.

The South Lashes Back

From 1831-1832, Virginia defeated numerous emancipation bills. Other states followed suit, prohibiting all forms of emancipation. This series of emancipation setbacks was known as the **nullification crisis of 1832**. It silenced the voice of white southern abolitionism.

The Southerners argued that slavery was supported by the Bible, and that slavery was good for the Africans because it introduced them to Christianity.

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

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

The Abolitionist Impact in the North

Abolitionists were, for a long time, unpopular in many parts of the North. The southern planters owed much money to the northern bankers. If the Union collapsed, these debts would not be repaid. Additionally, New England textile mills were supplied with cotton raised by the slaves. If slavery was abolished, then the cotton supply would be cut off, resulting in unemployment.

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

16 Manifesting Destiny

The Accession of "Tyler Too"

At the beginning of Henry Harrison's presidency, Daniel Webster (secretary of state) and Henry Clay (leader of Whigs in the Senate) expected to control the Presidency because Harrison was not a very commanding figure. Only 4 weeks into Harrison's presidency, though, Harrison died. This disrupted the plans of Webster and Clay.

John Tyler: Vice President to Henry Harrison; successor as President following Harrison's death; "Tyler too"; a Democrat at heart and contradicted many of the Whig Party's ideas.

John Tyler: A President without a Party

The Whigs introduced many policy changes when the party won the presidency with Harrison (and then Tyler). The first change was **financial reform**. The independent treasury system was ended. A bill for a "**Fiscal Bank**," which would establish a new Bank of the United States went through Congress, but President Tyler vetoed it. The Whigs presented a "**Fiscal Corporation**," but Tyler again vetoed it.

President Tyler was rejected by his former Whig Party.

Tyler reluctantly signed the **Tariff of 1842** because he recognized the government's need for revenue.

A War of Words with Britain

The 19th Century was marked by periods of public disdain for Britain. This sparked the "**Third War with England**." This war was only fought with editorials in papers.

In **1837**, there was a small rebellion in Canada. Although it was supported by many Americans, the rebellion failed because it was backed by few Canadians.

In **1837**, the American ship, the *Caroline*, was carrying military supplies to the rebelling Canadians when it was sunk by a British ship. Washington officials made ineffective protests against the attack.

In **1841**, British officials in the Bahamas offered asylum to 130 Virginia slaves who had rebelled and captured the American ship *Creole*.

Manipulating the Maine Maps

In **1842**, the British wanted to build a road linking the seaport of Halifax to Quebec. The proposed road ran through disputed territory in northern Maine, though. Skirmishes between locals broke out and these skirmishes were referred to as the **Aroostook War**.

To prevent a wider-reaching war, the London Foreign Office sent Lord Ashburton to Washington to settle the dispute. He and Daniel Webster negotiated and agreed to a new boundary for Maine that put the disputed road in Canadian territory.

The Lone Star of Texas Shines Alone

In the 8 years following 1836, Mexico considered Texas one of their provinces that was in revolt. Mexico refused to recognize Texas's independence. Mexico threatened war if America protected Texas.

Texas made treaties with France, Holland, and Belgium. Britain was interested in seeing an independent Texas because they hoped it could be used to fragment and weaken America. The British were also interested in having Texas as a trading partner who was more friendly than the Americans.

The Annexation of Texas

Texas was a leading issue in the presidential campaign of **1844**. The Democrats were pro-expansion and supported the annexation of Texas, while the Whigs were against it.

The Democrats (James Polk) won the election of 1844, and lame duck (outgoing) President Tyler took that as a sign to acquire Texas before he left the presidency. He signed a resolution in **1845** that invited Texas to become the **28th** state in America.

Oregon Fever

Four nations claimed parts of the **Oregon Country** at one time: **Spain**, **Russia**, **Britain**, and the **United States**. Spain gave up its American territory with the Florida Treaty of 1819, and Russia gave up its land with the treaties of 1824 and 1825.

Britain controlled the Oregon territory north of the Columbia River, while American controlled the southern territory. Britain had a smaller population in the Oregon territory, but it did not want to give up its claims. The disputed territory in the Oregon Country became an issue in the election of **1844**.

A Mandate (?) for Manifest Destiny

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

In the 1840s and 1850s, the idea of **Manifest Destiny** spread across America. Many Americans felt that God had destined them to spread their democratic institutions over the entire continent and over South America as well.

Democrats strongly supported the idea of Manifest Destiny.

Polk the Purposeful

Polk had four main goals for his presidency: 1) A lower tariff; 2) Restore the independent treasury, which the Whigs dropped in 1841 because the Whigs won the presidency; 3-4) The acquisition of California and the settlement of the Oregon Country dispute without violence.

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

The independent treasury was restored in 1846.

Britain presented Polk with the Oregon Country up to the 49th parallel. This offer was approved without a shot fired.

Misunderstandings with Mexico

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

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

John Slidell: sent by Polk to Mexico City in 1845 to buy California for \$25 million; the offer was rejected.

American Blood on American (?) Soil

On **January 13, 1846**, Polk ordered 4,000 men under General Zachary Taylor to the Rio Grande. On **May 9, 1846**, Polk asked Congress to **declare war on Mexico** on the basis of **unpaid claims** and **Slidell's rejection** of the purchasing of California. Prior to this request, Mexican troops had already attacked American troops. War was subsequently declared. Many people in Congress accused Polk of provoking war. Mexico was not willing to sell California and war seemed to be the only way that America could get California.

The Invasion of Mexico

Polk wanted California, not war. He hoped that America could pull out of the war with California.

American generals in Mexican-American War:

- General Stephen W. Kearny: led 1,700 troops to Santa Fe.
- General Zachary Taylor: won many victories including a victory over a large Mexican force at Buena Vista; future President
- General Winfield Scott: succeeded in battling his way to Mexico City by September 1847; became President Abraham Lincoln's first choice to lead the Union army in the Civil War.

Fighting Mexico for Peace

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

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ceded Texas and the area that included California to America for \$15 million. This area was about half of Mexico. The antislavery Whigs in Congress ("Conscience Whigs") opposed the treaty because they had originally opposed the war. Expansionists also opposed the treaty because they wanted all of Mexico, not just part of it.

Profit and Loss in Mexico

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

David Wilmot: proposed an amendment that stated that the territory from Mexico should remain slave-free. This **Wilmot Proviso** never passed the Senate because the Southern members did not want to remove the possibility of future slave states from this territory.

17 The Sectional Struggle Renewed

The Popular Sovereignty Panacea

Popular Sovereignty: the idea that the people of a territory should determine their territory's status of slavery. It was popular with politicians because it was a compromise between the abolitionists and the slaveholders.

At the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore, the **Democrats** chose General Lewis Cass, a veteran of the war of 1812, as their candidate for presidency. Cass was not against slavery; he supported popular sovereignty.

Political Triumphs for General Taylor

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

The **Free Soil Party** was created by antislavery men of the North who didn't trust Cass or Taylor. They supported federal aid for internal improvements. They argued that with

slavery, wage labor would wither away and with it, the chance for the American worker to own property.

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

"Californy Gold"

In **1848**, gold was discovered in California. The influx of people associated with the **California gold rush** brought violence and disease that overwhelmed the small Californian government. Needing protection, the Californians bypassed the territorial stage of a state, drafted their own **Constitution** (excluding slavery) in **1849**, and applied to Congress for admission into the Union.

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

Sectional Balance and the Underground Railroad

Harriet Tubman: an illiterate runaway slave who helped rescue hundreds of slaves through the **Underground Railroad**, a network of anti-slavery homes that passed slaves from the slave states to Canada.

By **1850**, southerners started to demand stricter **fugitive-slave laws**. (The old fugitive-slave law passed by Congress in 1793 was very weak.)

Twilight of the Senatorial Giants

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

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

John Calhoun, the "**Great Nullifier**," proposed to return runaway slaves, give the South its rights as a minority, and restore the political balance. His ultimate plan was for America to have two presidents, one from the South and one from the North, each yielding one veto.

Daniel Webster called for people to make **concessions** and support Clay's proposals, for the sake of maintaining the Union (**Seventh of March Speech**). He was against slavery, but he viewed the collapse of the Union as worse.

Deadlock and Danger on Capital Hill

William H. Seward: senator of New York; opposed slavery and because of this, he opposed Clay's proposals; argued that God's moral law was higher than the Constitution.

President Zachary Taylor opposed slavery and seemed ready to veto any compromise between the North and South that went through Congress.

Breaking the Congressional Logjam

In **1850**, President Taylor died suddenly and Vice President Millard Fillmore took the presidency. President Fillmore signed a series of compromises contained within the **Compromise of 1850**. In regards to slavery, California was admitted as a free state, but the territories of New Mexico and Utah were open to popular sovereignty. Additionally, slave trade was outlawed in the District of Columbia, but a stricter fugitive-slave law was enacted. During this time period, a **second Era of Good Feelings** came about. Talk of secession subsided and the Northerners and Southerners were determined that the compromises would end the issue of slavery.

Balancing the Compromise Scales

Because the Compromise of 1850 allowed California and the New Mexico/Utah territories to be free, the **Senate** became unbalanced in favor of the North.

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

Some historians argue that the Compromise of 1850 strengthened the Northerner's desire to keep the Union together.

Defeat and Doom for the Whigs

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

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

The votes for the Whig party were split between **Northern Whigs**, who hated the party's platform (support of Fugitive Slave Law) but accepted the candidate, and **Southern Whigs**, who supported the platform but not the candidate (they doubted his support of the Fugitive Slave Law).

Franklin Pierce won the **election of 1852**. The election of 1852 marked the end of the Whig party. It died on the issue of the Fugitive Slave Law.

Expansionist Stirrings South of the Border

The victory of the Mexican War stimulated the spirit of Manifest Destiny.

Americans started to take an interest in Central America. A canal route between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans that ran through Central America would be vitally important to America.

The Americans and New Granada agreed to a treaty in 1848 that guaranteed America's right to use the isthmus in return for America's pledge to allow any other country to also use the isthmus. The **Clayton-Bulwer Treaty** of 1850 said that neither America nor Britain would fortify or secure exclusive control over any isthmian waterway.

Because the Compromise of 1850 prohibited slavery in the land gained in the Mexican War, southern Americans sought new territory to expand slavery. These people were known as "slavocrats." One slavocrat, William Walker, installed himself as the President of **Nicaragua** in July **1856**. He legalized slavery, but was overthrown by surrounding Central American countries and killed in **1860**.

Southerners wanted to annex **Cuba** and turn it into a set of slave states. This would restore the balance in the Senate.

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

Spanish officials in Cuba seized an American ship, the ***Black Warrior***, in **1854**. This accelerated President Pierce's interest in taking Cuba from Spain, either by force or by purchasing it.

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

The Allure of Asia

Opium War: fought between Britain and China over the rights of British traders to trade opium in China; Britain won in 1842, gaining control of Hong Kong.

Treaty of Wanghia: the first diplomatic agreement between America and China; signed in 1844; expanded trade between the two countries.

Treaty of Kanagawa: opened up a small amount of trade between America and Japan; signed in 1854; it was Japan's first real interaction with the Western world in over 200 years.

Pacific Railroad Promoters and the Gadsden Purchase

After California and Oregon were acquired, the **transcontinental railroad** was proposed. The open question was: Where to put the railroad's terminus? In the North or the South?

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

Southerners argued that the railroad should run through Texas and the New Mexico territory because Texas was already a state and the New Mexico territory was a formally organized territory (it had federal troops to provide protection from Indians). The proposed Northern railroad route ran through the Nebraska territory, which was not protected by troops. The Northerners proposed plans for organizing this territory.

Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Scheme

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

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

Congress Legislates a Civil War

The Kansas-Nebraska Act **wrecked two compromises**: the Compromise of 1820 was repealed by the act; the Compromise of 1850 was henceforth rejected by Northerners.

The blunder of the Kansas-Nebraska Act hurt the **Democratic Party**.

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

18 Drifting Apart

The Kansas Territory erupted in violence in 1855 between the proslavery and antislavery factions. In 1857, the Supreme Court's *Dred Scott* decision permitted slavery in all Western territories, invalidating the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

Stowe and Helper: Literary Incendiaries

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

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

The North-South Contest for Kansas

Most of the people who came to Kansas were just westward-moving pioneers. The **New England Emigrant Aid Company**, a group of abolitionists, paid some people to move to Kansas to make it a free state. (The Kansas and Nebraska territories had popular sovereignty in choosing slavery, according to the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Nebraska was so far north that its future as a free state was never in question.)

In **1855** when Kansas was having its legislature elections, many pro-slavery people came from Missouri to vote. They sought to elect pro-slavery officials. The slavery supporters won the elections and set up their own government at **Shawnee Mission**. The abolitionists then set up their own government in **Topeka**, giving the Kansas territory two governments.

In **1856**, the civil war in Kansas started when a group of pro-slavery riders burned down part of the abolitionist's town of Lawrence.

Kansas in Convulsion

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

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

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

James Buchanan, a Democrat, succeeded Pierce as the President of the United States in the election of 1856. He had a strong southern influence and approved of the Lecompton Constitution. Senator Stephen Douglas was strongly opposed to the document and he campaigned against it. Eventually, a **compromise** was reached that enabled the people of Kansas to vote on the Lecompton Constitution, itself. It was revoked by the abolitionists voters, but Kansas ended up remaining a territory until **1861**, when the southern states seceded from the Union.

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

"Bully" Brooks and His Bludgeon

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

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

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

"Old Buck" Versus "The Pathfinder"

Meeting in Cincinnati, the **Democrats** chose James Buchanan as their presidential candidate to run in the election of **1856** because he wasn't involved with the divisive Kansas-Nebraska Act. The Democratic platform campaigned for popular sovereignty.

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

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

The Electoral Fruits of 1856

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

It was a good thing that the Republican Party did not win the election because some southerners said that if a Republican had won, then they would secede.

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

The Dred Scott Bombshell

Dread Scott, a slave who had lived with his master for 5 years in Illinois and the Wisconsin Territory, sued for his freedom on the basis of his long residence on free soil. In ***Dred Scott vs. Stanford***, the Supreme Court first ruled that because Scott was a black slave and not a citizen, he could not sue in Federal courts. The Court also ruled that because a slave was private property, he could be taken into any territory and legally held there in slavery. The **Fifth Amendment** forbade Congress from depriving people of their property without the due process of law. The Court went further and stated that the **Missouri Compromise of 1820** was unconstitutional and that Congress had no power to ban slavery from the territories, no matter what the territorial legislatures themselves wanted.

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

The Financial Crash of 1857

The **panic of 1857** was caused by over-speculation in the West and currency inflation due to the inrush of Californian gold. The North was the hardest hit, while the South continued to flourish with its cotton.

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

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

An Illinois Rail-Splitter Emerges

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

The Great Debate: Lincoln versus Douglas

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

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

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

John Brown: Murderer or Martyr?

Abolitionist John Brown developed a plan to secretly invade the South, call upon the slaves to rise, give the slaves weapons, and establish a black free state.

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

The Disruption of the Democrats

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

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

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

A Rail-Splitter Splits the Union

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

The Republican platform **appealed to nearly every part of the nation**. For the free-soilers, the Republicans supported the non-extension of slavery. For the northern manufacturers, they supported a protective tariff. For the immigrants, they supported no abridgement of rights. For the Northwest, they supported a Pacific railroad. For the West, they supported internal improvements at federal expense. For the farmers, they supported free homesteads (plots of land) from the public domain.

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

The Electoral Upheaval of 1860

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

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

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

The Secessionist Exodus

In **December 1860**, South Carolina's legislature met in Charleston and voted unanimously to secede. 6 other states joined South

Carolina: **Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas.**

The 7 seceders met at Montgomery, Alabama in **February 1861** and created a government known as the **Confederate States of America**. The states chose Jefferson Davis, a recent member of the U.S. Senate from Mississippi, as President.

During this time of secession, Buchanan was still the "lame duck" president, because Lincoln was not sworn in until 1861. President Buchanan did not hold the seceders in the Union by force because he was surrounded by pro-southern advisors and he could find no authority in the Constitution to stop them with force. Another reason that force was not used was because at the time, the Union's army was needed to control the Indians of the West. The Northerners were not eager to use force against the Southerners because that would have ended the possibility of peaceful negotiations.

The Collapse of Compromise

The **Crittenden amendments** to the Constitution were designed to appease the South. The amendments prohibited slavery in territories north of 36° 30', but it permitted slavery in the territories south of this line. Future states (north and south of this line) would get to vote on the issue of slavery. President Lincoln rejected the amendments.

Farewell to the Union

The southern states seceded, fearing that the Republican Party would threaten their rights to own slaves.

Many southerners felt that their secession would be unopposed by the North. They assumed that the northern manufacturers and bankers, dependent upon southern cotton and markets, wouldn't dare cut off the South.

19 Girding for War: The North and South

The Menace of Secession

President Abraham Lincoln declared that secession was impractical because the North and South were not geographically divided. He also stated that with secession, new controversies would arise, including the national debt, federal territories, and the fugitive-slave issue.

South Carolina Assails Fort Sumter

When President Lincoln was elected, there were only two significant forts in the South that flew the Union's flag. **Fort Sumter**, in the Charleston harbor, needed supplies in order to support its men. Therefore, Lincoln adopted a **middle-of-the-road solution**. He told the

South that the North was sending provisions to the fort, not supplies for reinforcement. Taking the move by Lincoln as an act of aggression, the South Carolinians fired upon Fort Sumter on **April 12, 1861**.

Virginia, Arkansas, and Tennessee all seceded after the attack on Fort Sumter. The 11 seceded states were known as the "submissionists."

Lincoln now had a reason for an armed response. He called upon the Union states to supply militiamen.

Brothers' Blood and Border Blood

Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware, and West Virginia were the **Border States**. They were the only slave states that hadn't seceded from the Union. The Border States contained the Ohio River, a vital necessity for both the North and South.

Lincoln's official reason for the war was to **preserve the Union**, not to end slavery.

Supporting an end to slavery would likely have caused the pro-slavery Border States to also secede.

The **Five Civilized Tribes** (Native American) (Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles) sided with the Confederacy. These tribes were allowed to send delegates to the Confederate congress. Most of the Plains Indians sided with the Union.

The Balance of Forces

The **South** had the advantage of fighting defensively on its own land and it did not have to win in order to preserve the Confederacy; it just had to fight to a draw.

Abraham Lincoln offered Robert E. Lee to command the Northern army, but Lee turned down the job after his home state of **Virginia** seceded. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson was Lee's chief lieutenant.

There were not a lot of factories in the South, but the South was able to seize federal weapons from the Union.

The **North** held $\frac{3}{4}$ of the nation's wealth and $\frac{3}{4}$ of the nation's railroad system. It also had nearly twice as large of a population as the South, partly because more European immigrants arrived in the North.

Dethroning King Cotton

The South counted on foreign intervention to help win the war.

The common people of Britain & France supported the North, hoping to end slavery. Because of this, these countries refrained from breaking the Union naval blockades.

The British manufacturers depended on cotton from the South, but before the war, a surplus of cotton had developed in Britain, allowing it to function without purchasing cotton from the South. In **1861**, this cotton supply ran out and many British factory workers were laid

off. As Union armies penetrated the South, they sent cotton to Britain. **King Wheat** and **King Corn**, which were produced in great quantities in the North, proved to be more powerful than **King Cotton**. Therefore, Britain couldn't afford to break the Union blockade to access cotton. If it had done this, then it would have lost the wheat and corn from the North.

The Decisiveness of Diplomacy

The *Trent* affair occurred in late **1861**. A Union warship stopped a British mail steamer, the *Trent*, and removed 2 Confederate diplomats who were heading to Europe. Britain started to send troops to Canada in retaliation, but the situation was resolved when President Lincoln freed the Confederate prisoners.

British shipyards were surreptitiously producing Confederate commerce-raiders. The British ships left their ports unarmed, picked up arms elsewhere, and captured Union ships. One notable ship was the *Alabama*. The British attempted to end this practice in 1863.

Foreign Flare-Ups

In **1863**, two Confederate warships were being built by a British shipyard. These ships had large iron rams would have destroyed the Union blockade. To avoid infuriating the North and potentially starting a war, the London government bought the ships for the Royal Navy.

The British established the **Dominion of Canada** in **1867**. It was partly designed to strengthen the Canadians against the possible vengeance of the United States.

Emperor Napoleon III of France installed a French government in **Mexico**

City in **1863**. Maximilian was the French emperor of Mexico City. These actions were in direct violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Napoleon hoped that the Union would not retaliate due to its weakness from fighting the Civil War. When the Civil War ended in 1865, though, America threatened to invade Mexico. Napoleon was forced to abandon Maximilian and Mexico City.

President Davis versus President Lincoln

The one defect of the **South's constitution** was that its own states could secede. Some state troops refused to serve outside their borders.

President Jefferson Davis of the Confederacy often had disputes with his own congress. Davis's task as President proved to be beyond his powers. Lincoln and the North enjoyed a long-established government that was financially stable and fully recognized at home and abroad.

Limitations on Wartime Liberties

Because **Congress was not in session** when the war started, President Lincoln took several actions that normally had to be approved by Congress. He initiated a blockade, increased the size of the Federal army, directed the secretary of the Treasury to advance \$2 million without appropriation or security to 3 private citizens for military purposes, and suspended the writ of habeas corpus (stated that a citizen could not be held without a trial).

Volunteers and Draftees: North and South

Due to lack of volunteers, Congress passed a federal draft law in **1863**. Men who were called in the draft could pay \$300 to buy a replacement. The Confederacy also passed a draft law.

The Economic Stresses of War

The North increased tariffs and excise taxes to financially support the war. It also created the first income tax.

In early **1861**, after enough anti-tariff Southern members had seceded, Congress passed the **Morrill Tariff Act**. It was a high protective tariff that increased duties by 5%-10%. This was designed to raise additional revenue and provide more protection for the Northern manufacturers. A **protective tariff** became identified with the **Republican Party**.

The Washington Treasury issued paper money. The **greenback** currency was not backed by gold; it was backed by the Union's perceived credit. Because of this, the value of the greenback was constantly changing.

In **1863**, Congress authorized the **National Banking System**. It was designed to stimulate the sale of government bonds and to establish a standard currency. Banks who joined the National Banking System could buy government bonds and issue paper money that was backed by the bonds.

The Confederate government also issued bonds and raised taxes. It was forced to print **blue-backed** paper money that was subject to runaway inflation.

The North's Economic Boom

Newly invented, labor-saving machinery enabled the North to expand economically. **Mechanical reapers** (farm machines used to harvest grain) allowed men to leave the farms for the war, while increasing harvesting capacity.

Petroleum was discovered in Pennsylvania in **1859** and it led to a rush of people known as the "**Fifty-Niners**." The **Homestead Act** of 1862 provided free land to many people.

The Civil War opened up many jobs for women that were originally occupied by men.

The **U.S. Sanitary Commission** was organized by women to provide medical support to Union armies in the field.

A Crashed Cotton Kingdom

The North's blockade severely hampered the South's economy. Transportation in the South collapsed during the Civil War. **Cotton capitalism** had lost out to **industrial capitalism**.

20 Ending the Civil War

Bull Run Ends the "Ninety-Day War"

President Abraham Lincoln decided to attack a small Confederate force at **Bull Run**. If successful, the victory would show the superiority of Union arms and might eventually lead to the capture of **Richmond**.

On **July 21, 1861**, the Union and Confederate forces met. Unexpectedly, the Confederates won as "Stonewall" Jackson held his line of Confederate soldiers until reinforcements arrived. The loss for the Union dispelled the illusion of a quick end to the war.

"Tardy George" McClellan and the Peninsular Campaign

In **1861**, General George B. McClellan was given command of the Army of the Potomac. Starting the **Peninsula Campaign**, McClellan's army launched a waterborne attack in the spring of **1862** that moved towards **Richmond**. He came to within sight of **Richmond** and attacked "Stonewall" Jackson. General Robert E. Lee launched a counterattack against the Union forces, known as the **Seven Days' Battles**, from June 26 to July 2, 1862 and drove McClellan's forces back to the sea.

The Northern military plan had **6 components**:

- 1) Slowly suffocate the South by blockading its coasts.
- 2) Liberate the slaves and undermine the economic foundation of the South.
- 3) Cut the Confederacy in half by seizing control of the Mississippi River.
- 4) Dismember the Confederacy by sending troops through Georgia and the Carolinas.
- 5) Capture its capital at Richmond.
- 6) Try everywhere to engage the enemy and grind it into submission.

The Western Theater

Ulysses S. Grant became a colonel in the **Union volunteer army**. His first victory was when he captured **Fort Henry** and **Fort Donelson** in February 1862. He next planned to capture a line of railroads in the Mississippi Valley in Corinth. His plan was foiled when he was defeated by a Confederate force at the **Battle of Shiloh** on April 6-7, 1862.

The War at Sea

The Northern sea **blockades** were concentrated at the South's main ports.

To overcome the strong blockades, fast ships were developed to run through them. These ships made a lot of profit by exchanging cargoes of arms for **cotton**.

In **1862**, the Confederates created the *Merrimack* and renamed it the *Virginia*. It was an old U.S. wooden ship that was plated with metal armor. It threatened the Northern blockades because it could crush through the Union's wooden ships.

On **March 9, 1862**, the Union ironclad, the *Monitor*, and the Confederate *Merrimack* met and fought to a standstill.

The Pivotal Point: Antietam

After General Lee crushed McClellan's forces in Richmond, Lee moved northward. In the **Second Battle of Bull Run** (August 29-30, 1862), General Lee defeated General Pope's Union forces.

As Lee moved into Maryland, he met McClellan's forces again at the **Battle of Antietam** on September 17, 1862. McClellan managed to halt Lee's forces after his forces discovered Lee's battle plans. Although not a victory, the Union stopped the Confederate march northward.

Antietam provided Lincoln with the military backing to issue the preliminary **Emancipation Proclamation** on September 23, 1862. On January 1, 1863, Lincoln issued a final proclamation. Lincoln now made the Civil War a war to end slavery.

A Proclamation without Emancipation

The Emancipation Proclamation called for the freeing of all slaves in Confederate territory, except in locations where the Union had mostly regained control. Lincoln did not require slaves to be freed in the Border States because he feared that they would secede. The proclamation fundamentally changed the nature of the war because it effectively removed any chance of a negotiated settlement between the North and the South.

The **13th Amendment** to the Constitution was passed in 1865, 8 months after the Civil War ended. This legally ended slavery.

Editor's Note: Wikipedia has a great map that shows the [regions covered by the Proclamation](#) (right side of page).

With the Emancipation Proclamation, many people in the South said that Lincoln was just trying to stir up slave rebellion.

The North now had a much **stronger moral cause**. It had to preserve the Union and free the slaves.

Blacks Battle Bondage

After the Emancipation Proclamation and as manpower ran low, blacks were allowed to enlist in the Union army. Towards the end of the war, the Confederacy allowed blacks to enlist, but by then it was too late.

Lee's Last Lunge at Gettysburg

After Antietam, Lincoln replaced McClellan as commander of the Army of the Potomac with General A. E. Burnside. Due to Burnside's massive defeat at **Fredericksburg, Virginia** on December 13, 1862, he was replaced by Hooker. During the battle at **Chancellorsville, Virginia** on May 2-4, 1863, Hooker was badly beaten, but not before Jackson was mortally wounded. Hooker was replaced by General George G. Meade. As Lee moved his Confederate force to the north again (this time to Pennsylvania), he was met by Meade's force at **Gettysburg** on July 1-3, 1863. The failure of General **George Pickett's charge** enabled the Union to win the battle. Confederate President Jefferson Davis was planning to deliver **negotiators** to Washington D.C. after Confederates won at Gettysburg. Since the Union ended up winning the battle, Lincoln did not negotiate with the South.

At a cemetery dedication in Gettysburg, Lincoln delivered the **Gettysburg Address**.

The Confederacy Divided

General Grant was given command of the Union forces attacking **Vicksburg**. The city fell and surrendered on July 4, 1863.

Due to **back-to-back** Union military **victories** at the Battle of Gettysburg and the Battle of Vicksburg, all Confederate hopes for foreign help were lost.

Sherman Scorches Georgia

General Grant won the battle at **Chattanooga**, and the state of **Tennessee** was cleared of Confederates. Grant was made general in chief due to this win.

General William Tecumseh Sherman led the invasion of **Georgia**. He captured **Atlanta** in September of 1864 and burned it in November. He destroyed rail lines and burned buildings. **Sherman's March** continued on through Georgia, intent on destroying supplies destined for the Confederate army. By waging war on their homes, Sherman also sought to reduce the morale of the men at the front. Sherman captured **Savannah** on December 22, 1864. He moved up through **South Carolina**, capturing and burning **Columbia** on February 17, 1865.

The Politics of War

Critics in President Lincoln's own party were led by secretary of the Treasury, Salmon Chase. The **Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War**, formed in late **1861**, was dominated by radical Republicans who resented emancipation and the expansion of presidential power in wartime.

After Stephen A. Douglas, the leader of the Democratic Party in the North, died, the party split between those who supported Lincoln (**War Democrats**) and those who didn't (**Peace Democrats**).

Congressman Clement L. Vallandigham was a prominent member in a group called the **Copperheads**, which were radical Peace Democrats. Vallandigham was banished from the North to the South by Lincoln but he later returned after the war had ended.

The Election of 1864

Fearing defeat, the Republicans joined with the War Democrats to form the **Union Party** in the election of **1864**. Lincoln's running-mate was Andrew Johnson, a local War Democrat. The Democrats, including the Copperheads, nominated General McClellan as their presidential candidate.

The Northern Democrats lost the election of 1864. This was a big defeat for the South; the removal of Lincoln was the last hope for a Confederate victory.

Grant Outlasts Lee

President Lincoln chose General Grant to lead the assault on the Confederate capital of **Richmond**. Grant had 100,000 men and engaged Lee in a series of battles in the Wilderness of Virginia (**Wilderness Campaign**).

On June 3, 1864, Grant ordered the frontal assault on **Cold Harbor**. Thousands of Union soldiers were killed within a matter of minutes, but Grant's strategy of losing two Union men to one Confederate man worked. He captured Richmond and cornered Lee. On **April 9, 1865**, Lee was forced to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia (a significant portion of the Confederate army) at **Appomattox Courthouse** in Virginia, effectively ending the Civil War.

The Martyrdom of Lincoln

On **April 14, 1865**, President Lincoln was shot and killed at **Ford's Theater** by southerner, John Wilkes Booth. Andrew Johnson took over as President.

The Aftermath of the Nightmare

The Civil War claimed over 600,000 lives and cost over \$15 billion (year 2001 dollars).

Britain extended the right to vote to more of its people with the **Reform Bill of 1867**.

American democracy had proven itself and the disfranchised British people used this to justify their own democracy.

21 The Ordeal of Reconstruction

The Problems of Peace

All rebel (Confederate) leaders were pardoned by President Johnson in 1868. After the war, Southern people continued to believe that their view of secession was correct.

Freedmen Define Freedom

Emancipation took effect unevenly in different parts of the conquered Confederacy. Some slaves resisted the liberating Union armies due to their loyalty to their masters.

The church became the focus of black community life in the years following emancipation. Blacks formed their own churches pastured by their own ministers, and they had an opportunity for education. Blacks could now learn to read and write.

The Freedmen's Bureau

Because many freedmen (people who were freed from slavery) were unskilled, without property or money, and had little knowledge of how to survive as free people, Congress created the **Freedmen's Bureau** on March 3, **1865**. It provided clothing, medical care, food, and education to both freedmen and white refugees. Union general Oliver O. Howard led the bureau. The bureau's greatest success was teaching blacks to read. Because it was despised by the President and by Southerners, the Freedmen's Bureau expired in **1872**.

Johnson: The Tailor President

When Andrew Johnson was in Congress, he refused to secede with his own state of Tennessee.

Johnson was listed as the Vice President on Lincoln's 1864 election ticket to gain support from the War Democrats and other pro-Southern elements. Johnson was a strong supporter of state's rights and of the Constitution. He was a Southerner who did not understand the North and a Democrat who had not been accepted by the Republicans.

Presidential Reconstruction

In **1863**, Lincoln released his "**10 percent**" **Reconstruction plan** which dictated that a state could be reintegrated into the Union when 10% of its voters in the presidential election of 1860 had taken an oath of allegiance to the United States and pledged to abide by emancipation. Then, a formal state government would be constructed within the state, and the state would be re-admitted into the Union.

Due to Republican fears over the restoration of planter aristocracy and the possible re-enslavement of blacks, Congress passed the **Wade-Davis Bill** in **1864**. It required that 50% of a state's voters take the oath of allegiance and it demanded stronger safeguards for emancipation. President Lincoln refused to sign the bill.

The disagreement between the President and Congress revealed differences in Republicans and **two factions** arose within the party: a **majority** that agreed with Lincoln and believed that the seceded states should be restored to the Union as quickly as possible, and a radical **minority** that felt the South should suffer greatly before its re-admittance - this minority wanted the South's social structure to be uprooted, the planters to be punished, and the newly-emancipated blacks to be protected by federal power.

President Johnson issued his own **Reconstruction plan** on May 29, **1865**. It called for special state conventions which were required to: repeal the decrees of secession, repudiate all Confederate debts, and ratify the slave-freeing **13th Amendment**. States that agreed to these concessions would be re-admitted.

The Baleful Black Codes

The **Black Codes** was a series of laws designed to regulate the affairs of the emancipated slaves. **Mississippi** passed the first such law in November **1865**.

The Black Codes aimed to ensure a stable and subservient labor force.

Blacks were forced to continue to work the plantations after their emancipation due to the system of "**sharecropping**." Plantation owners would rent out pieces of their land to blacks and make the cost of rent higher than the return the land produced. The renters of the land were bound by contract to continue to work the land until debts were repaid to the plantation owner. Unable to repay the debts, blacks began to "jump" their contracts.

The codes imposed harsh penalties on blacks who "jumped" their labor contracts, some of which usually forced the blacks to work for the same employer for one year. The codes also sought to restore the pre-emancipation system of race relations. The codes forbade a black to serve on a jury or to vote. The Black Codes mocked the idea of freedom and imposed terrible hardships on the blacks who were struggling against mistreatment and poverty to make their way as free people.

The Republicans were strongly opposed to the Black Codes.

Congressional Reconstruction

In December **1865**, Southern states represented themselves in Congress with former Confederate generals and colonels. This infuriated the Republicans who were apprehensive about embracing their Confederate enemies in Congress.

The Republicans had enjoyed their supreme rule in Congress during the Civil War, but now there would be an opposing party. This time, the South would have much more control in Congress due to the fact that slaves were now counted as a whole person, not just 3/5. (This gave the South a larger population.) Republicans feared that the South would take control of Congress.

President Johnson announced on **December 6, 1865** that the Southern states had met his conditions and that the Union was now restored. This statement angered the Republicans.

Johnson Clashes with Congress

In **February 1866**, the president vetoed a bill extending the controversial Freedmen's Bureau (later re-passed). In response to this, Congress (controlled by the Republicans) passed the **Civil Rights Bill** in March **1866**, which gave blacks the privilege of American citizenship and struck at the Black Codes. Congress overruled the President's veto for this bill.

Fearing that the Southerners might someday repeal the Civil Rights Law, Congress passed the **14th Amendment** in **1866**. The amendment had the following components: 1) Gave civil rights, including citizenship, to the freedmen; 2) Reduced proportionately the representation of a state in Congress and in the Electoral College if it denied blacks the right to vote; 3) Disqualified from federal and state offices former Confederates who, as federal officeholders, had once sworn to support the Constitution of the United States; 4) Guaranteed the federal debt, while the Union assumed all Confederate debts.

With the ability to overrule a presidential veto, Congress began to develop into the dominant role in controlling the government.

All Republicans agreed that no state should be welcomed back into the Union without ratifying the 14th Amendment.

Swinging 'Round the Circle with Johnson

In anticipation of the congressional elections of 1866, President Johnson went on a tour of giving speeches denouncing the radical Republicans in Congress.

Over 2/3 of the ballots cast in the **congressional elections of 1866** went to the Republicans.

Republicans Principles and Programs

Charles Sumner led the Republican radicals in the Senate for black freedom and racial equality. Thaddeus Stevens led the radicals in the House of Representatives.

The moderate Republicans, the majority in Congress, preferred policies that restrained the states from cutting citizens' rights, rather than policies that directly involved the federal government in individual lives.

Reconstruction by the Sword

On **March 2, 1867**, Congress passed the **Reconstruction Act**. It divided the South into **5 military districts**, each commanded by a Union general and policed by Union soldiers. It also required that states wishing to be re-admitted into the Union had to ratify the 14th Amendment, and that states' constitutions allowed former adult male slaves to vote. The

moderate Republican goal was to create voters in Southern states that would vote those states back into the Union and thus free the federal government from direct responsibility for the protection of black rights.

The **15th Amendment** was passed by Congress in **1869**. It granted black men the right to vote.

Military Reconstruction of the South took control of certain functions of the president and it set up a military rule of the South.

In **1877**, the last federal troops were removed from the South and Democracy returned to the South (in theory).

No Women Voters

Feminists were angered that the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments gave rights to black males, but not to women.

The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in the South

After gaining the right to vote from the 15th Amendment, blacks began to organize politically. They were strong participators in the **Union League**, originally a pro-Union organization. Freedmen turned the Union League into a network of political clubs that educated members and campaigned for Republican candidates. The League also built black churches and schools, represented black grievances before local employers and governments, and recruited militias to protect black communities from white retaliation.

From 1868-1876, blacks began to hold major offices in government.

"**Scalawags**" were Southerners who were accused of plundering the treasuries of the Southern states through their political influence in the radical governments.

"**Carpetbaggers**" were sleazy Northerners who had come to the South to seek power and profit.

The Ku Klux Klan

The "**Invisible Empire of the South**", otherwise known as the **Ku Klux Klan**, was founded in Tennessee in **1866**. It was formed by disgruntled white Southerners who were angered by the success of black legislators. The group worked through intimidation.

Congress passed the **Force Acts of 1870 and 1871** in response to murders that the Klan had committed. The Acts enabled Federal troops to stop the atrocities of the Ku Klux Klan. The Acts came too late, though, as the Klan had already intimidated many people.

Johnson Walks the Impeachment Plank

Congress passed the **Tenure of Office Act** in **1867**. It required the president to secure the consent of the Senate before he could remove his cabinet members once they had been

approved by the Senate. Its purpose was to keep the secretary of war, Edwin M. Stanton (a spy for the Republican party), in the president's cabinet. When Johnson dismissed Stanton in **1868**, the House of Representatives voted to **impeach** Johnson for "high crimes and misdemeanors."

A Not-Guilty Verdict for Johnson

The House of Representatives prosecuted the president, while the Senate served as the court to try Johnson on the impeachment charges.

President Johnson argued that the Tenure of Office Act was unconstitutional and that he had fired Stanton to challenge the Act before the Supreme Court.

On **May 16, 1868**, the Senate voted the president "not guilty" by a margin of one vote. The radical Republicans failed to gain the necessary 2/3 majority vote in the Senate to remove the president.

Some Senators voted "not guilty" because they feared creating a bad precedent of abusing the checks and balances system. These Senators also did not like the economic policies of Johnson's presidential replacement, Ben Wade.

The Purchase of Alaska

In **1867**, Secretary of State William Seward signed a treaty with Russia that gave **Alaska** to the United States for \$7.2 million.

Russia sold Alaska to the U.S. because it felt that it was over-expanded in North America. Russia also wanted to strengthen the United States as a barrier against its enemy, Britain.

Although the American people were focused on Reconstruction and anti-expansion, they supported the purchase of Alaska because they did not want to offend the Russians, who had helped them during the Civil War. All Americans did not support this purchase, though, and some referred to it as **Seward's Folly**.

The Legacy of Reconstruction

Many white Southerners felt that Reconstruction was more painful than the war itself.

During Reconstruction, the Republican Party wanted to protect the freed slaves and to promote the fortunes of the Republican Party. These principles removed the party from the South for nearly 100 years.

Despite good intentions by the Republicans, Reconstruction did not really change the way that the South treated or viewed blacks.

Thaddeus Stevens had a radical program of drastic economic reforms and extensive protection of political rights. This program was never enacted.

22 Dawn of Industry

The Iron Colt Becomes an Iron Horse

The country's railroad network significantly expanded in the late 1800s. Because of the high costs and risks associated with building railroads, Congress subsidized the cost of many railroad construction projects. Congress also gave a lot of unused public land to the railroad companies.

Spanning the Continent with Rails

In 1862, Congress selected the **Union Pacific Railroad** company to build a **transcontinental railroad** starting in Omaha, Nebraska.

The **Central Pacific Railroad** company was responsible to laying track on the California-side of the transcontinental railroad. The 4 chief financial backers of the Central Pacific Railroad (the **Big Four**) included Leland Stanford and Collis P. Huntington.

The Union Pacific Railroad and the Central Pacific Railroad companies both received financial aid from the government.

The transcontinental railroad was completed in **1869**, allowing for increased trade with Asia and opening up the West for expansion.

Binding the Continent with Railroad Ties

There were 5 transcontinental railroads built: The **Northern Pacific Railroad**, running from Lake Superior to Puget Sound, was completed in 1883; the **Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe**, running from Topeka to California, was completed in 1884; the **Southern Pacific**, stretching from New Orleans to San Francisco, was completed in 1884; and the **Great Northern**, running from Duluth to Seattle, was completed in **1893** by James J. Hill.

Railroad Consolidation and Mechanization

Cornelius Vanderbilt made lot of money improving the Eastern railroads.

2 advancements helped the development of the railroads: the steel rail and a standard gauge of track width.

Revolution by Railways

The railroad stimulated the industrialization of the country in the post-Civil War years. It created an enormous domestic market for American raw materials and manufactured goods. Railroad companies also stimulated immigration.

Until the 1880s, every town in America had its own local time. To keep schedules and avoid wrecks, the major rail lines proposed, on **November 18, 1883**, dividing America into **4 times zones** - most towns accepted the new time method.

Wrongdoing in Railroading

Some people selling bonds for railroad companies inflated claims about the company's assets and profits, enabling them to sell stocks and bonds in excess of the railroad's actual value ("stock watering").

Many railroad titans felt they were above the law, and they abused the public by bribing judges and legislatures.

Railroad kings were manipulators of a huge natural monopoly and exercised too much direct control over the lives of people.

Railroad companies colluded with each other to protect their profits. "Pools" were agreements to divide the business in a given area and share the profits. Small farmers often paid the highest railroad transportation rates, while big customers paid low rates.

Government Bridles the Iron Horse

During the depression of the 1870s, farmers protested against railroaders who ran the farmers into bankruptcy.

Many Midwestern legislatures tried to regulate the railroad monopoly, but in **1886**, the Supreme Court ruled in *Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific Railroad Company vs. Illinois* that individual states could not regulate interstate commerce.

In **1887**, Congress passed the **Interstate Commerce Act**. It prohibited rebates and pools, required the railroads to publish their rates openly, forbade unfair discrimination against shippers, and outlawed charging more for a short trip than for a long trip over the same line. It also created the **Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC)** to administer and enforce the new legislation. The new laws provided a forum where competing businesses could resolve their conflicts in peaceful ways (instead of engaging in price wars).

Miracles of Mechanization

The telephone was created in **1876** by Alexander Graham Bell. This invention revolutionized the way Americans communicated. Thomas Alva Edison invented numerous devices; the most well-known is the electric light bulb in **1879**.

The Trust Titan Emerges

Tycoons like Andrew Carnegie (steel king), John D. Rockefeller (oil baron), and J. Pierpont Morgan (bankers' banker), circumvented their competition. Carnegie used the tactic of "vertical integration" to combine all phases of manufacturing into one organization. He and his business controlled every aspect of production, from mining to marketing. His goal was to improve efficiency.

"Horizontal integration" meant allying with competitors to monopolize a given market. This tactic of creating trusts was used by Rockefeller.

Morgan used the tactic of **interlocking directorates** when he put his people on the boards of directors of rival companies

The Supremacy of Steel

Steel was "king" during the industrialization era; nearly every aspect of society used it.

By the late 1800s, the United States was producing 1/3 of the world's steel supply. The **Bessemer process** simplified the steel production process and reduced the price of steel. The process involved blowing cold air on red-hot iron to ignite the carbon and eliminate impurities.

Carnegie and Other Sultans of Steel

Andrew Carnegie was not a monopolist and disliked monopolistic trusts. By 1900, he was producing ¼ of the nation's Bessemer steel.

J. P. Morgan financed the reorganization of railroads, insurance companies, and banks.

In 1900, Carnegie wanted to sell his holdings of his steel companies. He threatened to ruin Morgan's steel pipe production business if Morgan did not buy him out. Morgan bought out Carnegie for **\$400 million**.

Morgan created the **United States Steel Corporation** in **1901**. It was America's first billion-dollar corporation.

Carnegie dedicated the rest of his life to donating his money to charities.

Rockefeller Grows an American Beauty Rose

Kerosene was the first major product of the oil industry. The invention of the electric light bulb made kerosene obsolete.

By 1900, the gasoline-burning internal combustion engine became the primary means of automobile propulsion. The birth of the automobile gave a great lift to the oil industry.

John D. Rockefeller created the **Standard Oil Company of Ohio** in **1870**, attempting to eliminate the middlemen and knock out his competitors. By 1877, he controlled 95% of all the oil refineries in the nation. Rockefeller expanded his company by eliminating his competitors.

Other trusts came about in America. These included the sugar trust, the tobacco trust, the leather trust, and the harvester trust.

The Gospel of Wealth

The wealthy used "survival of the fittest" to explain why they were financially successful and why poor people were poor.

Plutocracy: when a government is controlled by the wealthy. The Constitution gave Congress sole jurisdiction over interstate commerce. This enabled monopolists to use their lawyers to

thwart controls by state legislatures. Large trusts also sought safety behind the 14th Amendment, arguing that corporations were actually legal "people."

Government Tackles the Evil Trust

Congress passed the **Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890**, which forbade business activities that the government deemed as anti-competitive. It also required the government to investigate trusts. The law was ineffective because it contained legal loopholes and it made all large trusts suffer, not just the bad ones.

The South in the Age of Industry

As late as 1900, the South still produced fewer goods than it had before the Civil War. Southern agriculture received a boost in the 1880s when machine-made cigarettes replaced hand-made cigarettes. This increased tobacco consumption.

James Buchanan Duke created the **American Tobacco Company** in **1890**.

Many obstacles slowed southern industrialization. Northern-dominated railroad companies charged lower rates on manufactured goods moving southward from the North, but higher rates when raw materials were shipped from the South to the North.

The "**Pittsburgh plus**" pricing system was economic discrimination against the South in the steel industry. Deposits of coal and iron ore were discovered in Birmingham, Alabama. This should have helped Southern steel manufacturers, but Northern steel companies put pressure on the railroads to increase their shipping rates. This removed Birmingham's economic advantage.

The South excelled in manufacturing **cotton textiles**. Cotton mills were eventually created in the South, but they paid workers extremely low wages.

The Impact of the New Industrial Revolution on America

Economic developments after the Civil War increased the standard of living in the United States. The agriculture industry was replaced by manufacturing.

Women were most affected by the new industrial age. Women found jobs as inventions arose; the typewriter and the telephone switchboard gave women new economic and social opportunities.

The nation of farmers and independent producers was becoming a nation of wage earners. By the beginning of the 1900s, the vast majority of the nation's population earned wages.

In Unions There Is Strength

New machines displaced employees, but more jobs were created than destroyed in the long run.

Low wages conditions caused some factory workers to go on strike. Corporations sometimes forced their workers to sign "ironclad oaths" or "yellow-dog contracts," stating that the workers would not join a labor union.

Some companies owned the "company town," increasing the prices of basic living expenses so that the company could make more money (grocery stores, banks, etc).

Strikes became commonplace and the middle-class public started to get annoyed by them.

Labor Limps Along

The Civil War gave a boost to labor unions.

The **National Labor Union**, organized in **1866**, lasted 6 years and attracted 600,000 members. The purpose of the union was to organize workers across different trades and challenge companies for better working conditions. Black workers formed their own **Colored National Labor Union**. The Colored National Labor Union could not work with the National Labor Union because the latter supported the Republican Party and it was supported by racist white unionists.

After the National Labor Union died out in 1877, the **Knights of Labor** took over. It was led by Terence V. Powderly, and it was started as a secret society. It sought to include all workers, while campaigning for economic and social reform, including and codes for safety and health.

Unhorsing the Knights of Labor

On **May 4, 1886** in **Haymarket Square**, Chicago police tried to break up a protest against alleged police brutalities. Someone threw a dynamite bomb, killing several people. 8 anarchists were convicted; 5 were sentenced to death while the other 3 were sent to jail. In **1892**, the governor of Illinois, John P. Altgeld, pardoned the 3 who were in prison. The Knights of Labor was blamed for the incident at Haymarket Square and as a result, it lost public support. Another problem with the Knights of Labor was that it included both skilled and unskilled workers. When unskilled workers went on strike, they were just replaced. The **American Federation of Labor's** inclusion of only skilled worked drained the Knights of Labor of its members.

The AF of L to the Fore

The **American Federation of Labor** was founded in **1886** and was led by Samuel Gompers. The federation was an association of self-governing unions, each of which kept its own independence. It sought for better wages, hours, and working conditions. The federation's main weapons were the walkout and the boycott. It supported the idea of **closed shop**, in which an employer could only hire union employees and all of the employees had to be in a union.

The greatest weakness of organized labor was that it was accepted by a small minority of working people.

Labor Day was created by Congress in **1894**.

23 The Gilded Age

The "Bloody Shirt" Elects Grant

The Republicans nominated General Grant for the presidency in **1868**. The Republican Party supported the continued Reconstruction of the South, while Grant stood on the platform of "just having peace."

The Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour.

Grant won the election of 1868.

The Era of Good Stealings

Jim Fisk and Jay Gould devised a plot to drastically raise the price of the gold market in **1869**. The two men bought and hoarded a large amount of gold, driving up the price. On "Black Friday," September 24, 1869, the Treasury was forced to sell gold from its reserves to lower the high price of gold.

"Boss" Tweed employed bribery, graft, and fraudulent elections to milk New York of as much as \$200 million. (**Tweed Ring**) Tweed was eventually put into prison.

A Carnival of Corruption

Members of the federal government also participated in illicit/unethical activity.

The **Credit Mobilier** scandal erupted in **1872** when Union Pacific Railroad insiders formed the Credit Mobilier construction company and then hired themselves at inflated prices to build the railroad line, earnings a lot of money. The company paid off members of Congress and the Vice President.

The Liberal Republican Revolt of 1872

The **Liberal Republican Party** was formed in 1872 in response to the political corruption in Washington and their dissatisfaction with military Reconstruction.

The Liberal Republican Party met in Cincinnati and chose Horace Greeley as their presidential candidate for the election of 1872. The Democratic Party also chose Greeley as their candidate. The Republican Party continued to put its support behind President Grant. Grant won the election of **1872**.

The Liberal Republicans caused the Republican Congress to pass a general amnesty act in **1872**, removing political restrictions from most of the former Confederate leaders. Congress also reduced high Civil War tariffs and gave mild civil-service reform to the Grant administration.

Depression, Deflation, and Inflation

Over-speculation was the primary cause of the **panic of 1873**. Banks gave too many imprudent loans to support over-expansion. When profits failed to materialize, people were unable to pay back their loans.

Mistrust of the government led to high inflation of the **greenback**. Supported by advocates of hard money (coin money), the **Resumption Act of 1875** required the government to continue to withdraw greenbacks from circulation and to redeem all paper currency in gold at face value beginning in **1879**.

The coinage of silver dollars was stopped by Congress in **1873** when silver miners began to stop selling their silver to the federal mints; miners could receive more money for the silver, elsewhere.

The policy of the Treasury accumulating gold stock to replace the greenbacks was known as "**contraction**." This policy increased the value of the greenback due to its reduction in circulation.

The Republican hard-money policy had negative political ramifications and it helped to elect a Democratic House of Representatives in 1874.

Pallid Politics in the Gilded Age

Throughout most of the **Gilded Age** (a name given to the 30 years after the Civil War by Mark Twain) the political parties in government had balanced out. Few significant economic issues separated the Democrats and Republicans.

Republican voters tended to stress strict codes of personal morality and believed that the government should play a role in regulating the economic and moral affairs of society. They were located in the Midwest and Northeast. Many Republican votes came from the **Grand Army of the Republic**, a politically active fraternal organization consisting of many Union veterans of the Civil War.

Democrats were immigrant Lutherans and Roman Catholics who believed in toleration of differences in an imperfect world. They also opposed the government imposing a single moral standard on the entire society. Democrats were found in the South and in the northern industrial cities.

Both parties supported **patronage**, the principle of giving jobs to your political supporters.

The Hayes-Tilden Standoff, 1876

Congress passed a resolution that limited the presidency to two terms, after Grant started to consider running for a 3rd term.

The Republicans chose Rutherford B. Hayes as their presidential candidate for the **election of 1876**. The Democrats chose Samuel J. Tilden.

In the election, Tilden won the popular vote, but he was 1 vote shy from winning in the Electoral College (184 of 185). 20 electoral votes were in dispute in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. Each state had sent two ballot counts to Congress. One ballot count said that the Republicans had won, while the other count said that the Democrats had won. Controversy arose over which candidate should be awarded the disputed electoral votes.

The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction

The **Compromise of 1877** was passed by Congress in **1877**. Contained within the compromise was the Electoral Count Act, which set up an electoral commission consisting of 15 men from the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the Supreme Court. The commission ultimately gave the election to Hayes (Republican).

The Democrats were outraged at the outcome of the election, but agreed that Hayes could take office if he withdrew the federal troops from Louisiana and South Carolina.

With the Hayes-Tilden deal, the Republican Party abandoned its commitment to racial equality.

The **Civil Rights Act of 1875** was supposed to guarantee equal accommodations in public places and prohibited racial discrimination in jury selection. The Supreme Court ultimately ruled most of the Act unconstitutional, stating that the 14th Amendment only prohibited *government* violations of civil rights, not the denial of civil rights by *individuals*.

The Birth of Jim Crow in the Post-Reconstruction South

After Reconstruction ended in the South, white Democrats ("Redeemers") resumed political power in the South and began to enact laws discriminating against blacks.

Blacks were forced into **sharecropping** and tenant farming. Through the "crop-lien" system, small farmers who rented land from the plantation owners were kept in perpetual debt and forced to continue to work for the owners.

Eventually, state-level legal codes of segregation known as **Jim Crow laws** were enacted. The Southern states also enacted literacy requirements, voter-registration laws, and poll taxes to ensure that Southern blacks could not vote.

The Supreme Court ruled in favor of the South's segregation in the case of *Plessy vs. Ferguson* (1896), declaring that "separate but equal" facilities for blacks were legal under the 14th Amendment.

Class Conflicts and Ethnic Clashes

Following the panic of 1873 and the resulting depression, railroad workers went on strike after their wages were cut by President Hayes. The strike failed, exposing the weakness of the labor movement.

Many immigrants came to United States hoping to find riches, but many were dismayed when they found none. They either returned home or remained in America and faced extraordinary hardships.

People on the West Coast attributed declining wages and economic troubles to the hated Chinese workers. To appease them, Congress passed the **Chinese Exclusion Act** in **1882**, stopping Chinese immigration into America.

Garfield and Arthur

Because President Hayes was despised by his own Republican Party, James A. Garfield was chosen as the presidential candidate for the **election of 1880**. Garfield was apart of the **Half-Breed** faction of the Republican Party. His Vice President, Chester A. Arthur, was apart of the **Stalwart** faction. The Democrats chose Civil War hero, Winfield Scott.

Garfield won the election of 1880, but he was assassinated by Charles J. Guiteau at a Washington railroad station. The expected implication of the assassination was that after Arthur took over as president, he would replace the Half-Breed Republican employees with Stalwarts.

The death of Garfield shocked politicians into **reforming** the spoils system. The reform was supported by President Arthur, shocking his critics. The **Pendleton Act of 1883** made mandatory campaign contributions from federal employees illegal, and it established the **Civil Service Commission** to make appointments to federal jobs on the basis of merit. The civil-service reform forced politicians to gain support and funds from big-business leaders.

The Blaine-Cleveland Mudslingers of 1884

The Republicans chose James G. Blaine as their presidential candidate for the **election of 1884**. The Democrats chose Grover Cleveland. Grover Cleveland was a very honest and admirable man. Cleveland won the election of 1884.

"Old Grover" Takes Over

Cleveland was the first Democrat to take over the presidency in 28 years. He replaced thousands of federal employees with Democrats.

Cleveland believed that while the people support the government, the government should not support the people.

Cleveland Battles for a Lower Tariff

The Treasury was running a budget surplus due to revenue generated by the high tariff that was enacted during the Civil War. To reduce this surplus, President Cleveland convinced Congress to **lower the tariff in 1887**. The Republicans opposed lowering the tariff because they thought it would hurt businesses.

The Republicans chose Benjamin Harrison as their presidential candidate for the **1888 election**. The Republicans made tariffs an issue for the election of 1888. Cleveland won the popular vote, but **Harrison still won the election**.

The Billion-Dollar Congress

The Republican Speaker of the House, Thomas B. Reed, took control of the House and used intimidation to get Congress to pass several debated bills. The **Billion-Dollar Congress**, named for its lavish spendings, gave pensions to Civil War veterans, increased government purchases on silver, and passed the **McKinley Tariff Act of 1890**. This significantly raised tariffs and financially hurt farmers. Farmers were forced to buy expensive products from American manufacturers while selling their own products into the highly competitive world markets. The McKinley Tariff Act caused the Republican Party to lose public support and lose their majority in Congress in the congressional elections of 1890.

24 Moving to the City

From 1870-1900, the population of American cities had tripled.

The Urban Frontier

By 1890, New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia all had populations greater than 1 million. Louis Sullivan contributed to the development of the skyscraper. City limits were extended outward by electric trolleys. People were attracted to cities by amenities like electricity, indoor plumbing, and telephones.

Trash became a large problem in cities due to throwaway bottles, boxes, bags, and cans.

The New Immigration

The **New Immigrants** of the 1880s came from southern and eastern Europe. They came from countries with little history of democratic government, where people had grown accustomed to harsh living conditions.

Some Americans feared that the New Immigrants would not **assimilate** into American culture. They began asking if the nation had become a melting pot or a dumping ground. Immigrants left their native countries because Europe had no room for them. The population of Europe nearly doubled in the century after 1800 due to abundant supplies of fish and grain from America and the widespread cultivation of Europe.

"**America fever**" caught on in Europe as the United States was portrayed as a land of great opportunities.

Persecutions of minorities in Europe sent many immigrants to the United States. Many immigrants never intended to stay in America forever; a large number returned home with

money. Those immigrants who stayed in the United States struggled to preserve their traditional culture.

Machines and Reformers Compete and Clash

The federal government did little to help immigrants assimilate into American society. Community "bosses" took care of immigrants by providing jobs, housing, schools, parks, and hospitals. In return, immigrants voted for these bosses.

Americans gradually became aware of the troubles of cities. Walter Rauschenbusch and Washington Gladden were Protestant clergymen who sought to apply the lessons of Christianity to the slums and factories.

Settlement House: a house located in a poor, urban area where middle-class people would live and take care of the local community by providing services like healthcare and daycare; became centers of women's activism and of social reform.

Jane Addams established **Hull House**, the most prominent American settlement house. Addams condemned war and poverty. Hull House offered instruction in English, counselling to help immigrants deal with American big-city life, childcare services for working mothers, and cultural activities for neighborhood residents.

Lillian Wald established **Henry Street Settlement** in New York in **1893**.

Florence Kelley was a lifelong supporter for the welfare of women, children, blacks, and consumers.

Addams, Wald, and Kelley paved the way for future women to enter the profession of social work.

Narrowing the Welcome Mat

Antiforeignism, or **nativism**, arose in the 1880s. Nativists worried that the original Anglo-Saxon population would soon be outnumbered and outvoted, and they blamed immigrants for societal problems.

An antiforeigner organization was the **American Protective Association (APA)**. It was created in **1887** and it urged to vote against Roman Catholic candidates for office.

In **1882**, Congress passed the first restrictive law against immigrants. It forced criminals and convicts back to their home countries. In **1885**, Congress banned the importation of foreign workers under contract; they were usually contracted for substandard wages. Literacy tests began in 1917.

In **1882**, Congress barred the Chinese from immigrating to the United States (**Chinese Exclusion Act**).

Churches Confront the Urban Challenge

Protestant churches suffered from people moving to the cities.

Dwight Lyman Moody, a Protestant evangelist, preached about kindness and forgiveness. He contributed to adapting the old-time religion to the facts of city life. The **Moody Bible Institute** was founded in Chicago in **1889** to carry out his work.

Roman Catholic and **Jewish** faiths were gaining enormous strength from the New Immigration.

By **1890**, there were over 150 religious denominations in the United States.

The **Church of Christ, Scientist** was founded in **1879** by Mary Baker Eddy, who preached that the true practice of Christianity heals sickness.

Darwin Disrupts the Churches

Published in **1859** by Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of the Species* stated that humans had slowly evolved from lower forms of life.

The theory of evolution cast serious doubt on the idea of religion. **Conservatives** stood by their beliefs of God and religion, while **Modernists** flatly refused to accept the Bible in its entirety.

The Lust for Learning

During this time period, public education and the idea of tax-supported elementary schools and high schools gained support.

Teacher-training schools, called "**normal schools**", experienced great expansion after the Civil War.

The New Immigration in the 1880s and 1890s brought new strength to the private Catholic parochial schools, which were becoming a major part of the nation's educational structure.

Public schools excluded millions of adults.

Crowded cities generally provided better educational facilities than the old one-room rural schoolhouses.

Booker T. Washington and Education for Black People

The South lagged far behind other regions in public education. African-Americans suffered the most.

The leading champion of black education was ex-slave Booker T. Washington. He taught in **1881** at the black normal and industrial school at Tuskegee, Alabama. His self-help approach to solving the nation's racial problems was labeled "**accommodationist**" because it did not directly challenge white supremacy. Washington avoided the issue of *social* equality, focusing on *economic* equality.

George Washington Carver taught and researched at **Tuskegee Institute** in **1896**. He became an internationally famous agricultural chemist.

Black leaders, including Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, attacked Booker T. Washington because Washington condemned the black race to manual labor and perpetual inferiority. Du Bois helped to form the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in **1910**.

The Hallowed Halls of Ivy

Female and black colleges arose after the Civil War.

The **Morrill Act of 1862** granted public lands to the states to support education. **Land-grant colleges** formed out of these grants.

The **Hatch Act of 1887** extended the Morrill Act and provided federal funds for the establishment of agricultural experiment stations in connection with the land-grant colleges. Millionaires and tycoons donated generously to the educational system.

Johns Hopkins University, founded in **1876**, had the nation's first high-grade graduate school. Public health increased due to scientific advancements.

William James made a large impact in psychology through his numerous writings.

The Appeal of the Press

The **Library of Congress** was founded in **1897**. Printing of newspapers was increased by the invention of the **Linotype** in **1885**.

Joseph Pulitzer was a leader in the techniques of news sensationalism (**yellow journalism**).

William Randolph Hearst built up a chain of newspapers, starting with the *San Francisco Examiner* in 1887.

The **Associated Press**, founded in the 1840s, was gaining strength and wealth.

Apostles of Reform

One of the most influential magazines was the New York ***Nation***. Started in **1865** by Edwin L. Godkin, it pushed for civil-service reform, honesty in government, and a moderate tariff.

Henry George wrote the book ***Progress and Poverty*** in **1879**, which addressed the association of progress with poverty. He proposed a 100 percent tax on profits due to increased land value.

Edward Bellamy wrote the socialistic novel, ***Looking Backward***. The book portrayed a time in the future when big businesses are nationalized to serve the public interest.

The New Morality

Victoria Woodhull wrote the periodical, ***Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*** in 1872, which proclaimed her belief in free love.

Anthony Comstock helped pass the **Comstock Law**, which censored "immoral" material from the public.

Families and Women in the City

Starting in the late 1800s, divorce rates increased and family sizes decreased.

Women became more independent in the urban environment. Feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman called upon women to abandon their dependent status and contribute to the larger life of the community through productive involvement in the economy.

In **1890**, the **National American Woman Suffrage Association** was founded.

The re-born suffrage movement and other women's organization excluded black women.

Ida B. Wells helped launch the black women's club movement, which led to the establishment of the **National Association of Colored Women** in **1896**.

Prohibiting Alcohol and Promoting Reform

Liquor consumption increased during the late 1800s.

The **National Prohibition Party** was created in **1869**. The **Woman's Christian Temperance Union** was created in **1874**.

The **Anti-Saloon League** convinced states to band the sale of alcohol. In **1919**, the **18th Amendment** banned alcohol in America.

Postwar Fiction, Lowbrow and High

As literacy increased, book reading also increased. "**Dime novels**" were short books about the wilds of the West.

General Lewis Wallace wrote the novel, *Ben Hur: A Tale of the Christ*, to combat Darwinism. Horatio Alger was a Puritan New Englander who wrote more than 100 volumes of juvenile fiction involving New York newsboys in 1866.

Authors started to write about realism, naturalism, and regionalism.

Realism: authors wrote about coarse human comedy and drama of the world

William Dean Howells was the editor-in-chief of the Boston-based *Atlantic Monthly*. He wrote about ordinary people and contemporary social themes. He was the "father of American realism."

Mark Twain was a journalist, humorist, satirist, and opponent of social injustice.

Henry James wrote about the confrontation of innocent Americans with Europeans. His novels frequently included women as the central characters. He was a master of psychological realism.

Naturalism: writers applied detached scientific objectivity to the study of human beings

Stephen Crane wrote about the unpleasant side of life in urban, industrial America.

Jack London was a famous nature writer who wrote about a possible fascistic revolution in *The Iron Heel*.

Theodore Dreiser wrote with disregard for prevailing moral standards.

Regionalism: authors wrote about local ways of life before industrialization

In **1899**, feminist Kate Chopin wrote about adultery, suicide, and women's ambitions in *The Awakening*.

Bret Harte was an author of the West, writing of California gold-rush stories.

Black writer Paul Laurence Dunbar embraced the use of black dialect and folklore to discuss southern black culture.

Artistic Triumphs

Music and portrait painting increased in popularity.

The **phonograph**, invented by Thomas Edison, enabled the reproduction of music by mechanical means.

The Business of Amusement

The circus emerged in the 1880s. Baseball was also emerging as the national pastime, and a professional league was created in the 1870s.

Basketball was invented in **1891** by James Naismith.

25 Conquest of the West

Indians and White on the Plains

In the West, soldiers spread cholera, typhoid, and smallpox to the Indians. They also reduced the bison population through hunting.

The federal government tried to appease the Plains Indians by signing treaties with the "chiefs" of various "tribes" at **Fort Laramie** in **1851** and at **Fort Atkinson** in **1853**. The treaties marked the beginning of the **reservation system** in the West.

Indians usually recognized no authority outside their own family; "tribes" and "chiefs" were fictitious names made up by white people.

In the 1860s, the government grouped the Plains Indians into smaller plots of land: mainly the "**Great Sioux reservation**" in Dakota Territory, and the **Indian Territory** in Oklahoma.

The Indians Fight Back

At **Sand Creek, Colorado** in **1864**, Colonel J. M. Chivington's militia killed 400 innocent Indians.

In **1866**, a Sioux war party attacked and killed Captain William J. Fetterman's command of 81 soldiers and civilians in Wyoming's Bighorn Mountains.

The **Battle of the Little Bighorn** was a rare Indian victory in the plains wars.

In **1876**, Colonel George Armstrong Custer's Seventh Cavalry was slaughtered as they tried to suppress the Indians after the Sioux attacked settlers who were searching for gold in the "Great Sioux reservation."

The **Nez Percé Indians** were sent to a dusty reservation in Kansas in **1877**.

The "taming" of Indians was accelerated by the railroad, white men's diseases, and alcohol.

Bellowing Herds of Bison

After the Civil War, over 15 million bison grazed the western plains. By 1885, fewer than 1000 were left after the bison had been slaughtered for their tongues, hides, or for amusement.

"Kill the Indian and Save the Man"

President Grant announced the "**Peace Policy**" in **1869** to peacefully encourage Indians to assimilate to white culture. The policy tried (but failed) to limit military engagements on Indian reservations. In 1871, Congress declared that the U.S. would no longer recognize the sovereignty of Indian tribes or negotiate treaties.

By the 1880s, the nation began to realize the horrors it had committed on the Indians. Helen Hunt Jackson published ***A Century of Dishonor*** in **1881** which told of the record of government ruthlessness in dealing with the Indians. She also wrote ***Ramona*** in **1884** which told of injustice to the California Indians.

The **Dawes Severalty Act of 1887** dissolved many tribes as legal entities, wiped out tribal ownership of land, and set up individual Indian family heads with 160 free acres. If the Indians behaved like "good white settlers" then they would get full title to their holdings as well as citizenship. The Dawes Act attempted to assimilate the Indians with the white men. The Dawes Act remained the basis of the government's official Indian policy until the **Indian Reorganization Act of 1934**.

In **1879**, the government funded the **Carlisle Indian School** in Pennsylvania.

Mining: From Dishpan to Ore Breaker

In **1858**, minerals including gold and silver were discovered in the Rockies, prompting many "fifty-niners" or "**Pike's Peak**ers" to rush to the mountains in search of the precious metals.

"Fifty niners" also rushed to Nevada in **1859** after gold and silver were discovered at Comstock Lode.

Women gained the right to vote in Wyoming (1869), Utah (1870), Colorado (1893), and Idaho (1896), long before the women of the East.

Frontier mining played a vital role in bringing people and wealth to the West. The discoveries of gold and silver also allowed the Treasury to resume specie payments in **1879** (payments for silver).

Beef Bonanzas and the Long Drive

Transcontinental railroads enabled live cattle to be transported to the East from Texas. The cattle were butchered once they arrived in an Eastern city.

Cattle-raisers organized the **Wyoming Stock-Growers' Association** to make the cattle-raising business profitable.

The Farmer's Frontier

The **Homestead Act of 1862** allowed a settler to acquire as much as 160 acres of land by living on it for 5 years, improving it, and paying a nominal fee of about \$30. Instead of public land being sold primarily for revenue, it was now being given away to encourage settlement of empty spaces and to provide a stimulus to the family farm.

Much of the land given away by the Act had terrible soil and the weather included no precipitation. Many homesteaders were forced to give their homesteads back to the government.

The **100th meridian** was an imaginary line running from the Dakotas to Texas that separated the wet East from the dry West. "**Dry farming**" was the practice of using shallow cultivation to grow crops in the dry western environment. Over time, it depleted and dried the soil.

Tough strains of wheat flourished in the West, and new federally-financed irrigation projects caused the Great American Desert to bloom.

The Far West Comes of Age

The West experienced tremendous population growth from the 1870s to the 1890s. Colorado was admitted as a state in 1876 after the Pike's Peak gold rush.

From 1889-1890, the Republican Congress, seeking more Republican electoral and congressional votes, admitted six new states: ND, SD, MT, WA, ID, and WY. Utah was admitted in 1896, after the Mormon Church formally banned polygamy in 1890.

Many "**sooners**" illegally entered the Indian lands in the district of Oklahoma. On April 22, 1889, the district was opened to the public and thousands came. In 1907, Oklahoma was admitted as the "**Sooner State**."

The Fading Frontier

In **1890**, an American **frontier line** was no longer evident; all the unsettled areas were now broken up by isolated bodies of settlement.

Western migration may have caused urban employers to maintain high wages to discourage workers from leaving to go farm the West.

Western cities grew as failed farmers, failed miners, and unhappy easterners sought fortune in cities. By **1880**, the area from the Rockies to the Pacific Coast was the most urbanized region in America, measured by the percentage of people living in cities.

26 Rumbles of Discontent

The Farm Becomes a Factory

High prices caused farmers to concentrate on growing single "cash" crops, such as wheat or corn, and use their profits to buy produce at the general store and manufactured goods in town.

The speed of harvesting wheat dramatically increased in the 1870s by the invention of the **twine binder** and the in the 1880s by the **combine**. This **mechanization of farms** brought about the idea that farms were "outdoor grain factories."

Deflation Dooms the Debtor

Because Western farmers grew single crops (wheat or corn), they existed in a **one-crop economy**, like the southern cotton farmers. Farmers' livelihoods depended on the price of their single product, which was unpredictable and out of their control.

In the late 1800s, **deflation** caused the relative prices of crops to decrease. Thousands of farms foreclosed, and some farmers became **tenant farmers**, renting instead of owning the land that they farmed.

Unhappy Farmers

In the late 1800s, poor soil and **droughts** forced many people to abandon their farms and towns.

Farmers sold their produce in an **unprotected world market**, but they had to buy their manufactured equipment in a **tariff-protected home market**.

Farmers were at the mercy of various corporations: harvester trust, the barbed-wire trust, the fertilizer trust, railroad trust.

Farmers made up half the population in 1890, but they failed to organize until they were forced to do so by the federal government 50 years later.

The Farmers Take Their Stand

The **National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry** (also known as the Grange), organized in **1867**, was led by Oliver H. Kelley. Kelley's first objective was to enhance the lives of isolated farmers through social, educational, and fraternal activities.

The Grangers also sought to improve the farmers' collective troubles. They established cooperatively owned stores for consumers and cooperatively owned grain elevators and warehouses for producers.

Some Grangers entered politics and made **Grange Laws**, which tried to force public control of private business for the general welfare. The Grangers' influence faded after courts reversed their laws.

The **Greenback Labor Party** sought to improve the working conditions of laborers.

Prelude to Populism

Farmers formed the **Farmers' Alliance** in the late 1870s. They cooperated in buying and selling to gain control over the railroads and manufacturers. The Alliance had limited power because it excluded blacks and landless tenant farmers. The **Colored Farmers' National Alliance** was formed in the 1880s to attract black farmers.

The **People's Party**, or "**Populists**," formed from frustrated farmers in the agricultural belts of the West and South. They called for a graduated income tax; government ownership of the railroads, telegraph, and telephone; the direct election of U.S. senators; a one-term limit on the presidency; the adoption of the initiative and referendum to allow citizens to shape legislation more directly; a shorter workday; and immigration restriction.

The Populists nominated General James B. Weaver for the presidential election of **1892**.

In **1892**, a series of violent worker strikes swept through the nation, including the **Homestead Strike**.

The Populist Party did not win the election. One of the main reasons was that the party supported the black community. The party's leaders, such as Thomas Edward Watson, felt that a black man had a right to vote. The party counted on many black votes from the South, but many Southern blacks were denied the right to vote through literacy tests and poll taxes. The Southern whites voted against the party because of the party's equal rights views toward blacks.

Cleveland and Depression

Grover Cleveland again ran for president in the election of **1892** and won, beating out the Populist Party and the Republican Party.

The **panic of 1893** was the United States' worst economic depression in the 1800s. It was caused by overbuilding, over-speculation, and the agricultural depression.

The **Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890** was created by Benjamin Harrison, and it forced the government to purchase a certain amount of silver every month. Indebted farmers pushed for the Act because they wanted to cause inflation so they could pay off their debts with cheaper money. People started to exchange their silver for gold from the government. An increase in silver production led to a significant drain on the Treasury's gold reserves, which decreased confidence in the country's finances. Because of this, Cleveland was forced to **repeal** the Sherman Silver Act Purchase in 1893.

J.P. Morgan lent the government \$65 million in gold to increase the Treasury's reserve.

Cleveland Breeds a Backlash

The **Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894** lowered tariffs and added a 2% tax on incomes over \$4,000. The Supreme Court ruled income taxes **unconstitutional** in **1895**.

The embarrassment over the Wilson-Gorman Tariff caused the Democrats to lose seats in Congress, giving the Republicans an majority in Congress.

Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Harrison, and Cleveland were known as the "forgettable presidents."

Coxey's Army and the Pullman Strike

The panic of 1893 strengthened the Populists' stance that farmers and laborers were being oppressed by the economic and political systems.

"General" Jacob S. Coxey led a protest in Washington in 1894, demanding that the government start a public works program.

Eugene V. Debs helped to organize the **American Railway Union**. The **Pullman strike of 1894** was started when the Pullman Palace Car Company cut wages. Federal troops broke up the strike.

Golden McKinley and Silver Bryan

The Republican candidate for the election of 1896 was William McKinley. Marcus Alonzo Hanna was McKinley's influential campaign manager. Hanna felt that the prime function of government was to aid business, and he believed in the "trickle down effect" (laborers do well if the business does well). The Republican platform supported the gold standard.

The Democratic candidate was William Jennings Bryan. He supported inflation through the unlimited coinage of silver, which caused many Populists to support him as a candidate.

Class Conflict: Plowholders versus Bondholders

William McKinley won the election of 1896. Many of McKinley's votes came from the East. Many of Bryan's votes came from the debt-stricken South and the trans-Mississippi West. Businesses and wage earners in the East voted for their jobs and had no reason to favor inflation, which was the heart of Bryan's campaign.

The election of 1896 was the last election in which a candidate tried to win the election with help from the farmers. There were more people in cities, so future elections focused on trying to win the urban vote.

The political era from 1896 to 1932 was called the "**fourth party system**." This time period was characterized by lower voter turnout, weakening of party organizations, and the fading of issues like civil-service reform. New political issues became concern for industrial regulation and the welfare of labor.

Republican Stand-pattism Enthroned

The **Dingley Tariff Bill**, passed in 1897, instituted high tariff rates to generate revenue to cover the annual Treasury deficits.

The Republicans claimed credit for bringing prosperity to the nation following the panic of 1893.

The **Gold Standard Act of 1900** allowed for paper currency to be redeemed for gold.

27 Empire and Expansion

America Turns Outward

Americans felt that expansion to overseas markets might provide relief to the labor violence and agrarian unrest that existed in the country. Americans also felt emboldened with a new sense of power generated by the growth in population, wealth, and productive capacity.

Reverend Josiah Strong's *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis* inspired missionaries to travel to foreign nations.

Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan's book of 1890, The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783, argued that control of the sea was the key to world dominance; it stimulated the naval race among the great powers.

Secretary of state, James G. Blaine published his "**Big Sister**" policy tried to get the Latin American countries to open their markets to Americans.

Americans were prepared to go to war over many small disputes with other countries. This demonstrated the country's new aggressive mood.

The area between British Guiana and Venezuela had been in dispute for over 50 years. Conflict between the British and Venezuela arose when gold was discovered in the contested area.

Secretary of state, Richard Olney, warned that if Britain went to war with **Venezuela**, then Britain would be violating the **Monroe Doctrine**. When Britain disregarded this warning, President Cleveland threatened war.

Britain was pre-occupied with other potential wars in Europe, so they chose to avoid a new war and reconcile with the United States. The **Great Rapprochement**, or reconciliation, between the United States and Britain became a cornerstone of both nations' foreign policies.

Spurning the Hawaiian Pear

The first New England missionaries reached **Hawaii** in **1820**.

Beginning in the 1840s, the State Department warned other countries to stay out of Hawaii. In **1887**, a treaty with the native government guaranteed **naval-base rights** at Pearl Harbor.

Sugar imports from Hawaii became less profitable with the **McKinley Tariff of 1890**. American planters decided that the best way to overcome the tariff would be to annex Hawaii. Queen Liliuokalani insisted that native Hawaiian should control the islands.

In 1893, Americans successfully overthrew the Queen. Most Hawaiians did not want to be annexed, though, so President Grover Cleveland decided to delay annexation of Hawaii.

Cubans Rise in Revolt

Cubans revolted against Spanish rule in 1895. Cuban **insurrectos** burned sugar canefields believing that if they destroyed enough of Cuba, then Spain might abandon Cuba or the United States might move in and help the Cubans with their independence. The Spanish put Cubans in **reconstruction camps** so they could not support the insurrectos.

America had a large investment and conducted substantial trade with Cuba.

Congress passed a resolution in **1896** that recognized the revolting Cubans. President Cleveland opposed imperialism and he said that he would not go to war with Spain over Cuba.

The Mystery of the *Maine* Explosion

William R. Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer used "yellow journalism" to inflate the anger of the American people over the crisis in Cuba.

On **February 15, 1898**, the American ship, *Maine* blew up in the Havana port. The Spanish claimed it was an accident (spontaneous combustion in one of the coal bunkers), while the Americans claimed that Spain had sunk it. The American people did not believe the Spanish, and war with Spain became imminent.

Spain had agreed to the Americans' 2 basic demands: an end to the reconstruction camps and an armistice with Cuban rebels.

Although President McKinley did not want a war with Spain, the American people did. He conceded to the American people, and he sent his war message to Congress on **April 11, 1898**. Congress declared war and adopted the **Teller Amendment**. It said that *when* the United States had beaten the Spanish, the Cubans would be free.

Dewey's May Day Victory at Manila

The Spanish military significantly outnumbered the American army, but American naval ships were in much better condition than the Spanish.

Commodore George Dewey's 6-ship fleet attacked Spain's **Philippines** on **May 1, 1898**.

Dewey attacked and destroyed the 10-ship Spanish fleet at **Manila**.

German ships threatened to attack Dewey's ships in the Manila harbor (claiming that they wanted to protect German nationals). After several incidents, the potential for conflict with Germany blew over.

On **August 13, 1898**, American troops captured Manila.

With the victory in the Philippines, it was thought that Hawaii was needed as a supply base for Dewey. Therefore, Congress passed a joint resolution of Congress to **annex Hawaii** on **July 7, 1898**.

The Confused Invasion of Cuba

Shortly after the outbreak of the war, the Spanish government sent a fleet of warships to Cuba, led by Admiral Cervera. He was blockaded in the Santiago harbor in Cuba by American ships.

The "**Rough Riders**," was a regiment of American volunteers that was commanded by Colonel Leonard Wood and organized by Theodore Roosevelt.

The advancing American army caused the Spanish fleet to retreat from the Santiago harbor. Admiral Cervera's fleet was entirely destroyed on **July 3, 1898**. General Nelson A. Miles met little resistance when he took over **Puerto Rico**.

On **August 12, 1898**, Spain signed an armistice.

Many more Americans had been killed by malaria, typhoid, and yellow fever than by bullets.

America's Course (Curse?) of Empire

Spanish and Americans met in Paris in 1898 to discuss terms to the end of the war. The Americans secured **Guam** and **Puerto Rico**, but the **Philippines** presented President McKinley with a problem: he didn't want to give the island back to the Spanish, but he also didn't want to leave the island in a state of disarray.

McKinley finally decided to Christianize all of the Filipinos. Because Manila had been captured the day after the war, America agreed to pay Spain **\$20 million** for the Philippines. The treaty was controversial, especially in regards to the acquisition of the Philippines. The **Anti-Imperialistic League** fought McKinley's expansionist moves, in regards to the Philippines.

The **expansionists** argued that Americans have a duty to help the underprivileged people of the world.

The Senate approved the treaty on **February 6, 1899**.

Perplexities in Puerto Rico and Cuba

The **Foraker Act of 1900** gave the Puerto Ricans a limited degree of popular government. In 1917, they were granted U.S. citizenship.

The Supreme Court's rulings in the ***Insular Cases*** declared that the Constitution did not extend to the Philippines and Puerto Rico.

The United States, honoring the Teller Amendment of 1898, withdrew from Cuba in **1902**. The U.S. forced the Cubans to write their own constitution of 1901 (the **Platt Amendment**). The Cubans hated this document because it was written to benefit the Americans. The constitution decreed that the United States might intervene with troops in Cuba to restore order and to provide mutual protection. The Cubans also promised to sell or lease needed coaling or naval stations to the U.S.

New Horizons in Two Hemispheres

Although the Spanish-American War only lasted 113 days, it increased American prestige around the world.

One of the greatest results of the war was the **bonding between the North and the South**.

"Little Brown Brothers" in the Philippines

The Filipinos thought that the treaty would give them their independence, like the Cubans. This was not the case and on February 4, 1899, the Filipinos started a rebellion against the occupying American forces. The insurrection was led by Emilio Aguinaldo.

In **1901**, American soldiers captured the rebellion's leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, effectively ending the rebellion.

President McKinley appointed the **Philippine Commission** in **1899** to set up a Filipino government. William H. Taft led the body. He genuinely liked the Filipinos, while the American soldiers did not.

President McKinley's plan of "**benevolent assimilation**" of the Filipinos was very slow and it involved improving roads, sanitation, and public health. The plan developed economic ties and set up a school system with English as the 2nd language. This system was hated by the Filipinos who preferred liberty over assimilation.

Hinging the Open Door in China

Following China's defeat by Japan in 1894-1895, several European powers move into **China**. Secretary of State John Hay released the **Open Door** note, which urged foreign powers to respect Chinese commercial rights. **Russia** was the only major power to not accept it.

In **1900**, Chinese group known as the "**Boxers**" killed hundreds of foreigners in the **Boxer Rebellion**. A multinational rescue force came in and stopped the rebellion.

After the failed rebellion, Secretary Hay declared in **1900** that the Open Door would include the respect of Chinese territory, in addition to its commercial integrity.

Imperialism or Bryanism in 1900?

President McKinley was the Republican presidential nominee for the **election of 1900** because he had led the country through a war, acquired rich real estate, established the gold standard, and brought prosperity to the nation. McKinley and the Republican Party supported the gold standard and imperialism.

Theodore Roosevelt was nominated as the vice president.

William Jennings Bryan was the Democratic presidential candidate for the election. Bryan and the Democratic Party supported the silver standard and anti-imperialism. They proclaimed that the paramount election issue was Republican overseas imperialism. The

Republican party proclaimed that Bryan would destroy the nation's prosperity once he took office with his free-silver policy and other "dangerous" ideas.

McKinley and the Republican Party won the election of 1900.

TR: Brandisher of the Big Stick

In September **1901**, President McKinley was **assassinated**. Theodore Roosevelt took over the presidency.

Roosevelt felt that the president should lead, boldly. He had no real respect for the checks and balances system among the 3 branches of government. He felt that he may take any action in the general interest of the public that is not specifically forbidden by the Constitution.

Building the Panama Canal

The Americans wanted to build a canal through the Central American isthmus to allow ships to quickly cross from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. Because of friendly relations with Britain, Britain signed the **Hay-Pauncefote Treaty** in **1901**, which allowed the U.S. to build and fortify the canal.

Congress decided to build the canal through Panama. An offer to buy land for the canal had been **rejected by the Colombian senate**, who thought the U.S. monetary offer was too low.

The Panamanians feared the U.S. would choose the Nicaraguan route for the canal; Panama would miss out on a prosperity created by the canal's construction. So, on November 3, 1903, Panamanians successfully revolted against Columbian rule. The revolt was led by Bunau-Varilla.

Bunau-Varilla became the Panamanian minister to the United States and signed the **Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty** in Washington. The treaty gave the U.S. control of a 10-mile zone around the proposed Panama Canal.

The involvement in Panama marked a downward lurch in U.S. relations with Latin America. In **1904** the construction of the **Panama Canal** began, and it was completed in **1914** at a cost of \$400 million.

TR's Perversion of Monroe's Doctrine

Several Latin American countries were in debt to European countries. Roosevelt feared that this would allow for future European involvement in Latin America, so he created a policy known as "**preventive intervention**." The **Roosevelt Corollary** to the Monroe Doctrine declared that the U.S. could pay off the Latin American counties' debts to keep European nations out of Latin America.

Latin American countries hated the Monroe Doctrine because it had become the excuse for numerous U.S. interventions in Latin America. In actuality, President Roosevelt was the one to blame for the interventions.

Roosevelt on the World Stage

Japan went to war with Russia in 1904 after Russia failed to withdraw troops from Manchuria and Korea. Roosevelt brokered a peace agreement in 1905 in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The Japanese received no compensation for their losses and the southern half of Sakhalin.

Because of the treaty, friendship with Russia waned and Japan became a rival with America in Asia.

Japanese Laborers in California

Thousands of Japanese were recruited to work in California after the Japanese government lifted its emigration ban in 1884. Japanese immigrants were confronted with racist hostility by whites.

In 1906, San Francisco's school board segregated the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean students to make room for white students. The Japanese saw this action as an insult and threatened with war.

President Roosevelt stepped in and persuaded the Californians to repeal the segregation. The Japanese agreed to stop the flow of immigrants to the United States. This agreement was known as the "Gentlemen's Agreement."

In 1908, the Root-Takahira agreement was reached with Japan. The U.S. and Japan pledged themselves to respect each other's territorial possessions.

28 Roosevelt's Progressivism

The progressive movement started at the beginning of the 20th Century. It sought to use the government to improve human welfare, and they fought monopolies, corruption, inefficiency, and social injustice.

Progressive Roots

Henry Demarest Lloyd was critical of the Standard Oil Company in 1894 with his book, Wealth Against Commonwealth. Jacob A. Riis shocked middle-class Americans in 1890 with How the Other Half Lives, which described the slums of New York. Socialists and feminists were at the front of social justice.

Raking Muck with the Muckrakers

Muckrakers were reform-minded journalists who wrote articles in magazines that exposed corruption and scandal. President Roosevelt coined this term. These reporters went after trusts and politicians.

In **1902**, New York reporter, Lincoln Steffens wrote "**The Shame of the Cities**" which unmasked the corrupt alliance between big business and municipal government. Ida M. Tarbell published a devastating depiction of the Standard Oil Company. David G. Phillips published a series, "**The Treason of the Senate**" in *Cosmopolitan* that charged that 75 of the 90 senators did not represent the people, but they rather represented railroads and trusts. Some of the most effective attacks of the muckrakers were directed at social evils. The suppression of America's blacks was shown in Ray Stannard's *Following the Color Line* (1908). John Spargo wrote of the abuses of child labor in *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (1906).

Political Progressivism

Progressive reformers were mainly middle-class men and women. The progressives sought **2 goals**: 1) To use state power to control trusts; 2) To improve the common person's conditions of life and labor. Progressives wanted to regain the power that had shifted from the hands of the people into those of the "interests." Progressives supported the "**initiative**" so that voters could directly propose legislation. They also supported the "**referendum**" and the "**recall**," which allowed voters to directly vote on laws to remove corrupt elected officials, respectively. The progressive reformers convinced Congress to pass the **17th Amendment** in **1913**. It established the direct election of U.S. senators.

Progressivism in the Cities and States

States used public utility commissions to regulate railroads and trusts. Robert M. La Follette was a governor of Wisconsin who took control from the corrupt corporations and returned it to the people. Governor of California, Hiram W. Johnson helped to break the grip of the Southern Pacific Railroad on California politics in **1910**.

Progressive Women

Women formed clubs in which they discussed and proposed solutions for societal problems (club movement). Some of these included the **Women's Trade Union League** and the **National Consumers League**. Florence Kelley took control of the **National Consumers League** in **1899** and mobilized female consumers to pressure for laws safeguarding women and children in the workplace. In *Muller vs. Oregon* (1908), the Supreme Court ruled that it was constitutional to enact laws that specifically protected women factory workers.

Lochner vs. New York (1905) invalidated a New York law that limited the work day to 10 hours for bakers. The law was eventually upheld in 1917.

Following a series of factory accidents, several states passed stronger laws regulating the working conditions in factories.

The **Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)** was a large anti-alcohol women's group.

TR's Square Deal for Labor

President Roosevelt believed in the progressive reform. He enacted a "**Square Deal**" program that consisted of 3 parts: control of the corporations, consumer protection, and conservation of natural resources.

In **1902**, coal miners in Pennsylvania went on strike and demanded a 20% raise in pay and a workday decrease from 10 hours to 9 hours. When mine spokesman, George F. Baer refused to negotiate, President Roosevelt stepped in and threatened to operate the mines with federal troops. A deal was struck in which the miners received a 10% pay raise and 9 hour workday. The increasing hostilities between capital and labor forced Congress to create the **Department of Commerce** in **1903**. This department provided oversight of businesses engaged in interstate commerce.

TR Corrals the Corporations

Although the Interstate Commerce Commission was created in 1887, railroads were able to delay the commission's decisions by appealing to the federal courts.

Railroad companies historically offered incentives, in the form of rebates, to convince companies to use their rail lines. In **1903**, Congress passed the **Elkins Act**, which fined railroads that gave rebates and the shippers that accepted them.

Congress passed the **Hepburn Act of 1906**, which restricted free passes and expanded the Interstate Commerce Commission. (**Free passes**: rewards offered to companies, in the form of free shipments; given to companies to encourage future business.)

In **1902**, President Roosevelt challenged the **Northern Securities Company**, a railroad trust company that sought to achieve a monopoly of the railroads in the Northwest. The Supreme Court upheld the President and the trust was forced to be dissolved.

Caring for the Consumer

After botulism was found in American meats, foreign governments threatened to ban all American meat imports. President Roosevelt passed the **Meat Inspection Act of 1906**. The act stated that the preparation of meat shipped over state lines was subject to federal inspection.

The **Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906** was designed to prevent the adulteration and mislabelling of foods and pharmaceuticals.

Earth Control

The first step towards conservation came with the **Desert Land Act of 1887**, in which the federal government sold dry land cheaply on the condition that the purchaser would irrigate the soil within 3 years. A more successful step was the **Forest Reserve Act of 1891**. It authorized the president to set aside public forests as national parks and other reserves. The **Carey Act of 1894** distributed federal land to the states on the condition that it be irrigated and settled.

President Roosevelt, a naturalist and rancher, convinced Congress to pass the **Newlands Act of 1902**, which authorized the federal government use money from the sale of public lands in western states to develop irrigation projects.

In **1900**, Roosevelt, attempting to preserve the nation's shrinking forests, set aside 125 million acres of land in federal reserves.

Under President Roosevelt, professional foresters and engineers developed a policy of "multiple-use resource management." This policy sought to sustainably use federal lands for recreation, logging, watershed protection, and cattle grazing.

The "Roosevelt Panic" of 1907

Theodore Roosevelt was re-elected as president in **1904**. President Roosevelt made it known that he would not run for a 3rd term.

The **panic of 1907** was a short economic downturn that resulted in financial reforms.

Congress passed the **Aldrich-Vreeland Act** in 1908, which authorized national banks to issue emergency currency in the event of a currency shortage.

The Rough Rider Thunders Out

For the election of **1908**, the Republican Party chose William Howard Taft, secretary of war to Theodore Roosevelt. The Democratic Party chose William Jennings Bryan.

William Howard Taft won the election of 1908.

During Roosevelt's presidency, Roosevelt greatly enlarged the power of the presidential office, and he helped shape the progressive movement. He also opened the eyes of Americans to the fact that they shared the world with other nations.

Taft: A Round Peg in a Square Hole

President Taft was not an adept political leader, such as Roosevelt. He generally adopted an attitude of passivity towards Congress.

The Dollar Goes Abroad as a Diplomat

Taft encouraged Wall Street bankers to invest in foreign areas of strategic interest to the United States (**dollar diplomacy**). American bankers thus strengthened American defenses and foreign policies, while bringing prosperity to America.

Japan and Russia controlled the railroads in China's **Manchuria**. President Taft feared that this monopoly would eventually hurt American merchants. In **1909**, Secretary of State Philander C. Knox proposed that Americans buy the Manchurian railroads and then turn them over to China. Both Japan and Russia rejected the selling of their railroads.

Taft the Trustbuster

Taft brought 90 lawsuits against trusts during his 4 years in office, as opposed to Roosevelt's 44 suits in 7 years.

In **1911**, the Supreme Court ordered the dissolution of the **Standard Oil Company**, stating that it violated the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890.

Also in **1911**, the Supreme Court laid out its "rule of reason" doctrine. This stated that a trust was illegal only if it unreasonably restrained trade.

Taft Splits the Republican Party

President Taft signed the **Payne-Aldrich Bill** in **1909**, which placed a high tariff on many imports. This angered many Republicans because before he was elected, Taft said that he would lower the tariff.

Taft was a strong conservationist, but his conservationist record was tarnished in **1910** when he fired the chief of the Agriculture Department's Division of Forestry, Gifford Pinchot, for insubordination. (**Ballinger-Pinchot quarrel**) Pinchot was liked by conservationists.

By the spring of **1910**, the reformist wing of the Republican Party was furious with Taft, causing the **Republican Party** to split.

The Taft-Roosevelt Rupture

In **1911**, the **National Progressive Republican League** was formed with La Follette as its leading candidate for the Republican presidential nomination. La Follette was chosen because it was assumed that Roosevelt would not re-run for election.

In February of **1912**, Theodore Roosevelt decided to challenge Taft for the Republican presidential nomination. (La Follette was replaced by Roosevelt.) Roosevelt and Taft became opponents because Roosevelt felt that Taft had discarded many of Roosevelt's policies.

Taft won the Republican nomination after Roosevelt Republicans refused to vote at the 1912 Republican convention, claiming fraud. Roosevelt continued on as a 3rd-party candidate.

The "Bull Moose" Campaign of 1912

The Democrats chose Woodrow Wilson as their presidential candidate for the election of **1912**. The Democrats saw Wilson as a reformist leader who could beat the Republican party's candidate, Taft. The Democrats had a strong **progressive platform** that called for stronger antitrust laws, banking reform, and tariff reductions (**New Freedom** program). They favored small enterprise, entrepreneurship, and the free functioning of unregulated and unmonopolized markets, but they did not support social-welfare programs that Roosevelt supported.

Theodore Roosevelt ran again in the election as a 3rd party candidate for the **Progressive Republican party**. Roosevelt ran with a **New Nationalism** program, which supported stronger control of trusts, woman suffrage, and programs of social welfare.

Both candidates favored a more active government role in economic and social affairs, but they disagreed over specific strategies.

Roosevelt was shot during the campaign, he recovered after a couple of weeks.

Taft and Roosevelt split the Republican votes, giving Woodrow Wilson the presidency.

Roosevelt's Progressive Party died out because it did not have any elected officials in state and local offices.

29 Wilson's Progressivism

Woodrow Wilson became the governor of New Jersey by campaigning against trusts and promising to return the state government to the people.

Wilson: The Idealist in Politics

Wilson relied on sincerity and moral appeal to attract the public. He was smart, but he didn't have people skills. Wilson's idealism and sense of moral righteousness made him incredibly stubborn in negotiating.

Wilson Tackles the Tariff

President Wilson was determined to attack "**the triple wall of privilege**": the tariff, the banks, and the trusts.

Wilson called a special meeting of Congress in **1913** to address the tariff. He convinced Congress to pass the **Underwood Tariff Bill**, which significantly reduced the tariff. The **16th Amendment** was ratified in 1913. This enabled Congress to collect a graduated income tax.

Wilson Battles the Bankers

The most serious problem of the National Banking Act (passed during the Civil War) was the inelasticity of money. In times of financial stress, banking reserves, which were located in New York and other large cities, could not distribute money fast enough into areas of need. In **1913**, Congress passed the **Federal Reserve Act**. The new **Federal Reserve Board**, appointed by the President, oversaw a nationwide system of 12 regional Federal Reserve banks. Each reserve bank was the central bank for its region. The final authority of the Federal Reserve Board guaranteed a substantial level of public control. The board could also issue paper money, called **Federal Reserve Notes** (the U.S. Dollar). Because of this, the amount of money in circulation could be increased as needed for the requirements of business.

The President Tames the Trusts

Congress passed the **Federal Trade Commission Act of 1914**. This law created the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), which oversaw industries engaged in interstate commerce. This organization could issue cease-and-desist orders to companies engaged in unfair business tactics.

The **Clayton Antitrust Act of 1914** lengthened the Sherman Act's list of business practices that were deemed objectionable. It also sought to exempt labor and agricultural organizations from antitrust prosecution, while legalizing strikes and peaceful picketing. Union leader Samuel Gompers supported the act.

Wilson at the Peak

The **Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916** made low-interest rate loans available to farmers. The **Warehouse Act of 1916** enabled farmers to take out loans against the value of their staple crops, which were stored in government warehouses.

The **La Follette Seamen's Act of 1915** benefited sailors by requiring decent treatment and a living wage on American ships.

President Wilson assisted the workers with the **Workingmen's Compensation Act of 1916**, giving assistance to federal civil-service employees during periods of disability. Also in 1916, the President approved an act restricting **child labor** on products flowing into interstate commerce. The **Adamson Act of 1916** established an 8-hour work day for all employees on trains in interstate commerce.

Wilson nominated Louis D. Brandeis to the Supreme Court. He was a progressive reformer, and he was the first Jew to be a Supreme Court justice.

New Directions in Foreign Policy

President Wilson was an anti-imperialist and he opposed an aggressive foreign policy.

He persuaded Congress in **1914** to repeal the **Panama Canal Tolls Act of 1912**, which had exempted American coastal shipping from tolls. He also signed the **Jones Act** in **1916**, which granted the Philippines territorial status and promised independence as soon as a stable government could be established.

When political turmoil broke out in **Haiti** in **1915**, Wilson dispatched marines to protect American lives and property. In **1916**, he signed a treaty with Haiti that provided for U.S. supervision of finances and the police.

In **1917**, Wilson purchased the Virgin Islands from Denmark.

Moralistic Diplomacy in Mexico

In **1913**, a **Mexican revolution** occurred and the Mexican president was murdered and replaced by General Victoriano Huerta. He was a brutal dictator. Because of the chaos in Mexico, millions of Spanish-speaking immigrants came to America.

President Wilson initially refused to directly intervene with the war in Mexico; he wanted the Mexican citizens to overthrow their government, themselves. After a small party of American sailors was accidentally captured by the Mexicans (**Tampico Incident**), Wilson ordered the navy to seize the Mexican port of Vera Cruz.

Just as war seemed imminent with Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile intervened and pressured Huerta to step down.

Venustiano Carranza became the president of Mexico. Francisco Villa, rival to President Carranza, attempted to provoke a war between Mexico and the U.S by killing Americans. Wilson ordered General John J. Pershing to break up Villa's band of outlaws. The invading American army was withdrawn from Mexico in **1917** as the threat of war with Germany loomed.

In **1914**, **World War I** broke out when the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary was murdered by a Serb patriot. An outraged Vienna government (backed by Germany) presented a series of demands to Serbia. Serbia (backed by Russia) refused to comply. Russia mobilized its army, causing Germany to also mobilize its army.

France initially implied that it would be neutral in the Germany-Russia conflict. But, as Germany was bordered on both sides by potential enemies, it decided to first defeat France so that it could focus on fighting Russia. The **Central Powers** consisted of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. The **Allies** consisted of France, Britain, Russia, Japan, and Italy.

A Precarious Neutrality

President Wilson issued the neutrality proclamation at the outbreak of WWI.

Most Americans were anti-German from the start of the war. Americans viewed Kaiser Wilhelm II, the leader of Germany, as the embodiment of arrogant autocracy. The majority of Americans were opposed to war.

America Earns Blood Money

American industry prospered off trade with the Allies. The Central Powers protested American trade with the Allies, but America wasn't breaking any international neutrality laws. Germany was free to trade with the U.S., but Britain prevented this trade by controlling the Atlantic Ocean through which Germany had to cross to trade with the U.S.

In **1915**, several months after Germany started to use submarines in the war (**U-boats**), one of Germany's submarines sunk the British ship, *Lusitania*, killing 128 Americans. Americans demanded war but President Wilson firmly opposed war. When Germany sunk another British ship, the *Arabic*, in **1915**, Berlin agreed to not sink unarmed passenger ships *without warning*.

After Germany sunk a French passenger steamer, the *Sussex*, Germany agreed to the **Sussex pledge**, which again said that Germany would not sink unarmed ships without warning. A German caveat to this pledge was that the U.S. would have to convince the Allies to stop their trade blockade. This was not possible, so war with Germany became imminent.

Wilson Wins the Reelection in 1916

The Progressive Party and the Republican Party met in 1916 to choose their presidential candidate. Although nominated by the Progressives, Theodore Roosevelt refused to run for president because he didn't want to split the party again. The Republicans chose Supreme Court justice Charles Evans Hughes. The Republican platform condemned the Democratic tariff, assaults on the trusts, and Wilson's dealings with Mexico and Germany.

The Democrats chose Wilson and ran an anti-war campaign. Woodrow Wilson won the election of **1916**.

War by Act of Germany

German foreign secretary, Arthur Zimmermann secretly proposed a German-Mexican alliance with the **Zimmermann note**. News of the Zimmermann note leaked out to the public, infuriating Americans.

On April 2, 1917, President Wilson asked for a declaration of war from Congress after 4 more unarmed merchant ships were sunk.

3 Mains Causes of the War: Zimmermann Note, Germany declares unrestricted submarine warfare, Bolshevik Revolution.

Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned

President Wilson persuaded the American public to support war by declaring that America would be fighting "for a war to end war" and "to make the world safe for democracy."

Wilson's Fourteen Potent Points

Wilson delivered his **Fourteen Points Address** to Congress on January 8, 1918. The message declared that WWI was being fought for a moral cause and it called for post-war peace in Europe. The message gave Wilson the position of moral leadership of the Allies.

The first 5 points and their effects were:

- 1) A proposal to abolish secret treaties pleased liberals of all countries.
- 2) Freedom of the seas appealed to the Germans, as well as to Americans who distrusted British sea power.
- 3) A removal of economic barriers among nations was comforting to Germany, which feared postwar vengeance.
- 4) Reduction of armament burdens was gratifying to taxpayers.
- 5) An adjustment of colonial claims in the interests of both native people and the colonizers was reassuring to the anti-imperialists.

The largest point, #14, foreshadowed the **League of Nations** - an international organization that Wilson dreamed would provide a system of collective security.

Manipulating Minds and Stifling Dissent

The **Committee on Public Information** was created to rally public support of war. It was led by George Creel whose job was to sell America on the war and to sell the world on Wilsonian war goals.

Enforcing Loyalty and Stifling Dissent

There were over 8 million German-Americans in America, and rumors began to spread of spying and sabotage. A hysterical hatred of Germans and things related to Germany swept the nation.

The **Espionage Act of 1917** sought to prevent support of U.S. enemies during wartime.

The **Sedition Act of 1918** made it illegal to speak out against the government.

Socialist Eugene V. Debs and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) leader William D. Haywood were convicted under the Espionage Act.

At this time, any criticism of the government could be censored and punished. The Supreme Court upheld these laws in *Schenck v. United States* (1919); it argued that freedom of speech could be revoked when such speech posed a danger to the nation.

Forging a War Economy

Before the war, President Wilson created a **Civilian Council of National Defense** to study problems of economic mobilization. He had also increased the size of the army and created a shipbuilding program.

Fears of big government restricted efforts to coordinate the economy from Washington.

In **1918**, Wilson appointed Bernard Baruch to head the **War Industries Board** to create order over the economic confusion. The Board never had much control, but it set a precedent for how the Federal government would handle the economy in times of crisis.

Workers in Wartime

Workers were discouraged from striking by the War Department's decree in 1918 that threatened to draft any unemployed male.

The **National War Labor Board** tried to fix labor disputes before they hurt the war effort.

The **IWW (Industrial Workers of the World)** had some of the worst working conditions in the country. The **AF of L's (American Federation of Labor)** supported the war and because of this, membership had more than doubled by the end of the war.

Wartime inflation reduced wage gains; this led to thousands of strikes across the country.

In **1919**, the greatest strike in American history hit the **steel industry**. More than 250,000 steelworkers went on strike, seeking the right to organize and collectively bargain. The steel companies refused to negotiate, and they brought in 30,000 African-Americans to keep the mills running. The strike eventually collapsed, crippling the union movement.

Thousands of blacks moved to the North in search of war-industry employment. Deadly disputes between whites and blacks broke out.

Suffering Until Suffrage

The **National Woman's party**, led by Alice Paul, protested the war.

The larger part of the **suffrage movement**, represented by the **National American Woman Suffrage Association**, supported the war.

After men left the country to fight in the war, women took up the factory and field jobs.

Impressed by this work, President Wilson supported passage of the **19th Amendment (1920)**, which gave all American women the right to vote.

Congress passed the **Sheppard-Towner Maternity Act of 1921**, which gave federally financed instruction in maternal and infant health care.

Making Plowboys into Doughboys

Although President Wilson initially opposed a draft, he eventually realized that a draft was necessary to raise the large army that was to be sent to France. Congress passed the **draft act** in **1917**. It required the registration of all males between the ages of 18 and 45, and it did not allow for a man to purchase his exemption from the draft.

For the first time, women were allowed in the armed forces.

America Helps Hammer the "Hun"

In **1917**, the **Bolshevik Revolution** (communist) in Russia overthrew the tsar regime. The new regime decided to pull Russia out of the "capitalist" war. This freed up thousands of Germans on the Russian front to fight against France on the western front.

A year after Congress declared war, the first American troops reached France. They were used as replacements in the Allied armies and were generally deployed in quiet sectors with the British and French. Shipping shortages plagued the Allies.

American troops were also sent to Belgium, Italy, and Russia. Americans were sent to Russia because they hoped to prevent Russian munitions from falling into the hands of the Germans.

In the spring of **1918**, the Allies, for the first time, united under a supreme commander, French marshal Foch to fight the German expansion on the western front.

To stop Germany from taking Paris and France, 30,000 American troops were sent to the French frontlines. This was the first significant engagement of American troops in a European war.

By **July 1918**, the German expansion was halted and Foch made a counteroffensive in the **Second Battle of the Marne**. This engagement marked the beginning of a German withdrawal.

The Americans, dissatisfied with simply bolstering the French and British, demanded a separate army; General John J. Pershing was assigned a front of 85 miles. Pershing's army undertook the **Meuse-Argonne offensive** from September 26 to November 11, 1918. One objective was to cut the German railroad lines feeding the western front. Inadequate training left 10% of the Americans involved in the battle injured or killed.

As German supplies ran low and as their allies began to desert them, defeat was in sight for Germany.

Germany surrendered on **November 11, 1918**, after the kaiser of Germany had fled to Holland.

The United States' main contributions to the victory had been foodstuffs, munitions, credits, oil, and manpower. The Americans only fought **2 major battles**, at **St. Mihiel** and the **Meuse-Argonne**. The prospect of endless U.S. troops, rather than America's actual military performance eventually demoralized the Germans.

Wilson Steps Down from Olympus

President Wilson had gained a lot support throughout the world because he was viewed as the moral leader of the war.

Leading up to the congressional elections of **November 1918**, Wilson asked the public to re-elect a Democratic majority in Congress. He thought it would help him negotiate and pass a

treaty. This angered much of the public, and voters instead elected a Republican majority to Congress.

Wilson's decision to go to Paris in person to negotiate the treaty infuriated the Republicans because no president had ever traveled to Europe.

An Idealist Amid the Imperialists

The **Paris Conference** was dominated by the **Big Four: United States, Italy, Britain, France**. President Wilson (led the conference) was joined by Premier Vittorio Orlando of Italy, Prime Minister David Lloyd George of Britain, and Premier Georges Clemenceau of France.

Wilson's ultimate goal was the creation of the **League of Nations**. It would contain an assembly with seats for all nations and a council to be controlled by the great powers. Wilson envisioned it as a way to prevent future world wars. In February 1919, the the Big Four **agreed** to include the creation of the League in the treaty.

France gave up claims for the **Saar Valley** (part of Germany); it would remain separate from France for 15 years, and then a popular vote would determine its fate. In exchange for this, Britain and America agreed to the **Security Treaty**: American and Britain would defend France if Germany invaded again.

Italy demanded **Fiume**, a valuable seaport inhabited by both Italians and Yugoslavs. Wilson wanted it to go to the Yugoslavs, but this was opposed by the Italians. Ownership of the area was ultimately not established.

Japan demanded China's **Shandong Peninsula** and the German islands of the Pacific, which it had seized during the war. After Japan threatened to walk out, Wilson accepted a compromise in which Japan kept Germany's economic holdings in Shandong and pledged to return the peninsula to China at a later date.

The **Treaty of Versailles** was forced upon the Germans in June **1919**. The Germans were outraged with the treaty, which spoke more of vengeance than reconciliation. Most of the Fourteen Points were left out of the treaty.

Wilson compromised away some of his Fourteen Points in attempts to salvage the League of Nations.

Wilson's Battle for Ratification

Isolationist congressmen (irreconcilables) did not support the treaty or the League of Nations. Most Americans supported the treaty, though.

In an attempt to speed up the passing of the treaty in the Senate, President Wilson gave speeches across the country to appeal to the public. The speeches had mixed reactions. During the tour, Wilson suffered a stroke.

Senator Lodge, a critic to the president, came up with **fourteen reservations** to the Treaty of Versailles. He wanted to give the U.S. more control over how it interacted with other nations and how these nations interacted with it.

Wilson strongly opposed the reservations, and after the Senate rejected the Treaty twice, the Treaty of Versailles was defeated.

The "Solemn Referendum" of 1920

Wilson decided to settle the treaty issue in the presidential campaign of 1920; if voters elected a Democrat, then this would mean they supported the treaty.

The Republicans chose Senator Warren G. Harding as their presidential nominee for the election of 1920. Their vice-presidential nominee was Governor Calvin Coolidge. The Republican platform appealed to both pro-League and anti-League sentiment in the party. Democrats nominated pro-League Governor James. M. Cox for president and chose Franklin D. Roosevelt for vice-president.

Warren Harding won the **election of 1920**. Harding's victory led to the death of the League of Nations.

The Betrayal of Great Expectations

After WWI, America became isolationist and it did not embrace a role as a global leader. In the interests of its own security, the United States should have used its enormous strength to shape the world. It instead allowed the world to drift towards another war.

30 Life in the Roaring Twenties

Putting America on Rubber Tires

The automobile industry started an industrial revolution in the 1920s. It created a new industrial system based on assembly-line methods and mass-production techniques. **Detroit** became the motorcar capital of the world.

Henry Ford, father of the moving assembly line (**Fordism**), created the **Model T**. By 1930, more than 20 million Model Ts were being driven in the country.

The Advent of the Gasoline Age

The **automobile industry** exploded, creating millions of jobs and related support industries. America's standard of living rose. The petroleum business grew, while the railroad industry was hard hit by the competition of automobiles.

The automobile freed up women from their dependence on men, and it allowed suburbs to spread out. It was responsible for millions of deaths, but it brought more convenience, pleasure, and excitement into peoples' lives.

Gasoline engines led to the invention of the airplane. On **December 17, 1903**, Orville and Wilbur Wright made their first **flight**, lasting 12 seconds and 120 feet.

After the success of airplanes in WWI, private companies began to operate passenger airlines with airmail contracts.

Charles A. Lindberg became the first man to fly solo across the Atlantic Ocean in **1927**. His flight energized the new aviation industry.

Radio Waves and Filmland Fantasies

Guglielmo Marconi invented wireless telegraphy (the **telegraph**) in the 1890s.

In the 1920s, the first voice-carrying radio broadcasts were transmitted. Automobiles drew Americans away from the home, but the radio brought them back. The radio made significant educational and cultural contributions.

Motion picture, which had been partially developed by Thomas A. Edison, began in the 1890s. The true birth of motion picture came in 1903 with the release of the first story sequence: *The Great Train Robbery*. Hollywood became the movie capital of the world.

Motion picture was used extensively in WWI as anti-German propaganda.

The spread of motion picture led to increased assimilation of immigrants.

The Mass-Consumption Economy

World War I and Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon's tax policies brought prosperity to the mid-1920s.

Bruce Barton founded advertising.

Sports became a big business in the consumer economy of the 1920s.

Buying on credit became popular in the postwar economy. Prosperity thus led to increased personal debt, and the economy became increasingly vulnerable to disruptions of the credit structure.

The Dynamic Decade

By the 1920s, most Americans had moved from rural areas to urban (city) areas.

Margaret Sanger led a birth-control movement. Alice Paul formed the **National Women's Party** in **1923** to campaign for an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution.

The **Fundamentalists** lost ground to the **Modernists** who believed that God was a "good guy" and the universe was a friendly place.

Sex appeal in America grew in the 1920s. **Flappers**: young women who expressed their disdain for traditional women behavior by wearing short skirts, drinking, driving cars, and smoking.

Dr. Sigmund Freud argued that sexual repression was responsible for a variety of emotional problems.

Jazz thrived in the 1920s.

Racial pride grew in the northern black communities. Marcus Garvey founded the **United Negro Improvement Association** (UNIA) to promote the resettlement of blacks in Africa. In the United States, the UNIA also sponsored stores and other businesses to keep blacks' dollars in black pockets.

Seeing Red

Fear of **Russia** swept across the country in the years following the communist Bolshevik revolution of 1917.

The "red scare" of 1919-1920 resulted in a nationwide crusade against people whose Americanism was suspect. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer rounded up people who were in question.

In 1919-1920, some states passed **criminal syndicalism** laws that made it illegal to advocate the use of violence to obtain social change. Traditional American ideals of free speech were restricted.

Striking employees were viewed as Un-American. Some business supported the **American plan**, in which employees were not required to join unions.

Antiredism and **antiforeignism** were reflected in the criminal case of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. The two men were convicted in **1921** of the murder of a Massachusetts paymaster and his guard. Although given a trial, the jury and judge were prejudiced against the men because they were Italians, atheists, anarchists, and draft dodgers. Despite criticism from liberals and radicals all over the world, the men were electrocuted in **1927**.

Hooded Hoodlums of the KKK

The **Ku Klux Klan** (**Knights of the Invisible Empire**) grew in the early 1920s out of the growing intolerance and prejudice of the American public. It was most popular in the Midwest and the South. The Klan was antiforeign, anti-Catholic, anti-black, anti-Jewish, antipacifist, anti-Communist, anti-internationalist, antievolutionist, antibootlegger, antigambling, antiadultery, and anti-birth control. It was pro-Anglo-Saxon, pro-"native" American, and pro-Protestant.

It fell apart in the late 1920s after it was discovered that Klan official were embezzling money.

Stemming the Foreign Blood

Isolationist Americans of the 1920s felt they had no use for immigrants. The **Emergency Quota Act of 1921** placed a quota on the number of European immigrants who could come to

America each year; it was set at 3% of the people of their nationality who had been living in the United States in 1910.

The **Immigration Act of 1924** replaced the Quota Act of 1921, cutting quotas for foreigners from 3% to 2%. Japanese were banned from coming to America. Canadians and Latin Americans were exempt from the act, because their close proximity made it easy to attract them when they were needed and it was easy to send them home when they were not needed. The quota system significantly reduced immigration.

The Immigration Act of 1924 ended the era of unrestricted immigration to the United States.

The Prohibition "Experiment"

The **18th Amendment**, passed in **1919**, banned alcohol. It was enforced by the **Volstead Act**. Prohibition was popular in the South, where white southerners wanted to keep stimulants out of the hands of blacks, and in the West, where alcohol was associated with crime and corruption.

Prohibitionists were naïve in believing that the law could be enforced; the Federal government had a weak track record of enforcing laws that controlled personal lives. Prohibition might have started off better if there had been a larger number of enforcement officials.

"Speakeasies" replaced saloons. Prohibition caused bank savings to increase and absenteeism in industry to decrease.

The Golden Age of Gangsterism

Violent wars broke out in the big cities between rival gangs, who sought control of the illegal booze market.

In **Chicago**, "Scarface" Al Capone, a murderous booze distributor, began 6 years of gang warfare that generated millions of dollars. Capone was eventually tried and convicted of income-tax evasion and sent to prison for 11 years.

Gangsters began to move into other profitable and illicit activities: prostitution, gambling, narcotics, and kidnapping for ransom.

After the son of Charles A. Lindbergh was kidnapped for ransom and then murdered, Congress passed the **Lindbergh Law** in **1932**, making interstate abduction in certain circumstances a death-penalty offense.

Monkey Business in Tennessee

In the 1920s, states started to put a larger focus on **education**. Professor John Dewey set forth the principles of "learning by doing" that formed the foundation of so-called progressive education. He believed that "education for life" should be a primary goal of the teacher. Science and healthcare also improved during the 1920s.

Fundamentalists, old-time religionists, claimed that the teaching of **Darwinism evolution** was destroying faith in God and the Bible, while contributing to the moral breakdown of youth. In **1925**, John T. Scopes was indicted in Tennessee for teaching evolution. At the "**Monkey Trial**," Scopes was defended by Clarence Darrow, while former presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan prosecuted him. Scopes was found guilty and fined \$100.

Cultural Liberation

In the decade after WWI, a new generation of writers emerged. They gave American literature new life, imaginativeness, and artistic quality.

Modernism: philosophical movement during the 1920s; a key component of this movement was the questioning of social conventions.

H.L. Mencken attacked marriage, patriotism, democracy, and prohibition in his monthly *American Mercury*.

F. Scott Fitzgerald wrote *This Side of Paradise* in **1920** and *The Great Gatsby* in **1925**.

Ernest Hemingway was among the writers most affected by the war. He responded to propaganda and the overblown appeal to patriotism. He wrote of disillusioned, spiritually numb American expatriates in Europe in *The Sun Also Rises* (**1926**).

Sinclair Lewis wrote *Main Street* (**1920**) and *Babbitt* (**1922**).

Sherwood Anderson wrote *Winesburg, Ohio* (**1919**).

Harlem Renaissance: a black cultural movement that grew out of Harlem

Architecture also became popular as materialism and functionalism became popular.

Wall Street's Big Bull Market

In the 1920s, the stock market became increasingly popular to the average citizen.

The Federal government did little to manage the national debt after WWI.

In **1921**, the Republican Congress created the **Bureau of the Budget** to help the president submit an annual budget to Congress. It was designed to prevent haphazardly extravagant appropriations.

Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon's belief was that taxes forced the rich to invest in tax-exempt securities rather than in factories; this hurt business. Mellon helped create a series of tax reductions from 1921-1926 to help rich people. Congress also eliminated the gift tax, reduced excise taxes, the surtax, the income tax, and estate taxes. Mellon's policies shifted the tax burden from the wealthy to the middle-income groups. Mellon reduced the national debt by \$10 billion.

The Republican "Old Guard" Returns

Warren G. Harding was inaugurated in **1921**. He was unable to detect corruption in his own staff. He was a very soft guy in that he hated to say "no," hurting peoples' feelings.

Charles Evans Hughes was the secretary of state. Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh's multimillionaire aluminium king, was the secretary of the Treasury. Herbert Hoover was the secretary of commerce.

Harding's brightest and most capable officials (above) were offset by two of the worst: Senator Albert B. Fall, an anti-conservationist who was the secretary of the interior, and Harry M. Daugherty, a crook who was the attorney general.

GOP Reaction at the Throttle

Industrialists wanted the government to stop legislating business and to actually help businesses make profits.

In the first years of the 1920s, the Supreme Court struck down progressive legislation. The Supreme Court ruled in *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* (1923) that women did not deserve special protection in the workplace. They said that the 19th Amendment made women the legal equals of men.

Corporations under President Harding could expand without worries of antitrust laws. The Interstate Commerce Commission was led by men who were sympathetic to the managers of the railroads.

The Aftermath of War

Industrialists convinced the government to release control that it had installed on the economy during WWI. The **Esch-Cummins Transportation Act of 1920** returned the railroads to private management. It pledged the Interstate Commerce Commission to guarantee their profitability.

The **Merchant Marine Act of 1920** authorized the government to sell its wartime fleet of 1500 vessels at extremely low prices.

The **La Follette Seaman's Act of 1915** improved working conditions for sailors but it economically hurt the American shipping industry because they now had a hard time competing with foreigners, who did not treat their crews very well.

Labor struggled without friendly government support; there were a lot of strikes and wage cuts.

In **1921**, Congress created the **Veterans Bureau** to operate hospitals and provide vocational rehabilitation for the disabled. The **American Legion** was created in **1919** by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. It was a support/social group for veterans. The legion convinced Congress in **1924** to pass the **Adjusted Compensation Act**, which gave every former soldier a sum of money, depending on their years of service.

America Seeks Benefits Without Burdens

Because the Treaty of Versailles was rejected, the United States had technically been at war with Germany, Austria, and Hungary for 3 years after the armistice. Congress passed a joint resolution in July 1921 that officially declared the war over.

Isolationism was prominent in Washington. President Harding hated the League of Nations and at first, he refused to support the League's world health program.

Secretary Hughes secured the rights for American oil companies to share oil lands in the Middle East with Britain.

Several world powers met at the Washington "Disarmament" Conference in 1921-1922 to discuss disarmament of their respective navies. Secretary Hughes led the American delegation. The Five-Power Naval Treaty of 1922 limited the construction of certain types of large naval ships, and it applied ratio limits to the number of ships a country could build (ex: Japan could build 3/5 as many ships as America). Submarines and destroyers were not restricted. It also stated that the British and Americans would refrain from fortifying their Far Eastern possessions, including the Philippines. The Japanese were not subjected to such restraints in their possessions.

A Four-Power Treaty between Britain, Japan, France and the United States replaced the 20-year old Anglo-Japanese Treaty and preserved the status quo in the Pacific.

In the late 1920s, Americans called for the "outlaw of war." Calvin Coolidge's secretary of state Frank. B. Kellogg signed with the French foreign minister in 1928 the Kellogg-Briand Pact. Known as the Pact of Paris, it was ratified by 62 nations. It tried to outlaw war, but it had a big exception: defensive wars were still permitted.

Hiking the Tariff Higher

Because businessmen did not want Europe flooding American markets with cheap goods after the war, Congress passed the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Law in 1922, raising the tariff from 27% to 35%.

Presidents Harding and Coolidge were much more prone to increasing tariffs than decreasing them; this presented a problem: Europe needed to sell goods to the U.S. to get the money to pay back its war debts. Europeans responded by also increasing tariffs.

The Stench of Scandal

In 1923, Colonel Charles R. Forbes, head of the Veterans Bureau, was caught stealing \$200 million from the government, chiefly in connection with the building of veterans' hospitals.

In the Teapot Dome scandal (1921), the secretary of the interior, Albert B. Fall, convinced the secretary of the navy to transfer valuable oil-laden land to the Interior Department (the land was owned by the navy). Fall was then bribed with \$100,000 to leased the lands to oilmen Harry F. Sinclair and Edward L. Doheny.

Attorney General Daugherty was accused of illegal selling pardons and liquor permits. President Harding died in San Francisco on **August 2, 1923** of pneumonia and thrombosis.

"Silent Cal" Coolidge

Vice President Calvin Coolidge took over the presidency following Harding's death. He was extremely shy and delivered very boring speeches.

Coolidge did not change the business-friendly policies that Harding had created.

Frustrated Farmers

After the end of WWI, farms struggled because the Federal government stopped guaranteeing high prices and other nations started to grow more crops. Machines also enabled farmers to grow more crops, but this created crop surpluses, which decreased prices.

The **Capper-Volstead Act** exempted farmers' marketing cooperatives from anti-trust prosecution.

The **McNary-Haugen Bill** sought to keep agricultural prices high by authorizing the government to buy crop surpluses and sell them abroad. President Coolidge vetoed the bill because the bill would've cost the government money.

A Three-Way Race for the White House in 1924

Preceding the election of 1924, the Democratic party was split into many different factions. They eventually chose John W. Davis to compete against Calvin Coolidge (Republican) and La Follette (Progressive) for the presidency.

Senator La Follette from Wisconsin led the new liberal **Progressive party**. He was endorsed by the American Federation of Labor and by farmers. The Progressives called for government ownership of railroads and relief for farmers, opposed monopolies and antilabor injunctions, and supported a constitutional amendment to limit the Supreme Court's power to invalidate laws passed by Congress.

Calvin Coolidge won the election of **1924**.

Foreign-Policy Flounderings

Isolationism continued in Coolidge's second term. Exception to this were in the **Caribbean and Central America**, where Americans participated in a few armed conflicts in Haiti and Nicaragua.

In **1926**, the Mexican government declared control over its oil resources. Despite American oil companies support for war, Coolidge resolved the situation diplomatically.

After WWI, America became a creditor to the world, loaning money to various countries.

The United States demanded to be repaid for the \$10 billion that it had loaned to the Allies in WWI. The Allies protested the debt, pointing out that they had lost many troops and that

America should just write off the loans as war costs. America's postwar tariffs also made it difficult for the European Allies to make money to pay their debts.

America's demand for repayment from France and Britain caused these countries to demand war reparations from Germany. The Allies hoped to pay their American debts with the money received from Germany.

Negotiated by Charles Dawes, the **Dawes Plan of 1924** addressed the debt repayment issue. It set up German reparations and allowed for Americans to make private loans to Germany. The Germans used these loans to pay the reparations, which the Allies used to pay the war debts to the Americans.

A downturn in the global economy disrupted the flow of money, and because of this, **the United States never fully received its war repayments from Europe.**

The Triumph of Herbert Hoover, 1928

When Calvin Coolidge decided not to run for re-election in **1928**, the Republicans chose Herbert Hoover. Hoover supported isolationism, individualism, free enterprise, and small government. He was a good leader. Other strengths were his integrity, humanitarianism, passion for assembling the facts, efficiency, talents for administration, and ability to inspire loyalty in close associates.

The Democrats nominated Alfred E. Smith. He was a Roman Catholic in an overwhelmingly Protestant country.

For the first time, the radio was widely used in election campaigns. It mostly helped Hoover's campaign.

Smith was unable to win the South due to a combination of his Catholicism, opposition to prohibition, and liberal ideals. **Herbert Hoover won the election of 1928** in a landslide, becoming the first Republican candidate in 52 years (except for Harding's Tennessee victory), to win a state that had seceded.

President Hoover's First Moves

The disorganized wage earners and the disorganized farmers were not getting rich in the growing economy.

The **Agricultural Marketing Act**, passed in **1929**, was designed to help the farmers by setting up the **Federal Farm Board**. The Board purchased agricultural surpluses, hoping to stabilize agriculture prices. The Board created the **Grain Stabilization Corporation** and the **Cotton Stabilization Corporation**, which also purchased surpluses. The corporations failed after farmers produced too much surplus, exceeding the budget of the Board.

The **Hawley-Smoot Tariff of 1930** was intended to be a mild tariff, but Congress tacked on several amendments, turning it into a bill that raised the tariff to 60%. This was the nation's

highest protective tariff during peacetime. The tariff deepened the depression that had already begun in America and other nations, and it increased international financial chaos.

The Great Crash Ends the Golden Twenties

The stock market crashed in **October 1929**. It was partially triggered by the British, who raised their interest rates in an effort to bring back capital lured abroad by American investments. The British needed money, and they were unable to trade with the United States due the high tariffs.

On "**Black Tuesday**" of **October 29, 1929**, millions of stocks were sold in a panic. By the end of 1929, two months after the initial crash, stockholders had lost \$40 billion.

As a result of the crash, millions lost their jobs and thousands of banks closed. The United States was the hardest industrialized nation to be hit.

This crash led to the **Great Depression**.

Hooked on the Horn of Plenty

One of the main causes of the **Great Depression** was **overproduction** by farms and factories. The nation's ability to produce goods had outrun its capacity to consume or pay for them. All of the money was being invested in factories and other agencies of production; not enough money was going into salaries and wages. Over-expansion of credit also contributed to the depression.

The Great Depression worsened the economic state in Europe, which had not yet fully recovered from WWI.

In the 1930s, a **drought** scorched the Mississippi Valley, causing thousands of farms to be sold.

Hooverilles: a nickname for tin-and-paper shantytowns.

Rugged Times for Rugged Individuals

In the beginning of the Great Depression, President Hoover believed that industry and self-reliance had made America great and that the government should play no role in the welfare of the people. He soon realized, however, that the welfare of the people in a nationwide catastrophe was a direct concern of the government.

Hoover developed a plan in which the government would help the railroads, banks, and rural credit corporations in the hope that if financial health was restored at the top of the economic pyramid, then unemployment would be relieved as the prosperity trickled down. Hoover's efforts were criticized because he gave government money to the big bankers who had allegedly started the depression.

Hoover Battles the Great Depression

President Hoover convinced Congress to allocate \$2.25 billion for useful **public works**. (ex: the Hoover Dam)

Hoover opposed any projects that he viewed as "socialistic." Ex: He vetoed the **Muscle Shoals Bill**, which was designed to dam the Tennessee River and sell government-produced electricity in competition with citizens in private companies.

In **1932**, Congress created the **Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC)**, which lent money to insurance companies, banks, agricultural organizations, railroads, and state and local governments.

Congress passed the **Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act** in **1932**, which outlawed antiunion contracts and barred federal courts from stopping strikes, boycotts, and peaceful picketing.

Routing the Bonus Army in Washington

Veterans of WWI were hit hard by the Great Depression. The "**Bonus Expeditionary Force**" (BEF) converged on the Capitol in the summer of 1932. They demanded that Congress fully pay the deferred bonus that Congress had passed in 1924 (the payment was supposed to be paid in 1945).

After the BEF refused to leave the Capitol, President Hoover sent in the army to evacuate the group. The ensuing riots and incidents brought additional public disdain for Hoover.

Japanese Militarists Attack China

In September **1931**, Japanese imperialists, seeing that the West was bogged down in the Great Depression, invaded the Chinese province of **Manchuria**. Although a direct violation of the League of Nations, the League was unable to do anything because it lacked America's support.

In **1932**, Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson decided to only diplomatically attack the Japanese. He issued the **Stimson doctrine**, which declared that the United States would not recognize any territory acquired by force. Japan ignored the doctrine and moved onto **Shanghai** in **1932**. The violence continued without the League of Nation's intervention.

Hoover Pioneers the Good Neighbor Policy

President Hoover sought to improve relations with Latin America. He withdrew American troops from Haiti and Nicaragua.

Hoover's actions laid the groundwork for future President Roosevelt's "**Good Neighbor**" policy.

31 The Great Depression and the New Deal

The Republicans nominated Herbert Hoover to run for president in the election of 1932. The Democrats chose Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR). He had been born to a wealthy New York family and served as the governor of New York.

FDR: Politician in a Wheelchair

FDR's wife, Eleanor Roosevelt, was very active her husband's political career. She was loved by liberals and hated by conservatives.

FDR was a very good public speaker. In the election of 1932, the Democrats called for a balanced budget and social and economic reforms.

Presidential Hopefuls of 1932

During the election, FDR attacked the Republican Old Deal and supported a New Deal for the "forgotten man."

Many Americans distrusted the Republican party because of the dire economic state of the country (Great Depression). Herbert Hoover believed that the worst of the Depression was over. Hoover reaffirmed his faith in American free enterprise and individualism.

Hoover's Humiliation in 1932

Franklin Roosevelt won the election of 1932 by a sweeping majority, in both the popular vote and the Electoral College.

Beginning in the election of 1932, blacks became a vital part of the Democratic Party, especially in the urban centers of the North.

FDR and the Three R's: Relief, Recovery, Reform

On March 6-10, President Roosevelt declared a national banking holiday as a prelude to opening the banks on a sounder basis. The **Hundred Days Congress/Emergency**

Congress (March 9-June 16, 1933) passed a series laws to help improve the state of the country. This Congress

Congress also passed some of FDR's **New Deal** programs, which focused on: **relief, recovery, reform**. Short-range goals were relief and immediate recovery, and long-range goals were permanent recovery and reform. Some of the New Deal programs gave the President unprecedented powers, which included the **ability of the President to create legislation**. Many of the programs that gave the President this authority were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

Congress gave President Roosevelt extraordinary **blank-check powers**: some of the laws gave legislative authority to the President.

The New Deal legislation embraced **progressive ideas** like unemployment insurance, old-age insurance, minimum-wage regulations, conservation and development of natural resources, and restrictions on child labor.

Roosevelt Manages the Money

Congress passed the **Emergency Banking Relief Act of 1933**, which gave the President power to regulate banking transactions and foreign exchange and to reopen solvent banks.

President Roosevelt gave "fireside chats" over the radio in which he soothed the public's confidence in banks.

Congress created the **Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)** with the **Glass-Steagall Banking Reform Act**. The FDIC insured individual bank deposits up to \$5,000. This ended nation's epidemic of bank failures.

President Roosevelt took the nation off of the gold standard by having the Treasury buy gold from citizens. From this point on, only transactions in paper money were accepted.

One of the FDR's goals was to create modest **inflation**. This would relieve debtors' burdens and stimulate new production. Inflation was achieved by buying gold at increasing prices over time. This policy increased the amount of dollars in circulation.

Creating Jobs for the Jobless

FDR created jobs with federal money to jumpstart the economy.

The **Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)** employed about 3 million men in government camps. Their work included reforestation, fire fighting, flood control, and swamp drainage.

The **Federal Emergency Relief Act** was Congress's first major effort to deal with the massive unemployment. It created the **Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)** which gave states direct relief payments or money for wages on work projects.

The **Civil Works Administration (CWA)**, a branch of the FERA, was designed to provide temporary jobs during the winter emergency. Thousands of unemployed were employed at leaf raking and other manual-labor jobs.

Relief was given to the farmers with the **Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA)**, making available millions of dollars to help farmers meet their mortgages.

The **Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC)** assisted many households that had trouble paying their mortgages.

A Day for Every Demagogue

Despite New Deal efforts, unemployment continued to plague the nation. Opponents to FDR's policies included Father Charles Coughlin's, who preached anti-New Deal speeches over the radio. Senator Huey P. Long publicized his "Share Our Wealth" program in which every

family in the United States would receive \$5,000. Dr. Francis E. Townsend attracted millions of senior citizens with his plan that each citizen over the age of 60 would receive \$200 a month.

Congress passed the **Works Progress Administration (WPA)** in **1935**, with the objective of providing employment for useful projects (i.e. the construction of buildings, roads, etc.). Taxpayers criticized the agency for paying people to do "useless" jobs such as painting murals.

New Visibility for Women

Women began to break gender barriers by holding positions in the Federal government, including the President's cabinet.

Ruth Benedict: made strides in the field of anthropology

Pearl Buck: wrote about Chinese peasant society; won a Nobel Prize in literature in 1938.

Helping Industry and Labor

A cornerstone New Deal agency was the **National Recovery Administration (NRA)**. It was designed to bring industries together to create a set of "fair" business practices (fair to business and workers). Working hours were reduced so that more people could be hired; a minimum wage was established; workers were given the right to organize.

The NRA was declared **unconstitutional** by the Supreme Court in **1935** (*Schechter vs. United States*), because the NRA gave legislative powers to the President, and it allowed Congress to control individual business, not just interstate commerce.

The **Public Works Administration (PWA)** was intended to provide long-term recovery. Headed by Harold L. Ickes, the agency spent over \$4 billion on thousands of projects, including public buildings, highways, and dams.

Congress repealed prohibition with the **21st Amendment** in late **1933** to raise federal revenue and provide employment,

Paying Farmers Not to Farm

The **Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA)** attempted to reduce crop surpluses, which led to lower crop prices. The AAA established standard "**parity prices**" for basic commodities. The agency also paid farmers to not farm (to reduce their crop harvests).

The Supreme Court ruled the AAA **unconstitutional** in **1936**, stating that its taxation programs were illegal.

In a second attempt to make farmers farm less, Congress passed the **Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act of 1936**. Under the guise of conservation, it reduced crop acreage by paying farmers to plant soil-conserving crops.

The **Second Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938** continued conservation payments; if farmers obeyed acreage restrictions on specific commodities, they would be eligible for payments.

Dust Bowls and Black Blizzards

Late in **1933**, the **Dust Bowl** struck many states in the trans-Mississippi Great Plains. It was caused by drought, wind, and **over-farming** of the land.

The **Frazier-Lemke Farm Bankruptcy Act**, passed in **1934**, suspended mortgage foreclosures on farms for 5 years. It was struck down in **1935** by the Supreme Court.

In **1935**, the **Resettlement Administration**, moved near-farmless farmers to better lands.

The **Indian Reorganization Act of 1934** encouraged Native American tribes to establish self-government and to preserve their native crafts and traditions. 77 tribes refused to organize under the law, while hundreds did organize.

Battling Bankers and Big Business

To protect the public against investment fraud, Congress passed the "Truth in Securities Act" (**Federal Securities Act**). It required people selling investments to inform their investors of the risks of the investment.

The **Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)** was created in 1934. It provided oversight of the stock market.

TVA Harnesses the Tennessee

New Dealers accused the electric-power industry of charging the public too much money for electricity.

In **1933**, the Hundred Days Congress created the **Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)**. It was designed to construct dams on the Tennessee River. In addition to providing employment and long-term recovery, these projects would give the government information on exactly how much money was required to produce and distribute electricity. This would be a metric that the government could use to assess the rates charged by private companies.

The TVA turned a poverty-stricken area into one of the most flourishing regions in the United States.

Conservatives viewed the New Deal programs as "socialistic", and they ultimately helped limit the TVA-style of management to the Tennessee Valley.

Housing and Social Security

The **Federal Housing Administration (FHA)**, passed in **1934**, attempted to improve the home-building industry. It gave small loans to homeowners for the purpose of improving their homes and buying new ones.

The **United States Housing Authority (USHA)** was passed in **1937**. It was designed to lend money to states or communities for low-cost housing developments.

The **Social Security Act of 1935** provided federal-state unemployment insurance. To provide security for old age, specified categories of retired workers were to receive regular payments from Washington. Social Security was inspired by the example of some of the more highly industrialized nations of Europe.

The **purpose of Social Security** was to provide support for urbanized Americans who could not support themselves with a farm. In the past, Americans could support themselves by growing food on their farm. Now, they relied solely on money from their job. If they lost their job, they could not eat.

Republicans opposed Social Security.

A New Deal Labor

Congress passed the **National Labor Relations Act of 1935 (Wagner Act)** to help labor unions. This law created a powerful **National Labor Relations Board** for administrative purposes and it reasserted the rights of labor to engage in self-organization and to bargain collectively through representatives of its own choice.

Unskilled workers began to organize under leadership from John L. Lewis, boss of the United Mine Workers. He formed the **Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO)** in **1935**. The CIO led a series of strikes, including the sit-down strike at the General Motors automobile factory in 1936.

Congress passed the **Fair Labor Standards Act (Wages and Hours Bill)** in **1938**. Industries involved in interstate commerce were to set up minimum-wage and maximum-hour levels. Labor by children under the age of 16 was forbidden.

In **1938**, the CIO joined with the AF of L and the name "*Committee* for Industrial Organization" was changed to "***Congress* of Industrial Organizations."** The CIO was led by John Lewis. By 1940, the CIO claimed about 4 million members.

Landon Challenges "the Champ"

The Republicans chose Alfred M. Landon to run against President Roosevelt in the election of 1936. The Republicans condemned the New Deal for its radicalism, experimentation, confusion, and "frightful waste."

Democrats had significant support from the millions of people that had benefited from the New Deal programs.

President Roosevelt was **reelected** as president in a lopsided victory. FDR won primarily because he had appealed to the "forgotten man" (the South, blacks, urbanites, the poor).

Nine Old Men on the Bench

Ratified in **1933**, the **20th Amendment** shortened the period from election to inauguration by 6 weeks.

Roosevelt saw his reelection as a mandate to continue the New Deal reforms.

The Supreme Court was dominated by older ultraconservatives who attempted to stop many of the "socialistic" New Deal programs.

With continuous Democrat wins in Congress and the presidency, Roosevelt felt that the American people wanted the New Deal. He argued that the Supreme Court needed to get in line with public opinion. In 1937, Roosevelt proposed legislation that would allow him to add liberal justices to the Court: a new justice would be added for every member over the age of 70 who would not retire. The plan received much negative feedback. The plan was referred to as the **Court-packing plan**.

The Court Changes Course

The public criticized Roosevelt for attempting to tamper with the Supreme Court. This was an affront on the system of checks and balances.

Possibly due to public pressure, the Supreme Court began to support New Deal legislation.

This included Justice Owen J. Roberts, who was formerly regarded as a conservative.

A series of deaths and resignations of justices allowed Roosevelt to appoint 9 justices to the Court.

The Supreme Court controversy in 1937 cost FDR a lot of political capital. Because of this, few New Deal reforms were passed after 1937.

The Twilight of the New Deal

In Roosevelt's first term, from 1933-1937, unemployment still ran high and recovery had been slow. In **1937**, the **economy** took another **downturn**. It was caused by **reduced spending**. Consumer spending was reduced because Social Security taxes cut into payrolls. The Roosevelt administration also cut back on spending in an attempt to keep a balanced budget. (The New Deal had run deficits for several years, but all of them had been somewhat small and none was intended.)

The downturn led FDR to embrace the recommendations of the British economist John Maynard Keynes.

Keynesianism Economics: government money is used to "prime the pump" of the economy and encourage consumer spending; this policy intentionally creates a budget deficit.

Congress passed the **Hatch Act of 1939**. It prevented federal administrative officials from active political campaigning and soliciting. It also forbade the use of government funds for political purposes as well as the collection of campaign contributions from people receiving relief payments.

New Deal or Raw Deal?

Opponents of the New Deal charged the President of spending too much money on his programs, significantly increasing the **national debt**. From 1932 to 1939, the national debt increased from \$19 trillion to \$40 trillion.

The Federal government became much more powerful under FDR.

The New Deal did not end the depression; it just gave temporary relief to citizens. Many economists eventually argued that not enough deficit spending was used. Despite the New Deal programs' efforts, **production still outpaced spending**.

Not until World War II was the unemployment problem solved.

FDR's Balance Sheet

New Deal supporters had argued out that relief, not the economy, was the primary objective of their war on the Depression. Roosevelt believed that the government was morally bound to prevent mass hunger and starvation by "managing" the economy.

FDR potentially saved capitalism by eliminating some of its worst faults (ex: poor labor conditions). Had his programs not been implemented, Socialism could've taken a bigger hold in the nation.

FDR was a Hamiltonian in that he supported big government, but he was a Jeffersonian in that he supported the "forgotten man."

New Deal Acronyms

Acronym	Definition
AAA	Agricultural Adjustment Administration
CCC	Civilian Conservation Corps
CWA	Civil Works Administration
FERA	Federal Emergency Relief Administration
FHA	Federal Housing Administration
FSA	Farm Security Administration
HOLC	Home Owners Loan Corporation
NRA	National Recovery Administration
NYA	National Youth Administration
PWA	Public Works Administration
REA	Rural Electrification Administration
SSA	Social Security Administration

TVA	Tennessee Valley Authority
WPA	Work Projects (Progress) Administration

32 FDR and the Shadow of War

The London Conference

In the summer of **1933**, 66 nations sent delegates to the **London Economic Conference**. The delegates hoped to coordinate an international response to the global depression. They wanted to stabilize currencies and the rates at which they could be exchanged.

President Roosevelt opposed the conference because he did not want any interference with his own plans to fix the American economy.

Without support from the United States, the London Economic Conference fell apart. The collapse strengthened the global trend towards nationalism, while making international cooperation increasingly difficult.

Freedom for (from?) the Filipinos and Recognition for the Russians

Continuing the nation's isolationist policies, President Roosevelt withdrew from Asia. Congress passed the **Tydings-McDuffie Act** in **1934**, providing independence to the Philippines by 1946. The nation did not want to have to support the Philippines if Japan attacked it.

In **1933**, Roosevelt formally recognized the **Soviet Union**, opening up trade and fostering a friendship to counter-balance the threat of German power in Europe and Japanese power in Asia.

Becoming a Good Neighbor

FDR started the **Good Neighbor policy**, in which America would not intervene or interfere with Latin American countries. All marines left **Haiti** in **1934**. America also released some control over **Cuba** and **Panama**.

When the **Mexican government** seized American oil properties in **1938**, President Roosevelt held to his unarmed intervention policy and a settlement was eventually worked out in **1941**.

Secretary Hull's Reciprocal Trade Agreements

Congress passed the **Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act** in **1934**, which was designed to lower the tariff. This act allowed the President to lower tariffs with a country if that country also lowered their tariffs. Secretary of State Hull succeeded in negotiating pacts with 21 countries by the end of 1939.

The trade agreements dramatically increased U.S. foreign trade. The act paved the way for the American-led free-trade international economic system that took shape after WWII.

Storm-Cellar Isolationism

Following the Great Depression, **totalitarianism** spread throughout Europe. Joseph Stalin took control of the Communist USSR and killed hundreds of thousands of political opponents. Benito Mussolini took control of Italy in 1922. Adolf Hitler took control of Germany in 1933. Hitler was the most dangerous of all of the dictators because he had tremendous power and he was impulsive.

In **1936**, Nazi Hitler and Fascist Mussolini allied themselves in the **Rome-Berlin Axis**.

In 1934, **Japan** terminated the **Washington Naval Treaty** and accelerated their construction of large battleships.

Mussolini, seeking power and glory in Africa, attacked **Ethiopia** in **1935**.

Americans maintained an isolationist attitude because they thought that the oceans that surrounded the country would protect them.

In **1934**, Congress passed the **Johnson Debt Default Act**, preventing debt-dodging nations from borrowing further from the United States.

Congress Legislates Neutrality

Congress sought to keep America out of war by passing the **Neutrality Acts of 1935, 1936, and 1937**. The acts stated that *when the president proclaimed* the existence of a foreign war, certain restrictions would automatically go into effect. In regards to countries that were involved in a war (victim or aggressor), no American could legally sail on one of their ships, sell or transport munitions to them, or give them loans.

Because America did not help its democratic friends, America actually helped provoke the aggressors (because it did not deter them).

America Dooms Loyalist Spain

The **Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939** started when Spanish rebels, led by fascist General Francisco Franco, rose against the left-wing republican government in Madrid. Aided by Mussolini and Hitler, Franco overthrew the **Loyalist regime**, which was supported by the Soviet Union. This war was a "dress rehearsal" for World War II because it involved many of the same countries.

A small group of American volunteers (**Abraham Lincoln Brigade**) fought for the Loyalists. The United States wanted to stay out of war, so Congress amended the neutrality legislation to apply an arms embargo to both the Loyalists and rebels.

Appeasing Japan and Germany

In **1937**, the Japanese invaded **China**. President Roosevelt refused to call this invasion a "war", so the neutrality legislation did not take effect. If he had called it a war, he would have

cut off munition sales to the Chinese. A consequence of this, though, was that the Japanese could still buy war supplies from the United States.

FDR gave his **Quarantine Speech** in 1937, in which he proposed economic embargos against the aggressive dictators. The public opposed this, so FDR did not follow through with his plan.

In **1937**, Japanese planes sunk an American ship, the *Panay*. Tokyo quickly apologized and the United States accepted.

In **1935**, Hitler violated the **Treaty of Versailles** when he introduced mandatory military service in Germany. In 1936, he again violated the treaty when he took over the demilitarized German Rhineland.

In **March 1938**, Hitler invaded **Austria**. (Note: Austria actually voted for the occupation, fully aware that if it resisted, Germany would forcefully take over Austria.)

At a conference in Munich, Germany in **September 1938**, the Western European democracies allowed Germany to keep **Sudetenland** (part of Czechoslovakia). They hoped that this would stop Hitler from taking over other countries. It did not.

In **March 1939**, Hitler took over all of **Czechoslovakia**. (See Austria note.)

Hitler's Belligerency and U.S. Neutrality

On **August 23, 1939**, the Soviet Union signed a nonaggression treaty with Hitler. The **Hitler-Stalin pact** meant that Germany could make war on Poland and the Western democracies without fear of retaliation from the Soviet Union.

Hitler invaded Poland on **September 1, 1939**. Britain and France, honoring their commitments to Poland, declared war on Germany; **World War II** had started.

Although Americans were strongly anti-Nazi, they wanted to stay out of the war.

Britain and France needed war materials from America, so Congress passed the **Neutrality Act of 1939**. (The previous Neutrality Acts prohibited trade with them.) This new act let the European democracies buy American war materials as long as they transported the goods on their own ships and paid in cash. This allowed America to avoid loans, war debts, and the sinking of American ships.

The demand for war goods helped end the recession of 1937-1938, and it solved the decade-long unemployment crisis.

The Fall of France

The months after the fall of Poland were known as the "phony war" because France and the U.K. were not really militarily involved in the war, yet.

The Soviet Union took over **Finland** despite Congress loaning \$30 million to Finland.

The phoney war ended in April-May 1940 when Hitler took over **Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, and Belgium**. France fell in **June 1940**.

When France surrendered, Americans realized that England was all that stood in the way of Hitler controlling all of Europe. FDR and Congress quickly set out to build large airfleets and a two-ocean navy. On **September 6, 1940**, Congress passed a **conscription law**; under this measure, America's first peacetime **draft** was initiated.

At the **Havana Conference of 1940**, the United States agreed to protect Latin America from German aggression (extension of the Monroe Doctrine).

Refugees from the Holocaust

On November 9, 1938, mobs of Germans attacked German Jews (Kristallnacht, "night of broken glass"). Following these attacks, thousands of Jews were sent to concentration camps. FDR created the **War Refugee Board** after learning of the Nazi genocide. It was created to help victims of the Nazis and other Axis powers.

By the war's end, over **6 millions Jews** had been murdered in the **Holocaust**.

Bolstering Britain

After France fell to Germany, Hitler launched air attacks against Britain in **August 1940 (Battle of Britain)**. During the Battle of Britain, radio broadcasts brought the drama from London air raids directly into America homes. Sympathy for Britain grew, but it was not yet sufficient to push the United States into war.

The most powerful group of those who supported aid for Britain was the **Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies**. Isolationists organized the **America First Committee**, contending that America should concentrate what strength it had to defend its own shores. On **September 2, 1940**, President Roosevelt transferred 50 destroyers left over from WWI to Britain. In return, Britain gave to the United States 8 valuable defensive base sites in the Western Hemisphere. This transfer of warships was a flagrant violation of America's neutrality obligations.

Shattering the Two-Term Tradition

The Republicans chose Wendell L. Willkie to run in the election of 1940. The Republicans condemned FDR's alleged dictatorship and they opposed the New Deal's inefficiencies. Roosevelt decided to run for a 3rd term, arguing that in a time of war, the country needed his experience. At this point, a 2-term presidential limit only existed in tradition. FDR won the **election of 1940**; voters generally felt that if war came, the experience of FDR was needed.

A Landmark Lend-Lease Law

Fearing the collapse of Britain, Congress passed the **Lend-Lease Bill** in **1941**, under the pretense of defending America. It allowed America to **lease** arms to the democracies of the

world that needed them. (Europeans didn't have the cash to buy the arms; cash was required by the Neutrality Act of 1939.) When the war was over, the guns and tanks could be returned. Opponents of the bill, like Senator Taft, criticized it, saying that the arms would be destroyed and unable to be returned after the war. It was pitched as a program that would allow the democracies to win the war and keep it away from America.

The bill marked the abandonment of any pretense of neutrality.

Hitler saw the Lend-Lease Bill as an unofficial declaration of war. Until then, Germany had avoided attacking U.S. ships, but on **May 21, 1941**, the *Robin Moor*, an unarmed American merchantman, was destroyed by a German submarine in the South Atlantic, outside the war zone.

Charting a New World

Before the attack on Pearl Harbor, 2 events marked the course of WWII: the fall of France in June **1940**, and Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union in June **1941**.

Hitler decided to crush the Soviet Union

On **June 22, 1941**, Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. He hoped to take the oil and other resources of the Soviet Union and then concentrate on Britain. President Roosevelt sent military supplies to the USSR.

In **August 1941**, Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill met and came up with the eight-point **Atlantic Charter** at the **Atlantic Conference**. It discussed the goals of the war. Among other things, it promised that there would be no territorial changes contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants; it affirmed the right of a people to choose their own form of government; and it declared for disarmament of the aggressors.

U.S. Destroyers and Hitler's U-boats Clash

Because Germany kept sinking arms shipments, FDR decided to have American warships escort supplies to Britain (July 1941).

After a series of American boats were sunk by German U-boats, Congress voted in **November 1941** to repeal the **Neutrality Act of 1939**. This enabled merchant ships to be legally armed and enter combat zones with munitions for Britain.

Surprise Assault on Pearl Harbor

Since September 1940, Japan had been allied with Germany.

Japan's war effort was dependent on trade with America. In late 1940, though, Washington imposed the first of its trade embargoes on Japan. The U.S. offered to lift the embargo if Japan ended its war with China. Japan did not agree to America's terms, and it continued to fight.

On "Black Sunday" **December 7, 1941**, Japanese bombers attacked **Pearl Harbor**, killing 2,348 people. ([List of those who died](#)) Most of America's battleships were significantly damaged, but its 3 Pacific-fleet aircraft carriers were spared because they were out of the harbor.

On **December 8**, the U.S. declared war on **Japan**. On **December 11, 1941**, Germany and Italy declared war on the U.S. The U.S. followed suit by declaring war on them.

America's Transformation from Bystander to Belligerent

Pearl Harbor united Americans in their desire to go to war. Prior to the attack, though, most Americans only supported *policies* that might lead to war. They did not want Britain to fall to Germany, and they wanted to stop Japan from expanding.

33 World War II

Prior to the bombing at Pearl Harbor, the U.S. had agreed to the **ABC-1** agreement with the British. It stated that if the U.S. entered the war, then it would focus its efforts *first* on Germany. After Germany was defeated, the Allies would focus on Japan.

The Allies Trade Space for Time

For the U.S., WWII was far more complex than WWI. It had to feed, clothe, and transport its forces all over the world.

The Shock of War

National unity during World War II sped up the assimilation of immigrants into American society.

Unlike in WWI, there was **almost** no government witch-hunting of minority groups in WWII. The exception to this was when 110,000 **Japanese-Americans** on the Pacific Coast forced into **concentration camps**. This was authorized by **Executive Order No. 9066**. Washington feared that they might act as saboteurs for Japan in case of invasion.

The Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the concentration camps in *Korematsu v. U.S.* (1944).

The conservative Congress cancelled many of the New Deal programs. President Roosevelt declared in **1943** that the New Deal reform era was over.

Building the War Machine

The Great Depression was completely ended with the inrush of military orders. Under the **War Production Board (WPB)**, which oversaw U.S. war production, American factories produced an enormous amount of weaponry, such as guns and planes. The WPB stopped the manufacture of nonessential items, such as passenger cars.

The government imposed a national speed limit and gasoline rationing after America's supply of natural **rubber** from British Malaysia and the Dutch East Indies was broken.

A scarcity of consumer goods led to sharp **inflation** in **1942**. The **Office of Price Administration (OPA)** eventually brought the down prices and curbed inflation.

The **War Labor Board (WLB)** imposed ceilings on wage increases. Unhappy with the wage ceilings, some labor unions called their members to go on strike. In June 1943, Congress passed the **Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act**. It authorized the federal government to operate industries that were under strike, like coal mines and railroads.

Manpower and Womanpower

Even with some industrial and agricultural workers being exempt from the draft, the draft left the nation's farms and factories short of personnel. In **1942**, thousands of Mexican agricultural workers, called *braceros*, were brought to America to harvest the farms of the West.

The armed services enlisted nearly 216,000 women in WWII. Best known were the **WAACs** (army), **WAVES** (navy), and **SPARs** (Coast Guard). Although millions of women took jobs in factories, most women continued in their traditional household roles.

Wartime Migrations

The war caused Americans to move about the country. Many blacks left the South to work in the North, and this led to racial tensions in the North. In response to demands for equal opportunities for blacks, Roosevelt created the **Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC)** to monitor compliance with his executive order that forbade discrimination in defense industries.

During WWII, FDR gave the South a disproportionate share of defense contracts to help it become more economically developed.

In **1944**, the invention of the **mechanical cotton picker** made the Cotton South's need for cheap labor disappear. As a result of this, millions of blacks moved north.

Thousands of **Native Americans** served in the armed forces. Comanches in Europe and Navajos in the Pacific made valuable contributions as "**code talkers**," in which they transmitted radio messages in their native languages (incomprehensible to the Axis powers).

Holding the Home Front

America was not as ill-affected by the war as the rest of the world. The war substantially helped the American economy, and by the end of the war, the nation's GNP and citizens' disposable incomes had significantly risen.

The Federal government became much more involved in individual citizens' lives during WWII, and this set the stage for the future role of government.

The **national debt** rose from \$49 billion to \$259 billion from 1941-1945. Most of the war costs were borrowed.

The Rising Sun in the Pacific

Simultaneously with the assault on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese launched attacks on various Far Eastern strongholds, including the American outposts of **Guam, Wake, and the Philippines**.

In the **Philippines**, American forces, led by General MacArthur, held out against the invading Japanese force for 5 months. The American troops eventually surrendered on **April 9, 1942**. They were treated with vicious cruelty in the 80-mile Bataan Death March to prisoner-of-war camps.

The island fortress of **Corregidor** held out until it surrendered on **May 6, 1942**, giving the Japanese complete control of the Philippines.

Japan's High Tide at Midway

In **May 1942**, a crucial naval battle was fought in the **Coral Sea** between an American carrier task force, with Australian support, and a Japanese carrier task force. Although it suffered losses, the U.S. stopped the Japanese advancement. This was the first battle in which all the fighting was done by carrier-based aircraft.

On **June 3-6, 1942**, a naval battle was fought near **Midway**. If the Japanese took Midway, they would be able to directly launch attacks against Pearl Harbor. Admiral Chester W. Nimitz directed a smaller carrier force, under Admiral Raymond A. Spruance, against the powerful invading Japanese fleet. The Japanese retreated after losing 4 carriers. Midway was a **turning point** in the Pacific war. Combined with the Battle of Coral Sea, the U.S. success at Midway halted the Japanese.

American Leapfrogging Toward Tokyo

From August 1942 to February 1943, Americans fought for control of **Guadalcanal Island** in an attempt to protect the shipping lanes from America to Australia through the Southwest Pacific. The Japanese troops evacuated Guadalcanal in **February 1943**. The casualty ratio was more than 10:1 (Japanese:American).

The U.S. Navy "**leapfrogged**" several Japanese-held islands in the Pacific. Japanese soldiers were known to fight until every last man was dead. So, rather than fighting for every island, the strategy was to take nearby islands and then lay siege to the surrounded islands. Admiral Chester Nimitz successfully coordinated naval, air, and ground assaults in the Pacific.

Saipan Island, Tinian Island, and the major islands of the Marianas fell to U.S. attackers in July and August 1944. From the Marianas, the United States' new B-29 superbombers were able to carry out round-trip bombing raids on Japan's home islands.

The Allied Halting of Hitler

The **Battle of the Atlantic** was fought between the German's modern fleet of submarine **U-Boats** and Allied shipping, which was protected by Allied navies. The introduction of **air patrols** and **radar** eventually helped the Allies win the Battle of the Atlantic.

The turning point in the land-air war against Hitler came in late 1942. At the **Battle of El Alamein** in October 1942, British general Bernard Montgomery defeated the Germans, who were led by Marshal Erwin Rommel.

In September 1942, the Soviets repelled Hitler's attack on **Stalingrad**, capturing thousands of German soldiers. (This was the **turning point** in the war in the Soviet Union.)

A Second Front from North Africa to Rome

Many Americans, including President Roosevelt, wanted to begin a diversionary invasion of France in 1942 or 1943. They feared that the Soviets, who were unable to hold out forever against Germany, might make a separate peace deal as they had in 1918 and leave the Western Allies to face Germany alone.

British military planners preferred to attack Hitler through the "soft underbelly" of the Mediterranean. The Americans eventually agreed.

American general, Dwight D. Eisenhower led an assault on French-held North Africa in November 1942. The invasion was the mightiest waterborne effort up to that time in history. The German-Italy army surrendered in **Tunisia** in May 1943.

At **Casablanca**, President Roosevelt met with Winston Churchill in **January 1943**. The two agreed to step up the war in the Pacific, invade Sicily, increase pressure on Italy, and insist upon "**unconditional surrender**" of the enemy.

Allied forces captured **Sicily** in August 1943, and

in **September 1943**, **Italy surrendered** unconditionally and Mussolini was overthrown.

Although Italy surrendered, the Germans continued to fight for control of Italy. **Rome** was taken on June 4, 1944. On **May 2, 1945** (five days before Germany surrendered), thousands of Axis troops in Italy surrendered and became prisoners of war.

The Allies' battles in Italy diverted some German troops away from the Soviet and French fronts, but it delayed the Allied invasion of Normandy by several months. This gave the Soviets more time to take territory in Eastern Europe.

D-Day: June 6, 1944

President Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Stalin met in **Tehran**, Iran from **November 28th to December 1st** to coordinate a second front. One of the most important achievements of the meeting was the agreement on broad plans, especially those for launching Soviet attacks on Germany from the east simultaneously with the Allied assault from the west.

Because the United States provided the most Allied troops for the invasion of Europe, American General Eisenhower was given command.

French Normandy was chosen for the point for invasion because it was less heavily defended than other parts of the European coast. On **D-Day, June 6, 1944**, the invasion operation took place. The Allies broke through German beach defenses and General George S. Patton led armored divisions across France. **Paris was liberated in August 1944.**

The first important German city to fall to the Allies was **Aachen** in October 1944.

FDR: The Fourth-Termite of 1944

For the election of **1944**, the Republicans nominated Thomas E. Dewey for the presidency and isolationist Senator, John W. Bricker for the vice presidency.

The Democrats nominated Roosevelt for the presidency and Senator Harry S Truman for the vice presidency.

Roosevelt Defeats Dewey

Roosevelt won a sweeping majority of the votes in the Electoral College and was **reelected**. He won primarily because the war was going well. Foreign policy was a decisive factor with many voters, who concluded that Roosevelt's experience was needed for making a future organization for world peace.

The Last Days of Hitler

On **December 16, 1944**, Hitler threw all of his forces against the thinly held American lines in the **Ardennes Forest**. His objective was take the Belgian port of Antwerp, which was key to the Allied supply operation. In the **Battle of the Bulge**, the Allies were driven back, creating a deep "bulge" in the Allied front. The 10-day German push was stopped by the 101st Airborne Division, which was led by Brigadier General A. C. McAuliffe.

In **April 1945**, General Eisenhower's troops continued into Germany and discovered the **concentration camps** where the Nazis had murdered over 6 million Jews. All of the atrocities of the Holocaust were not discovered until the war ended.

The Soviets captured **Berlin** in **April 1945**.

Hitler committed suicide on April 30, 1945.

On **April 12, 1945**, President Roosevelt died suddenly from a brain hemorrhage. Harry S Truman took over the presidency.

On **May 7, 1945**, the German government surrendered unconditionally. **May 8** was proclaimed **V-E (Victory in Europe) Day**.

Japan Dies Hard

Submarines and bombers inflicted severe damage on Japan.

Allied firebombings of Tokyo killed over 83,000 people, comparable to number of people killed by each atomic bomb.

General MacArthur returned to the **Philippines** with 600 ships and 250,000 troops. In **Leyte Gulf**, Japan lost a series of 3 battles took place from **October 23-26, 1944**; this marked the end of Japan's sea power. MacArthur then landed on the main Philippine island of Luzon in January 1945, capturing **Manila** in March 1945.

Iwo Jima, needed as an airport for damaged American bombers returning from Japan, was captured in March 1945. The Americans captured the island of **Okinawa** after fighting from April to June of 1945. The American navy sustained heavy losses from the "kamikaze" (suicide) Japanese pilots.

The Atomic Bombs

By the middle of 1945, Japan was still unwilling to surrender *unconditionally*.

At the **Potsdam conference** in **July 1945**, President Truman met with Stalin and the British leader. They issued an ultimatum to Japan: surrender or be destroyed.

America's **Manhattan Project** developed the atomic bomb. Germany was the initial intended target for the atomic bomb while it was being developed.

On July 16, 1945, the first atomic bomb was detonated as a test. With the Japanese still refusing to surrender, an **atomic bomb** was dropped on **Hiroshima** on **August 6, 1945**, killing 180,000 people. On August 8, Stalin invaded the Japanese defenses of Manchuria and Korea. After the Japanese still refused to surrender, a second **atomic bomb** was dropped on **Nagasaki** on **August 9**, killing 80,000 people.

The U.S. would have had a third atomic bomb ready by August 19 and a fourth bomb ready by September 1945.

On August 10, 1945, Tokyo surrendered under the condition that emperor Hirohito be allowed to keep his title as emperor. The Allies accepted this condition on **August 14, 1945**. The formal end to the war came on **September 2, 1945**, which was proclaimed as **V-J (Victory in Japan) Day**.

The Allies Triumphant

American forces suffered 1 million casualties in WWII, while the **Soviet Union** suffered nearly **25 million**.

After the war, much of the world was destroyed while America was left virtually untouched. The nation was better prepared for the war than any other nation because it had begun to prepare about a year and a half before the war officially began (for America).

34 The Beginning of the Cold War

Truman: The "Gutty" Man from Missouri

President Harry S. Truman was the first president, in several years, to not have a college degree. He was known as the "average man's average man." He had the ability to face difficulty with courage.

Yalta: Bargain or Betrayal?

In **February 1945**, the **Big Three** (Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin) met in **Yalta** to discuss the war's end (**Yalta Conference**). Plans were made for the occupation of Germany. It was agreed that **Poland, Bulgaria, and Romania** should have free elections. Stalin eventually broke this agreement. The Big Three also announced plans for fashioning a new international peacekeeping organization (the **United Nations**).

The most controversial decision regarded the **Far East**. American casualties were expected to be high in the war against Japan, so Stalin agreed to attack Japan after the collapse of Germany. In return, the Soviets were given the southern half of Sakhalin Island, lost by Russia to Japan in 1905, and Japan's Kurile Islands. The Soviet Union was also given control over the railroads of China's Manchuria and special privileges in the two key seaports of that area, **Dairen** and **Port Arthur**. These concessions gave Stalin control over vital industrial centers of China.

The agreements at the Yalta Conference were not really binding. The conference was more of a way for the Big Three to discuss general post-war plans.

The United States and the Soviet Union

The United States terminated the USSR's much-needed lend-lease aid in 1945. It also ignored Moscow's plea for a \$6 billion reconstruction loan, while approving a similar loan of \$3.75 billion to Britain in 1946.

The USSR sought to guarantee its own security by creating a "**sphere of influence**" around it (a surrounding set of friendly countries). These spheres of influence contradicted President FDR's Wilsonian dream of an "**open world**," decolonized, demilitarized, and democratized. Each country believed in the universal expanse of its own form of government. The Soviet Union and the United States provoked each other into a tense, 40-year standoff known as the **Cold War**.

Shaping the Postwar World

In **1944**, the **Western Allies** met at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire (**Bretton Woods Conference**) and established the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** to encourage world trade by regulating currency exchange rates. They also founded the **International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)** to promote economic growth in

underdeveloped areas. Unlike after WWI, the United States took the lead in creating the important international bodies and supplied most of their funding after WWII. The Soviets declined to participate.

The **United Nations Conference** opened on **April 25, 1945**. Representatives from 50 nations made the **United Nations charter**. It included the **Security Council**, dominated by the **Big Five** powers (the **United States**, **Britain**, the **USSR**, **France**, and **China**), each of whom had the right of veto, and the **General Assembly**, which could be controlled by smaller countries. The Senate overwhelmingly passed the document on July 28, 1945.

The U.N. has helped people throughout the world via organizations like **UNESCO** (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization), **FAO** (Food and Agricultural Organization), and **WHO** (World Health Organization).

In **1946**, Bernard Baruch wanted to create a U.N. agency, free from the great-power veto, with **worldwide authority** over **atomic energy**, weapons, and research. The plan fell apart as neither the United States nor the Soviet Union wanted to give up their nuclear weapons.

The Problem of Germany

At **Nuremberg, Germany** from **1945-1946**, **Nazi leaders** were tried and punished for **war crimes**. Punishments included hangings and long jail sentences.

Americans realized that a flourishing German economy was necessary to the recovery of Europe. The Soviets refused to support the development of Germany because they feared another German-initiated war.

At the end of the war, **Austria** and **Germany** were divided into **4 military occupation zones**, each assigned to one of the **Big Four** powers (**France**, **Britain**, **America**, and the **USSR**). Denied post-war economic support from America, the USSR wanted to take war reparations from Germany.

As the USSR spread communism to its Eastern zone in Germany and the Western Allies promoted the idea of a reunited Germany, Germany was divided into 2 zones. **West Germany** became an independent country, and **East Germany** became bound to the Soviet Union as an independent "satellite" state, shutoff from the Western world by the "**iron curtain**" of the Soviet Union.

Berlin, still occupied by the Four Big powers, was completely surrounded by the Soviet Occupation Zone. In **1948**, the Soviet Union attempted to starve the Allies out of Berlin by cutting off all rail and highway access to the city. In **May 1949**, after America had flown in many supplies, the **blockade** was lifted.

In **1949**, the governments of **East** and **West Germany** were established.

The Cold War Deepens

In **1946**, Stalin, seeking oil concessions, broke an agreement to remove his troops from Iran's northernmost province. He used the troops to aid a rebel movement. When Truman protested, Stalin backed down.

In **1947**, George F. Kennan came up with the "**containment doctrine**," which tried to explain the behavior of the USSR. This concept stated that the USSR was relentlessly expansionary and that the USSR could be **contained** by being firm and vigilant.

This doctrine was embraced by President Truman in 1947 when Congress passed the **Truman Doctrine**. This gave financial support to Greece to resist communist pressures. Truman declared that it must be the policy of the United States to aid any country that was resisting communist aggression.

Following WWII, France, Italy, and Germany were suffering from the hunger and economic chaos caused by the war. They were in danger of being taken over by Communist parties within the countries. By promising financial aid, American Secretary of State George C. Marshall convinced the Europeans to create a **joint plan** for their economic recovery.

Marshall offered the same aid to the Soviet Union and its allies, but the Soviets refused it.

The **Marshall Plan** gave \$12.5 billion to 16 European countries. Within a few years, Europe's economy was flourishing, and the Communist parties had lost ground.

Access to **Middle Eastern oil** was crucial to the European recovery program and to the health of the U.S. economy. Despite threats from the Arab nations to cut off the supply of oil, President Truman officially recognized the state of **Israel** on **May 14, 1948**.

Girding for the Cold War

The **Cold War**, the struggle to contain Soviet communism, was not a war, but it was also not a peace.

In **1947**, Congress passed the **National Security Act**, creating the **Department of Defense**. The department was headed by a new cabinet officer, the **secretary of defense**. The heads of each branch of the military were brought together as the **Joint Chiefs of Staff**.

The National Security Act also established the **National Security Council (NSC)** to advise the president on security matters, and it created the **Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)** to coordinate the government's foreign fact-gathering.

In **1948**, the United States joined the European pact, called the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. The pact pledged each nation to regard an attack on one as an attack on all. The pact also marked a departure from American diplomatic convention, a boost for European unification, and a significant step in the militarization of the Cold War.

Reconstruction and Revolution in Asia

General Douglas MacArthur took control of the democratization of Japan. The Japanese people cooperated with his plans; they saw that good behavior and the adoption of democracy would speed the end of the occupation. In **1946**, a **MacArthur-dictated constitution** was adopted. It renounced militarism and introduced western-style democratic government. From 1946-1948, top Japanese "war criminals" were tried in Tokyo.

In late **1949**, the Chinese **Nationalist** government of Generalissimo Jiang Jieshi was forced to flee the country to the island of **Formosa (Taiwan)** when the communists, led by Mao Zedong, took over the country. The collapse of Nationalist China was a depressing loss for America and its allies in the Cold War, as $\frac{1}{4}$ of the world's population fell to communism.

In **September 1949**, the **Soviet Union** exploded its first **atomic bomb**, 3 years before experts thought possible. To stay one step ahead, Truman ordered the development of the **H-bomb (Hydrogen Bomb)**. The first H-bomb was exploded in **1952**. The Soviets exploded their first H-bomb in **1953**, and the nuclear arms race entered a dangerously competitive cycle.

The Korean Volcano Erupts

When Japan collapsed in 1945, **Korea** was divided up into two sections: the Soviets controlled the north above the **38th parallel** and the United States controlled south of that line. Each country set up opposing governments in Korea.

The **National Security Council Memorandum Number 68 (NSC-68)** was a document created by the National Security Council that outlined America's national security strategy. It called for quadrupling military spending and using the Containment policy in regards to the Soviet Union. **NSC-68** was a **key document** of the Cold War because it marked a major step in the militarization of American foreign policy.

On **June 25, 1950**, the North Korean army invaded South Korea. In response to this, Truman ordered a massive military buildup, well beyond what was necessary for the **Korean War**. Without Congress's approval, Truman ordered American air and naval units to be sent to support South Korea. The U.N. was responsible for sending troops to fight the North Koreans, but the fight was led by General MacArthur and most of the troops were American.

The Military Seesaw in Korea

On September 15, 1950, General MacArthur pushed the North Koreans past the **38th parallel**, but on **November 1950**, thousands of communist Chinese "volunteers" attacked the U.N. forces, pushing them back to the 38th parallel.

Due to General MacArthur's insubordination and disagreement with the Joint Chiefs of Staff about increasing the size of the war, President Truman was removed MacArthur from command on **April 11, 1951**.

In July 1951, truce discussions dragged out over the issue of prisoner exchange.

The Cold War Home Front

In **1947**, President Truman launched the **Loyalty Review Board** to investigate the possibility of communist spies in the government.

In **1949**, 11 communists were sent to prison for violating the **Smith Act of 1940** (first peacetime antisedition law since 1798) in supporting the overthrow of the American government. The ruling was upheld in *Dennis v. United States* (**1951**).

In **1938**, the House of Representatives established the **Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC)** to investigate "subversion" (opposition to the government). In **1948**, Congressman Richard M. Nixon led the conviction of Alger Hiss, a prominent ex-New Dealer. Americans began to join in on the hunt for communist spies who were thought to be living in America.

In **1950**, Truman vetoed the **McCarran Internal Security Bill**, which authorized the president to arrest and detain suspicious people during an "internal security emergency." Congress overrode Truman's veto and passed the bill.

In **1951**, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were convicted and sentenced to death for stealing American atomic bomb plans and selling them to the Soviet Union. They were the only people in history to be sentenced to death for espionage.

In February 1950, Republican Senator Joseph R. McCarthy accused Secretary of State Dean Acheson of employing 205 Communist party members. Even though the accusations later proved to be false, McCarthy gained the support of the public. With the Republican victory in the election of 1952, his rhetoric became bolder as his accusations of communism grew. **McCarthyism**, the practice of spreading treasonous accusations without evidence, thrived during the Cold War. Though McCarthy was not the first red-hunter, he was the most ruthless.

In **1954**, McCarthy went too far and attacked the U.S. Army. Just a few months later, he was condemned by the Senate for "conduct unbecoming a member." (Army-McCarthy hearings)

Executive Order 9981 desegregated the armed forces.

Postwar Economic Anxieties

In the initial postwar years, the economy struggled and prices of consumer goods increased because the wartime price controls were removed. A series of **strikes** swept over the country in 1946.

In **1947**, the Republican Congress passed the **Taft-Hartley Act** over President Truman's veto. It outlawed "closed" (all-union) businesses, made unions liable for damages that resulted from jurisdictional disputes among themselves, and required union leaders to take a

noncommunist oath. Taft-Hartley was just one of several obstacles that slowed the growth of organized labor in the years following WWII.

The CIO's "**Operation Dixie**," tried to unionize southern textile workers and steelworkers. It failed in 1948 because it couldn't overcome fears of racial mixing.

The **Employment Act of 1946** created a 3-member Council of Economic Advisers to advise the president on policies regarding employment, production, and purchasing power.

The **Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944** (GI Bill of Rights / **GI Bill**), made money available to send former WWII soldiers to school. This bill raised educational levels and stimulated the construction industry; this helped to create the economic expansion that started in the late 1940s.

Democratic Divisions in 1948

In **1948**, the **Republicans** chose Thomas E. Dewey to run for president. After war hero Dwight D. Eisenhower chose not to run for the presidency, the **Democrats** chose Truman. Truman's nomination split the Democratic Party. **Southern Democrats** opposed Truman because he supported civil rights for blacks, so they nominated Governor J. Strom Thurmond. The new **Progressive party** nominated Henry A. Wallace. Truman won and was reelected as president. Truman's victory came from the votes of farmers, workers, and blacks.

President Truman supported a plan to lend American money to underdeveloped countries ("bold new program" or "**Point Four**" program). He wanted to help these countries develop before they succumbed to communism.

At home, Truman supported a "**Fair Deal**" program in **1949**. It called for improved housing, full employment, a higher minimum wage, better farm price supports, new TVAs, and an extension of Social Security. Congress only passed parts of the program: raises to the minimum wage; creation of public housing in the **Housing Act of 1949**; extension of old-age insurance to many more beneficiaries in the **Social Security Act of 1950**.

The Long Economic Boom, 1950-1970

From 1950s to the 1970s, the American economy grew rapidly. Incomes rose, the middle class expanded, and Americans accounted for 40% of the planet's wealth. The economic growth changed the face of politics and society. It paved the way for the success of the civil rights movement; it funded new welfare programs; and it gave Americans the confidence to exercise international leadership in the Cold War era.

Most new jobs created after WWII went to **women**, as the service sector of the economy dramatically outgrew the old industrial and manufacturing sectors.

The Roots of Postwar Prosperity

WWII boosted the American economy, but large increases in **military spending** helped sustain the economic growth. The increased military budget helped start high-technology industries like aerospace, plastics, and electronics. Low-cost petroleum from the Middle East (prices were controlled by Europe & America) caused America to significantly increase its energy consumption.

Productivity was the key to prosperity for America. Increased productivity was caused by **improved technology** and the **rising educational level** of the workforce.

Mechanization and fertilizers increased the productivity of farms. Because of this, less people were needed to work on farms, and the work force shifted out of agriculture.

The Smiling Sunbelt

Economic prosperity caused by WWII enabled people to move about the country at a higher rate than in the past (**population mobility**).

The "**Sunbelt**" is a 15-state area stretching along the southern portion of the U.S. from Virginia to California. The population in this region grew nearly twice as fast as in the Northeast (the "**Frostbelt**"). In the 1950s, California alone accounted for 1/5 of the nation's population growth. It became the most populous state in 1963.

People moved to the sunbelt in search of jobs, better climate, and lower taxes. The sunbelt states' economic prosperity was large due to the fact that this region received significantly more federal money than the North. The industrial region of the Ohio Valley (the "**Rustbelt**") was especially hit hard as a result of the loss in federal funds and population.

The Rush to the Suburbs

Throughout the country, home ownership became increasingly popular and many white Americans moved from the city to the newly created suburbs. The **Federal Housing Administration (FHA)** and **Veterans Administration (VA)** made home-loan guarantees, making it more economical to own a home in the suburbs rather than rent an apartment in the city.

The construction industry expanded in the 1950s and 1960s.

"**White flight**" to the suburbs left the inner cities **poverty-stricken**. Migrating blacks from the South moved into the abandoned inner cities. The FHA often refused blacks home mortgages for private home purchases, thus limiting black mobility out of the inner cities.

The Postwar Baby Boom

In the 15 years after 1945, the **birth rate** in the United States exploded as the "**baby boom**" took place. More than 50 million babies were born by the end of the 1950s. By 1973, the birth rates had dropped below the point necessary to maintain existing population figures.

35 The American Zenith

Affluence and Its Anxieties

The invention of the transistor in 1948 sparked a revolution in electronics, especially in **computers**. Computer giant International Business Machines (**IBM**) grew tremendously. **Aerospace industries** grew in the 1950s, in large part due to Eisenhower's SAC and to an expanding passenger airline business.

In **1956**, the number of "**white-collar**" (no manual labor) workers exceeded the number of "**blue-collar**" (manual labor) workers. As a result, union memberships declined.

White-collar jobs opened up opportunities for women. The majority of clerical and service jobs created after 1950 were filled by women. Women's new dual role as a worker and a homemaker raised questions about family life and about traditional definitions of gender roles.

Feminist Betty Friedan published in **1963** *The Feminine Mystique*, helping to launch the modern women's movement. The book discussed the widespread unhappiness of women who were housewives.

Consumer Culture in the Fifties

The innovations of the credit card, fast-food, and new forms of recreation highlighted the emerging lifestyle of leisure and affluence. In 1946, there were only 6 TV stations, but there were 146 by 1956. "**Televangelists**" like Baptist Billy Graham used the TV to spread Christianity.

As the population moved west, **sports** teams also moved west. Popular **music** was transformed during the 1950s. Elvis Presley created a new style known as **rock and roll**. Traditionalists were critical of Presley and many of the social movements during the 1950s.

The Advent of Eisenhower

Lacking public support for Truman, the Democrats nominated Adlai Stevenson for the **election of 1952** and the Republicans nominated Dwight D. Eisenhower. Eisenhower was already well-liked by the public. Richard M. Nixon was chosen for vice-president to satisfy the anticommunist wing of the Republican Party. During this election, TV became a popular medium for campaigning.

During the campaign, Nixon went on TV to defend himself against corruption allegations "**Checkers speech**".

Eisenhower won the election of 1952 by a large majority.

President Eisenhower attempted to end the Korean War. In **July 1953**, after Eisenhower threatened to use nuclear weapons, an **armistice** was signed, ending the Korean War. Despite the Korean War, Korea remained divided at the 38th Parallel.

Eisenhower's leadership style of sincerity, fairness, and optimism helped to comfort the nation after the war.

Desegregating the South

All aspects of life of black life in the South were governed by the Jim Crow laws. Blacks were segregated from whites, economically inferior, and politically powerless. Gunnar Myrdal exposed the contradiction between America's professed belief that all men are created equal and its terrible treatment of black citizens in his book, *An American Dilemma* (1944). In *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), the Supreme Court ruled that separate professional schools for blacks failed to meet the test of equality.

In December 1955, Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white person on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama. Her arrest sparked a yearlong black boycott of the city buses (Montgomery bus boycott) and served notice throughout the South that blacks would no longer submit to segregation.

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. rose to prominence during the bus boycott.

Seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution

Hearing of the lynching of black war veterans in 1946, President Harry Truman ended segregation in federal civil service and ordered "equality of treatment and opportunity" in the armed forces in 1948.

After Congress and new President Eisenhower ignored the racial issues, Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren stepped up to address civil rights for African Americans.

In *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954), the Supreme Court ruled that segregation in public schools was unequal and, thus, unconstitutional. The decision reversed the previous ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896).

Southern states opposed the ruling. Congressmen from these states signed the "Declaration of Constitutional Principles" in 1956, pledging their unyielding resistance to desegregation.

President Eisenhower did not support integration because he shied away from social issues.

In September 1957, Orval Faubus, the governor of Arkansas, used the National Guard to prevent 9 black students from enrolling in Little Rock's Central High School. Confronted with a direct challenge to federal authority, Eisenhower sent troops to escort the children to their classes.

In 1957, Congress passed the first **Civil Rights Act** since Reconstruction Days. It set up a permanent **Civil Rights Commission** to investigate violations of civil rights and it authorized federal injunctions to protect voting rights.

Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. formed the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)** in 1957. It sought to mobilize the power of black churches on behalf of black rights.

On **February 1, 1960**, 4 black college students in **Greensboro, North Carolina** demanded service at a whites-only lunch counter. Within a week, the sit-in reached 1,000 students, spreading a wave of wade-ins, lie-ins, and pray-ins across the South demanding equal rights. In April 1960, southern black students formed the **Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)** to give more focus to their efforts.

Eisenhower Republicanism at Home

When dealing with people, President Eisenhower was liberal, but when dealing with the economy and the government, he was conservative. He strived to balance the federal budget and to guard America from socialism.

In **1954**, giving in to the Mexican government's worries that **illegal Mexican immigration** to the United States would undercut the *bracero* program of legally imported farmworkers, President Eisenhower deported a million illegal immigrants in **Operation Wetback**.

Eisenhower tried to revert to the policy of assimilating Native American tribes into American culture, but his plan was dropped in **1961** after most tribes refused to comply.

Eisenhower wanted to cancel New Deal programs, but he lacked public support to do so. He supported the **Federal Highway Act of 1956**, which created thousands of miles of federally-funded highways.

Eisenhower only managed to balance the budget 3 times while in office (8 years). In **1959**, he incurred the biggest peacetime deficit in the history of the United States.

A "New Look" in Foreign Policy

In **1954**, secretary of state John Foster Dulles proposed a **policy of boldness** in which a fleet of superbombers would be built and equipped with nuclear bombs (called the **Strategic Air Command**, or **SAC**). This would allow the U.S. to threaten countries such as the Soviet Union and China with nuclear weapons.

At the **Geneva summit conference in 1955**, President Eisenhower attempted to make peace with the new Soviet Union dictator, Nikita Khrushchev, following Stalin's death. Peace negotiations were rejected.

The Vietnam Nightmare

In the early 1950s, nationalist movements tried to throw the French out of Vietnam. Vietnam leader Ho Chi Minh became increasingly communist while America became increasingly anticommunist.

After the nationalists won at the **Battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954**, a peace was called. Vietnam was divided at the **17th parallel**. Ho Chi Minh was given the north, while a pro-Western government, led by Ngo Dinh Diem, was given the south. The Vietnamese

nationalists were promised a nationwide election two years after the peace accords, but this never happened because it looked the communists would win.

Cold War Crises in Europe and the Middle East

In **1955**, West Germany was let into **NATO**. Also in **1955**, the Eastern European countries and the Soviets signed the **Warsaw Pact**. This was a communist military union to counteract NATO.

In May 1955, the Soviets ended the occupation of Austria. In 1956, Hungary rose up against the Soviets attempting to win their independence. When their request for aid from the United States was denied, they were slaughtered by the Soviet forces. America's nuclear weapon was too big of a weapon to use on such a relatively small crisis.

In **1953**, in an effort to secure Iranian oil for Western countries, the CIA created a **coup** that installed Mohammed Reza Pahlevi as the dictator of **Iran**.

President Nasser of **Egypt** sought funds from the West and the Soviets to build a dam on the Nile River. After the Americans learned of Egypt's involvement with the Soviets, the Americans withdrew their monetary offer. As a result, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, which was owned by the French and British. In October of **1956**, the French and British attacked Egypt, starting the **Suez Crisis**. The two countries were forced to retreat after America refused to provide them with oil.

Eisenhower Doctrine: a 1957 pledge of U.S. military and economic aid to Middle Eastern nations threatened by communist aggression.

In **1960**, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Iran, and Venezuela joined together to form the **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)**.

Round Two for Ike

President Eisenhower decidedly beat his Democratic opponent, Adlai Stevenson, and he was reelected in the election of **1956**.

Fraud and corruption in American labor unions caused the president to take an interest in passing labor laws. In **1959**, President Eisenhower passed the **Landrum-Griffin Act**. It was designed to hold labor leaders more accountable for financial illegalities.

On **October 4, 1957**, the Soviets launched the ***Sputnik I*** satellite into space. In November, they launched the satellite ***Sputnik II***, carrying a dog. The two satellites gave credibility to Soviet claims that superior industrial production is achieved through communism.

In response, President Eisenhower established the **National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)**.

The technological advances in the Soviet Union made Americans think that the educational system of the Soviet Union was better than the United State's system. In **1958**, the **National**

Defense and Education Act (NDEA) gave \$887 million in loans to college students and in grants to improve teaching sciences and languages.

The Continuing Cold War

Due to environmental concerns, the Soviet Union and the United States suspended nuclear tests in March and October 1958, respectively.

In **July 1958**, **Lebanon** called for aid under the Eisenhower Doctrine as communism threatened to take over the country. In **1959**, Soviet dictator Khrushchev appeared before the U.N. General Assembly and called for complete disarmament. In **1960**, an American **U-2 spy plane** was shot down in Russia, ending the possibility of an quick peaceful resolution.

Cuba's Castroism Spells Communism

Latin Americans began to show dissent towards America as the United States seemed to neglect Latin America's economic needs in favor of Europe's. They also despised constant American intervention. In 1954, for example, the CIA led a coup that overthrew a leftist government in Guatemala.

Fidel Castro led a coup that overthrew the American-supported government of **Cuba** in **1959**. Castro became militarily and economically allied with the Soviet Union; it had become a **military satellite** for the Soviet Union.

In August **1960**, Congress authorized \$500 million to prevent communism from spreading in Latin America.

Kennedy Challenges Nixon for the Presidency

The Republicans nominated Richard Nixon to run for president and Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. for vice president in the election of **1960**. The Democrats nominated John F. Kennedy to run for president and Lyndon B. Johnson for vice president.

John F. Kennedy's **Catholicism** irritated the Protestant people in the Bible Belt South.

Kennedy said that the Soviets, with their nuclear bombs and *Sputniks*, had gained on America's prestige and power. Nixon was forced to defend the existing administration (Republican) and claim that America's prestige had not slipped.

Television played a key role in the presidential election as Kennedy's personal appeal attracted many people. **Kennedy won** the election of 1961, gaining support from workers, Catholics, and African Americans.

America was economically prosperous during the Eisenhower years. **Alaska** and **Hawaii** became states in **1959**. As a Republican president, Eisenhower had helped integrate the reforms of the Democratic New Deal and Fair Deal programs into American life.

A Cultural Renaissance

New York became the art capital of the world after WWII.

Jackson Pollock helped develop abstract expressionism in the 1940s and 1950s.

American architecture also progressed after WWII. Many skyscrapers were created in a modernist or "**International Style**."

Pre-war realist, Ernest Hemingway wrote *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952). John Steinbeck, another pre-war writer, wrote graphic portrayals of American society. Joseph Heller's *Catch-22* (1961) discussed the antics and anguish of American airmen in the wartime Mediterranean.

The problems created by the new mobility and affluence of American life were explored by John Updike and John Cheever. Louis Auchincloss wrote about upper-class New Yorkers. Gore Vidal wrote a series of historical novels.

Poetry and playwrights also flourished during the postwar era.

New Cultural Voices

Books by **black authors** made best-seller lists. Led by William Faulkner, the South also had a literary renaissance.

Kennedy's "New Frontier" Spirit

President Kennedy was the youngest president to take office. He assembled one of the youngest cabinets, which included his brother Robert Kennedy, the Attorney General, who planned to reform the priorities of the FBI.

Kennedy's pushed his "**New Frontier**" plans, which included trying to fix unemployment and inflation and keeping wages high for workers. This plan inspired patriotism. Kennedy proposed the **Peace Corps**, an army of idealistic and mostly youthful volunteers to bring American skills to underdeveloped countries.

Southern Democrats and Republicans despised the president's New Frontier plan. Kennedy had campaigned on the theme of **revitalizing the economy** after the recessions of the Eisenhower years. To do this, the president tried to curb **inflation**. In **1962**, he negotiated a noninflationary wage agreement with the **steel industry**. When the steel industry announced significant price increases, promoting inflation, President Kennedy lambasted the steel industry's executives. This caused the industry to lower its prices.

Kennedy stimulated the economy by **cutting taxes** and putting **more money** directly into **private hands** (instead of spending more government money). Kennedy also proposed a multibillion-dollar plan to land an American on the moon (**Apollo Program**).

Foreign Flare-ups and "Flexible Response"

In **August 1961**, the Soviets began to construct the **Berlin Wall**, which was designed to stop the large population drain from East Germany to West Germany through Berlin.

Western Europe was prospering after the Marshall Plan aid and the growth of the **European Economic Community (EEC)** (also known as **Common Market**). The EEC was the free-trade area that evolved into the European Union. Kennedy secured passage of the **Trade Expansion Act in 1962**, authorizing tariff cuts of up to 50% to promote trade between America and the Common Market countries.

Defense Secretary Robert McNamara pushed the strategy of "**flexible response**". This was the idea that America would deploy military options around the world that could match the necessities of the crisis at hand. President Kennedy increased spending on the Special Forces. The doctrine of "flexible response" lowered the level at which diplomacy would give way to troops. It provided a way for a progressively and increasing use of force (ex: Vietnam).

Cuban Confrontations

In **1961**, President Kennedy signed the **Alliance for Progress**, which was essentially the Marshall Plan for Latin America. Its primary goal was to help the Latin American countries close the gap between the rich and the poor, thus quieting communist politicians. Results were disappointing as America's money did not impact Latin America's social problems.

On **April 17, 1961**, 1,200 American-supported Cuban exiles landed at **Cuba's Bay of Pigs**.

This was an attempt by America to overthrow the Castro regime. President Kennedy was against the *direct* intervention of the overthrow of Castro, so he did not provide sufficient support for the exiles. Hence, the invasion failed after the exiles were forced to surrender.

Continued American attempt to overthrow Castro caused Castro to further support the Soviets. In **October 1962**, it was discovered that the **Soviets** were secretly installing **nuclear missiles in Cuba**. Kennedy ordered a naval "**quarantine**" of Cuba and demanded immediate removal of the weapons. For a **week**, Americans waited while Soviet ships approached the patrol line established by the U.S. Navy off the island of Cuba. On **October 28**, Khrushchev agreed to a compromise in which he would pull the missiles out of Cuba. The Americans also agreed to end the quarantine and not invade the island. This ended the **Cuban Missile Crisis**.

In late **1963**, a pact prohibiting **trial nuclear explosions** in the atmosphere was signed.

In **June 1963**, President Kennedy gave a speech in which he encouraged Americans to **abandon the negative views** of the Soviet Union. He tried to lay the foundations for a realistic policy of **peaceful coexistence** with the Soviet Union.

The Struggle for Civil Rights

During his campaign, JFK had gained the black vote by stating that he would pass civil rights legislation, but he was slow to pass legislation during his presidency (he didn't want to lose support from southern Congressmen).

In **1960**, groups of **Freedom Riders** in the South tried to end segregation in facilities serving interstate bus passengers. When southern officials did nothing to stop violence that had erupted at these protests, federal marshals were dispatched to protect the freedom riders. For the most part, the **Kennedy family** and the **King family** (Martin Luther King, Jr.) had a good relationship.

The **Voter Education Project** sought to register the South's historically disfranchised blacks. In the spring of **1963**, Martin Luther King, Jr. launched a campaign against discrimination in **Birmingham**, Alabama, the most segregated big city in America. Civil rights marchers were repelled by police with attack dogs and high-pressure water hoses. In shock, President Kennedy delivered a speech to the nation on June 11, 1963 in which he dedicated himself to finding a solution to the racial problems.

In **August 1963**, Martin Luther King, Jr. led 200,000 black and white demonstrators on a peaceful "**March on Washington**" in support of the proposed new civil rights legislation.

The Killing of Kennedy

On **November 22, 1963**, President Kennedy was shot and killed as he was riding in an open limousine in Dallas, Texas. The alleged gunman was Lee Harvey Oswald. Oswald was shot and killed by self-appointed avenger, Jack Ruby. Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson was sworn into office, retaining most of Kennedy's cabinet. Kennedy was praised more for his ideals than what he had actually achieved.

36 The Stormy Sixties

The LBJ Brand on the Presidency

President Johnson convinced Congress to pass the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, banning racial discrimination in most private facilities open to the public. It strengthened the federal government's power to end segregation in schools and other public places. It also created the federal **Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)** to eliminate discrimination in hiring (race, national origin, gender).

In **1965**, President Johnson issued an executive order requiring all federal contractors to take "**affirmative action**" against discrimination.

Johnson started a "War on Poverty." His domestic program, called the "**Great Society**", was a set of New Dealish economic and welfare measures tried to reduce poverty and racial discrimination.

Johnson Battles Goldwater in 1964

The Democrats nominated Lyndon Johnson to run for president for the election of **1964**. The Republicans chose Senator Barry Goldwater. Goldwater attacked the federal income tax, the Social Security System, the Tennessee Valley Authority, civil rights legislation, the nuclear test-ban treaty, and the Great Society.

On **August 2th and August 4th**, two U.S. ships were **allegedly** fired upon. Johnson called the attack "unprovoked" and moved to make political gains out of the incident. He used the event to get Congress to pass the **Tonkin Gulf Resolution**. This basically let the president use unrestricted force (at his discretion) in Southeast Asia.

Lyndon Johnson overwhelmingly won the election of 1964.

The Great Society Congress

Congress passed many bills in support of the Great Society plan. In the War on Poverty, Congress gave more money to the Office of Economic Opportunity and it created two new cabinet offices: the **Department of Transportation** and the **Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)**. The **National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities** was designed to raise the level of American cultural life.

In regards to the Great Society plan, LBJ's **big four legislative achievements** were: aid to education, medical care for the elderly and poor, immigration reform, and a new voting rights bill. Johnson gave educational aid to students, not schools. In **1965**, Congress created **Medicare** for the elderly and **Medicaid** for the poor. The **Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965** abolished the quota system that had been in place since 1921. It also doubled the number of immigrants allowed to enter the country annually. The sources of immigration shifted from Europe to Latin America and Asia. Conservatives said that poverty could not be fixed by the Great Society programs, but the poverty rate did decline in the following decade.

Battling for Black Rights

The **Civil Rights Act of 1964** gave the federal government more power to enforce school-desegregation orders and to prohibit racial discrimination in public accommodations and employment.

President Johnson realized the problem that few blacks were registered to vote. The **24th Amendment**, passed in **1964**, abolished the poll tax in federal elections. In response to racial violence across the South, Congress passed the **Voting Rights Act of 1965**, which sought to prohibit minorities from being disenfranchised (through poll taxes, literacy tests, etc).

Black Power

Days after the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was passed, a bloody riot erupted in **Watts**, a black ghetto in Los Angeles. The **Watts explosion** marked increasing militant confrontation in the black struggle.

Malcolm X was an African-American Muslim minister who rallied black separatism. In **1965**, he was shot and killed by a rival Nation of Islam.

Racially-motivated violence continued to spread as the militant **Black Panther** party emerged. It openly carried weapons in the streets of Oakland, California. Stokely Carmichael preached the doctrine of **Black Power**, which emphasized racial pride and the creation of black political and cultural parties.

On **April 4, 1968**, Martin Luther King, Jr. was shot and killed by a sniper in Memphis, Tennessee. Black voter registration eventually increased, and by the late 1960s, several hundred blacks held elected positions in the South.

Vietnam Vexations

By the middle of **March 1965**, "**Operation Rolling Thunder**" had begun. This involved regular bombing attacks against North Vietnam. LBJ believed that an orderly escalation of American force in Vietnam would defeat the enemy.

The conflict in Vietnam became very **Americanized**. Pro-war hawks argued that if the United States left Vietnam, other nations would doubt America's word and succumb to communism. By 1968, Johnson had put more than 500,000 troops in Southeast Asia, and the annual cost for the war was over \$30 billion.

In **June 1967**, Israel launched a pre-emptive attack on Egypt's airforce, starting the **Six-Day War**. Following the war, Israel gained the territories of the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank.

Antiwar demonstrations increased significantly as more and more American soldiers died in the Vietnam War. Senator William Fulbright held a series of televised hearings in 1966 and 1967 in which he convinced the public that it had been deceived about the causes and "winnability" of the war.

When Defense Secretary McNamara expressed discomfort about the war, he was quietly removed from office.

By early 1968, the Vietnam War had become the longest and most unpopular foreign war in the nation's history. The government failed to justify the war. Casualties exceeded 100,000, and more bombs had been dropped in Vietnam than in World War II.

In **1967**, Johnson ordered the **CIA** to spy on domestic antiwar activists. He also encouraged the **FBI** to use its counterintelligence program, code-named "**Cointelpro**," to investigate members of the peace movement.

Vietnam Topples Johnson

In **January 1968**, the Viet Cong (VC) attacked 27 key South Vietnamese cities, including Saigon. The **Tet Offensive** ended in a military defeat for the VC, but it caused the American public to demand an immediate end to the war. President Johnson began to doubt the wisdom of continuing to send troops to Vietnam.

Eugene McCarthy and Robert F. Kennedy entered the race for the 1968 Democratic presidential nomination.

On **March 31, 1968**, President Johnson stated that he would freeze American troop levels and gradually shift more responsibility to the South Vietnamese. Bombings would also be scaled down. He also declared that he would not be a candidate for the presidency in 1968.

The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968

On **June 5, 1968**, Robert Kennedy was shot and killed by an Arab immigrant resentful of the Kennedy's pro-Israel views.

Hubert H. Humphrey, vice president of Johnson, won the Democratic nomination. Humphrey supported the increased use of force in Vietnam.

The Republicans nominated Richard Nixon for president and Spiro T. Agnew for vice president. The Republican platform called for a victory in Vietnam and a strong anticrime policy.

The **American Independent party**, headed by George C. Wallace, called for the of segregation of blacks.

The Republican and Democrat candidates supported the Vietnam War in the election of 1968. Despite winning most major cities and about 95% of the black vote, the Democrats lost the election; Richard Nixon won the election of **1968**.

No president since Lincoln had done more for civil rights than LBJ. The Vietnam War sucked tax dollars away from LBJ's Great Society programs, though.

LBJ was persuaded by his advisors that an easy victory in Vietnam could be achieved by massive aerial bombing and large troop commitments. He did not want to continue to escalate the fighting, though, and this offended the war "hawks." His refusal to end the war also offended the war "doves."

The Cultural Upheaval of the 1960s

In 1960s in America, a negative attitude toward all kinds of authority took hold. The **Free Speech Movement** was one of the first organized protests against established authority. It took place at the **University of California at Berkeley** in **1964**. Leader Mario Savio condemned the impersonal university "machine."

From the 1950s to the 1970s, educated people became more secular and uneducated people became more religious.

Protests against government took place around the world, including France, China, and Czechoslovakia.

The 1960s also witnessed a "sexual revolution." The introduction of the birth control pill made unwanted pregnancies easy to avoid. By the 1960s, gay men and lesbians were increasingly emerging and demanding sexual tolerance. The **Stonewall Rebellion** was a series of riots that emerged when off-duty police officers attacked gay men. Worries in the 1980s of AIDS and other sexually-transmitted diseases slowed the sexual revolution.

By the end of the 1960s, students for a **Democratic Society (SDS)** had created an underground terrorist group called the **Weathermen**.

The upheavals of the 1960s could be attributed to the three *Ps*: the youthful **population** bulge, **protest** against racism and the Vietnam War, and the apparent permanence of **prosperity**.

Nixon "Vietnamizes" the War

President Nixon brought knowledge and expertise in foreign affairs to the presidency. Nixon started a policy called "**Vietnamization**," which was to withdraw 540,000 U.S. troops from South Vietnam. The South Vietnamese, with American money, weapons, training, and advice, would then gradually take over the war. Nixon did not want to end the war; he wanted to win it by other means.

Nixon Doctrine: the United States would honor its existing defense commitments but in the future, Asians and other countries would have to fight their own wars without the support of large numbers of American troops.

On November 3, 1969, Nixon delivered a televised speech to the "**silent majority**," who presumably supported the war; he hoped to gain supporters.

Cambodianizing the Vietnam War

Cambodia, which was officially neutral in the war, bordered South Vietnam. The North Vietnamese had been using Cambodia as a springboard for troops, weapons, and supplies.

On **April 29, 1970**, President Nixon ordered American forces to attack the enemy in **Cambodia**. Protests erupted at **Kent State University**, in which the National Guard shot 4 students. Nixon withdrew the troops from Cambodia on **June 29, 1970**, although the bitterness between the "**hawks**" and the "**doves**" increased.

In **1971**, the **26th Amendment** was passed, lowering the voting age to 18.

Pentagon Papers: a leaked, top-secret Pentagon study that documented the deceptions of the previous presidential administrations, in regards to the Vietnam War.

Nixon's Détente with Beijing (Peking) and Moscow

The two great communist powers, the **Soviet Union** and **China**, disagreed over their interpretations of Marxism. Nixon and his national security advisor, Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, used the Chinese-Soviet tension to play off one country against the other. Nixon and Kissinger wanted to get the Soviet Union and China to pressure North Vietnam into peace.

In 1972, Nixon visited China and paved the way for improved relations between the United States and Beijing. In May 1972, Nixon traveled to Moscow and negotiated *détente*, or relaxed tensions between the Soviet Union and China. The United States agreed to sell the Soviets at least \$750 million worth of wheat, corn, and other cereals. Two agreements also slowed the arms race between America and the Soviets: 1) An **anti-ballistic missile (AMB) treaty** limited the U.S. and the Soviet Union to two clusters of defensive missiles. 2) **SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks)** froze the numbers of long-range nuclear missiles for 5 years.

A New Team on the Supreme Bench

Earl Warren was appointed as a Justice to the Supreme Court in 1953 and he made many controversial rulings:

Griswold v. Connecticut (1965) struck down a state law that banned the use of contraceptives, even by married couples, creating a "right to privacy."

Gideon v. Wainwright (1963) ruled that all criminals were entitled to legal counsel, even if they were unable to afford it.

Escobedo (1964) and *Miranda* (1966) ruled that those who were arrested had to the "right to remain silent." (Miranda warning)

Engel v. Vitale (1962) and *School District of Abington Township vs. Schempp* (1963) ruled that public schools could not require prayers or Bible reading.

Reynolds vs. Sims (1964) ruled that the state legislatures would be required to be reapportioned according to population.

In an attempt to end the liberal rulings, President Nixon set Warren E. Burger to replace the retiring Earl Warren in **1969**. The Supreme Court had four new Nixon-appointed members by the end of 1971.

Nixon on the Home Front

Nixon expanded the Great Society programs by increasing funding for **Medicare**, **Medicaid**, and **Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)**. He also created the **Supplemental Security Income (SSI)**, giving benefits to the poor aged, blind, and disabled.

Nixon's **Philadelphia Plan of 1969** required construction-trade unions to establish quotas for hiring black employees. This plan changed the definition of "affirmative action" to include preferable treatment on *groups*, not *individuals*; the Supreme Court's ruling on *Griggs v. Duke*

Power Co. (1971) upheld this. Whites protested this decision, calling it "reverse discrimination."

Nixon created the **Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)**, the **Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OHSA)**, and the **Consumer Product Safety Commission (CPSC)**.

These agencies gave the federal government more control over businesses.

In **1962**, Rachel Carson's book ***Silent Spring*** exposed the harmful effects of pesticides.

The **Clean Air Act of 1970** and the **Endangered Species Act of 1973** both aimed at protecting and preserving the environment.

Worried about **inflation**, Nixon imposed a 90-day wage freeze and then took the nation off the gold standard (devaluing the dollar). This ended the "**Bretton Woods**" system of international currency stabilization, which was the agreement that each country would tie its monetary exchange rate to gold.

Nixon's **southern strategy** helped him win the Southern vote. This strategy consisted of opposing civil rights for African-Americans.

The Nixon Landslide of 1972

In the spring of 1972, the North Vietnamese burst through the demilitarized zone separating the two Vietnams. Nixon ordered massive bombing attacks on strategic centers, halting the North Vietnamese offensive.

Senator George McGovern won the 1972 Democratic nomination. He based his campaign on pulling out of Vietnam in 90 days. President Nixon, though, won the election of **1972** in a landslide.

Nixon ordered a two-week bombing campaign of North Vietnam in an attempt to force the North Vietnamese to the peace table.

On **January 23, 1973**, North Vietnamese negotiators agreed to a **cease-fire agreement**. This agreement was really just a disguised American retreat.

The Secret Bombing of Cambodia and the War Powers Act

Despite assurances to the American public that **Cambodia's** neutrality was being respected, it was discovered that secret bombing raids on North Vietnamese forces in Cambodia had taken place since March of 1969; this caused the public to question trust of the government. Nixon ended the bombings in June 1973.

Cambodia was taken over by the cruel dictator Pol Pot, who later committed genocide of over 2 million people over a span of a few years.

In **November 1973**, Congress passed the **War Powers Act**. It required the president to tell Congress within 48 hours about all commitments of U.S. troops to foreign conflicts. A new feeling of "**New Isolationism**" that discouraged U.S. troops from being used in other countries' wars began to take hold.

The Arab Oil Embargo and the Energy Crisis

During the Yom Kippur War in 1973, Syria and Egypt tried to regain the territory that they had lost to Israel during the **Six-Day War**. American support helped Israel win the war, but it caused the Arab nations (OPEC) to impose an oil embargo on the United States. To conserve oil, a speed limit of 55 MPH was imposed. An oil pipeline in **Alaska** was approved in **1974** and other forms of energy were researched.

The embargo caused an economic recession in America and several other countries.

OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) lifted the embargo in **1974**, but it quadrupled the price of oil.

37 Sea of Troubles

Watergate and the Unmaking of a President

On **June 17, 1972**, five men working for the **Republican Committee for the Re-election of the President** were caught breaking into the Watergate Hotel and bugging Democrats' rooms. After the **Watergate Scandal**, it was discovered that the Nixon administration was involved in many other cases of corruption and "dirty tricks."

Many prominent members of the President's administration resigned. Vice President Spiro Agnew was also forced to resign for taking bribes. Congress replaced Agnew with Gerald Ford.

A select Senate committee, headed by Senator Sam Erving, led an investigation into the corruption. Nixon claimed no knowledge of the illegal activities, but John Dean III, a former White House lawyer, testified about how Nixon tried to cover up the Watergate Scandal.

On **October 20, 1973** ("**Saturday Night Massacre**"), Nixon fired Archibald Cox, the prosecutor of the Watergate Scandal case who had issued a subpoena of the tapes. The attorney general and deputy attorney general resigned because they did not want to fire Cox. When conversations involving the Watergate Scandal were discovered on **tapes**, President Nixon refused to hand them over to Congress, despite denying any participation in the scandal. On **July 24, 1974**, the Supreme Court ruled that President Nixon had to submit all tapes to Congress. On **August 5, 1974**, Nixon released the three tapes that held the most damaging information. One of the tapes ("**smoking gun**" tape) proved that Nixon had played an active part of the attempted cover-up of the Watergate Scandal.

On **August 8, 1974**, Nixon resigned due to pressures from his own party.

Sources of Stagnation

The growth of the American economy slowed down in the 1970s. More women and teens were entering the works force; these groups typically made less money than males. Deteriorating

machinery and new regulations also hindered growth. The **Vietnam War** and on the **Great Society** program also contributed to inflation.

Countries like Japan and Germany started to dominate industries that had traditionally been led by the Americans (steel, automobiles, and consumer electronics).

The First Unelected President

Gerald Ford became the first unelected president.

President Ford's popularity and respect sank when he issued a **full pardon of Nixon**, thus setting off accusations of a "buddy deal."

In **July 1975**, Ford signed the **Helsinki accords**, which recognized Soviet boundaries and helped to ease tensions between the two nations.

Defeat in Vietnam

Early in **1975**, the **North Vietnamese** invaded **South Vietnam**. President Ford request aid for South Vietnam, but was rejected by Congress. South Vietnam quickly fell. The last Americans were evacuated on **April 29, 1975**.

The estimated cost to America was \$188 billion, with 56,000 dead and 300,000 wounded. America had lost face in the eyes of foreigners, lost its own self-esteem, lost confidence in its military power, and lost much of the economic strength that had made possible its global leadership after WWII.

Feminist Victories and Defeats

In 1972, Congress passed **Title IX of the Education Amendments**, prohibiting sex discrimination in any federally assisted educational program. Congress approved the **Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)** amendment to the Constitution, although it was never ratified by enough states. This amendment would have prohibited laws that discriminated based on sex. In *Roe vs. Wade* (1973), the Supreme Court invalidated laws banning abortion.

The Seventies in Black and White

In **1974**, the Supreme Court ruled in *Milliken v. Bradley* that desegregation plans could not require students to move across school-district lines. This reinforced the "white flight".

In 1978, the Supreme Court ruled in *University of California v. Bakke* that Allan Bakke that universities could not favor applicants based on the quality of race. The Supreme Court's only black justice, Thurgood Marshall, warned that the denial of racial preferences might erase the progress gained by the civil rights movement.

In *United States vs. Wheeler* (1978), the Supreme Court ruled that Native American tribes had limited sovereignty.

The Bicentennial Campaign

In the election of **1976**, Democrat Jimmy Carter beat Republican Gerald Ford to win the presidency. Carter promised to never lie to the American public.

Carter was inexperienced in dealing with the politics of Washington.

Carter's Humanitarian Diplomacy

President Carter mediated peace talks between Israel and Egypt. On **September 17, 1978**, President Anwar Sadat of **Egypt** and Prime Minister Menachem Begin of **Israel** signed peace accords at Camp David. Israel agreed to withdraw from territory it had gained in the 1967 war as long as Egypt respected Israel's territories.

President Carter pledged to return the **Panama Canal** to Panama by the year 2000 and resume full diplomatic relations with China in 1979.

Economic and Energy Woes

The **rate of inflation** had been steadily rising, and by **1979**, it was at **13%**. Americans learned that they were no longer economically isolated from the world.

To reduce America's costly dependence on foreign oil, Carter called for legislation to improve energy conservation. The legislation didn't get much public support.

In **1979**, Iran's shah Mohammed Reza Pahlevi, who had been installed by America in 1953 and had ruled Iran as a dictator, was overthrown and succeeded by the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

Iranian fundamentalists were very opposed Western customs, and because of this, Iran stopped exporting oil. OPEC also raised oil prices and caused another oil crisis.

In **July 1979**, Carter retreated to Camp David and met with hundreds of advisors to come up with a solution to America's problems. On **July 15, 1979**, Carter gave his **malaise speech** in which he chastised the **American people** for their obsession of **material goods**, stunning the nation. A few days later, he fired four cabinet secretaries.

The Turn Toward the Market

"Neoconservatives" grew in numbers as a result of the economic downturn. They fought for free-market capitalism and a return to traditional familial roles.

Foreign Affairs and the Iranian Imbrolio

In 1979, Carter signed the **SALT II agreements** with Soviet leader **Leonid Brezhnev**, but the U.S. senate refused to ratify it.

On **December 27, 1979**, the Soviet Union invaded **Afghanistan**, which ended up turning into the Soviet Union's version of Vietnam. Because Afghanistan bordered Iran, the Soviet

invasion of Afghanistan posed a threat to America's oil supplies. President Carter placed an embargo on the Soviet Union and boycotted the Olympic Games in Moscow. He also proposed a "**Rapid Deployment Force**" that could quickly respond to crises anywhere in the world.

On **November 4, 1979**, a group of anti-American Muslim militants stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehran and took hostages, demanding that the U.S. return the exiled shah who had arrived in the U.S. two weeks earlier for cancer treatments.

To resolve the **Iranian Hostage Crisis**, Carter first tried **economic sanctions** on Iran; this did not work. He then tried a **commando rescue mission**, but that had to be aborted.

The hostage crisis dragged on for most of Carter's term, and the hostages were not released until **January 20, 1981** - the inauguration day of Ronald Reagan.

38 The Resurgence of Conservatism

By the 1980s, the American population was aging and more people were living in the South and West. This led to the emergence of a new politically conservative movement.

The Election of Ronald Reagan, 1980

Ronald Reagan was a **neoconservative** who opposed a big government, supported the "common man's" rights, and opposed favoritism for minorities. He tried to spin the Democrats as a party who supported big government and only supported minorities. Like neoconservatives, he also supported free-market capitalism, supported anti-Soviet policies, opposed liberal welfare programs and affirmative-action policies, and he called for the reassertion of traditional values of individualism and the centrality of family.

Ronald Reagan overwhelmingly won the **election of 1980**, beating Democratic president Jimmy Carter.

The Reagan Revolution

The **Iranians** released the hostages on Reagan's Inauguration Day, January 20, 1981, after 444 days of captivity.

Reagan assembled a conservative cabinet when he took office.

A major goal of Reagan was to **reduce the size of the government** by **shrinking the federal budget** and **cutting taxes**. He proposed a new federal budget that called for cuts of \$35 billion, mostly in **social programs**, including food stamps and federally-funded job-training centers.

On **March 6, 1981**, Reagan was shot. 12 days later, Reagan recovered and returned to work.

The Battle of the Budget

Reagan called for substantial **tax cuts**, and in August 1981, Congress approved a set of tax reforms that lowered individual tax rates, reduced federal estate taxes, and created new tax-free saving plans for small investors.

Reagan supported "**supply-side**" economics: reducing taxes will enable businesses to produce more goods, which will lower prices, increase consumer spending, and create more jobs.

Reagan believed that this would stimulate new investment, boost productivity, promote dramatic economic growth, and reduce the federal deficit. (**Reaganomics**)

In 1981-1982, the economy slipped into a recession as unemployment rose and banks closed. The anti-inflationary policies that caused the **recession of 1982** had actually been created by the Federal Reserve Board in 1979, during Carter's presidency.

During the 1980s, **income gaps widened** between the rich and the poor.

By the mid-1980s, the economy had recovered. Economists speculated that the economy had recovered because of Reagan's massive **military expenditures**. Reagan gave the Pentagon nearly \$2 trillion in the 1980s. This massive expenditure led to an unbalanced federal budget and it **substantially increased the national debt**.

Reagan Renews the Cold War

Reagan's strategy for dealing with the Soviet Union was to **initiate a new arms race and outspend the Soviets**. He expected that the American economy could better support an expensive arms race than the Soviet Union's economy.

In March 1983, Reagan announced a missile-defense system called the **Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)**, also known as **Star Wars**. The plan called for orbiting battle satellites in space that could fire laser beams to shoot down intercontinental missiles.

In 1981, the USSR declared martial law in Poland. In **1983**, a Korean passenger **airliner** was shot down when it flew into Soviet airspace. By the end of 1983, all arms-control negotiations were broken, and the Cold War was intensified.

Troubles Abroad

In June **1982**, Israel invaded **Lebanon**, seeking to destroy the guerilla bases from which Palestinian fighters attacked Israel. Reagan sent peacekeeping troops, but after a suicide bomber killed 200 marines, he withdrew the force.

In **1979**, Reagan sent "military advisors" to **El Salvador** to support the pro-American government. In **October 1983**, he sent forces to the island of **Grenada**, where a military coup had killed the prime minister and brought Marxists to power.

Round Two for Reagan

Ronald Reagan overwhelmingly won the election of **1984**, beating Democrat Walter Mondale and his female vice presidential nominee, Geraldine Ferraro.

Foreign policy issues dominated Reagan's second term.

Mikhail Gorbachev became the leader of the Soviet Union in 1985. He was committed to reforming the country with two policies: *Glasnost* sought to allow free speech and political freedom and *Perestroika* sought to adopt capitalistic economic policies. These two policies required the Soviet Union to reduce the size of its military and concentrate aid on its citizens. This necessitated an end to the Cold War. In **December 1985**, Reagan and Gorbachev signed the **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty**, banning all intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe.

The Iran-Contra Imbrolio

Reagan was plagued by 2 problems: American hostages were held by Muslim extremists in Lebanon, and **Nicaragua** was run by a left-wing **Sandinista** government. To circumvent Congress's ban on sending arms to the Nicaraguan rebels who fought Sandinista, the Reagan administration secretly sold arms to **Iran** (who helped free hostages) and then diverted the money from the sales to the rebels.

In **November 1986**, news of the **secret dealings** broke and ignited a firestorm of controversy. Reagan claimed he had no idea of the illicit activities. **Criminal indictments** were brought against Oliver North, Admiral John Poindexter, and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. The **Iran-contra affair** cast a shadow over Reagan's record in foreign policy.

Reagan's Economic Legacy

Reagan's tax cuts and huge increases in military spending caused **\$200 billion in annual deficits**, which added \$2 trillion to the national debt during Reagan's administration. However, Reagan's large budget deficits helped make future social welfare programs seem economically infeasible. Thus, Reagan had achieved his goal of limiting the expansion of welfare programs.

In the early 1990s, **median household income** declined.

The Religious Right

In **1979**, Reverend Jerry Falwell founded a political organization called the **Moral Majority**. He preached against sexual permissiveness, abortion, feminism, and the spread of gay rights. The organization became an aggressive political advocate of conservative causes.

Conservatism in the Courts

By the time he had left office, Reagan had appointed **3 conservative-minded judges**, including Sandra Day O'Connor, the first woman to become a Supreme Court Justice. Reagan sought to use the Supreme Court to fight **affirmative action** and **abortion**.

Affirmative Action - In two cases in **1989** (*Ward's Cove Packing v. Antonia* and *Martin v. Wilks*), the Court made it more difficult to prove that an employer practiced racial discrimination in hiring.

Abortion - In *Roe v. Wade* (**1973**), the Court had prohibited states from making laws that interfered with a woman's right to an abortion during the early months of pregnancy. In *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* (**1989**), the Supreme Court approved a Missouri law that imposed certain restrictions on abortion, signalling that a state could legislate in an area in which *Roe* had previously forbidden them to legislate. In *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* (**1992**), the Court ruled that states could restrict access to abortion as long they did not place an "undue burden" on the woman.

Referendum on Reagansim in 1988

Corruption in the government gave Democrats political opportunities.

On "**Black Monday**," **October 19, 1987**, the stock market dropped 508 points, which was the largest one-day decline in history.

The Republicans nominated George H. W. Bush for the election of **1988**. The Democrats chose Michael Dukakis. Despite Reagan's recent problems in office, **George H. W. Bush** won the election.

George H. W. Bush and the End of the Cold War

In **1989**, thousands of **pro-democracy demonstrators** protested in **Tiananmen Square** in **China**. In June of 1989, China's autocratic rulers brutally crushed the movement. In 1989, several communist regimes in Europe collapsed, including **Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and Romania**. In **December 1989**, the **Berlin Wall** came down, and the two Germanies were reunited in **October 1990**. In **August 1991**, a **military coup** attempted to preserve the communist system by trying to overthrow Gorbachev. In December 1991, **Gorbachev** resigned as the Soviet Union's president, as the Soviet Union had dissolved into its component parts, 15 republics loosely confederated in the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**, with Russia as the most powerful state. Boris Yelstin, the president of the Russian Republic, was the dominant leader of the CIS. The demise of the Soviet Union ended the **Cold War**.

Ethnic warfare broke out throughout the former Soviet Union. In **1991**, the **Chechen minority** tried to declare its independence from **Russia**, but Yelstin sent in Russian troops. As a result of reduced defense spending after the Cold War, **America's economy** suffered.

In **1990**, the white regime in **South Africa** freed African leader Nelson Mandela, who had served 27 years in prison for conspiring to overthrow the government. Four years later, he was elected as South Africa's president. In **1990**, free elections removed the leftist **Sandinistas** in **Nicaragua** from power. In 1992, the civil war ended in **El Salvador**.

The Persian Gulf Crisis

On August 2, 1990, **Iraqi** leader Saddam Hussein invaded **Kuwait**, seeking oil. The United Nations Security Council condemned the invasion and on August 3, it demanded the immediate withdrawal of Iraq's troops. After Hussein refused to comply by the mandatory date of **January 15, 1991**, the United States led a massive international military deployment, sending 539,000 troops to the Persian Gulf region.

On **January 16, 1991**, the U.S. and the U.N. launched a 37-day air war against Iraq. Allied commander, American general Norman Schwarzkopf, planned to bomb the Iraqis and then send in ground troops and armor. On **February 23**, the land war, "**Operation Desert Storm**," began. It only lasted 4 days, and Saddam Hussein was forced to sign a cease-fire on **February 27**.

Because the allies had only agreed to liberate Kuwait, Bush decided not to invade Baghdad to overthrow Saddam. Thus, Saddam stayed in power.

Bush on the Home Front

President Bush signed the **Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA)** in **1990**, prohibiting discrimination against citizens with physical or mental disabilities. In **1992**, he signed a major **water projects bill** that reformed the distribution of subsidized federal water in the West. In 1990, Bush's Department of Education challenged the legality of college scholarships targeted for racial minorities.

In **1991**, Bush nominated conservative African American Clarence Thomas to the **Supreme Court**. He opposed affirmative action. Thomas's nomination was approved by the Senate despite accusations from Anita Hill that Thomas had sexually harassed her.

By 1992, the unemployment rate had exceeded 7% and the federal budget deficit continued to grow. Bush was forced to increase taxes to generate revenue for the federal government.

39 Confronting the Post-Cold War Era

Bill Clinton: The First Baby-Boomer President

For the election of **1992**, the Democrats chose Bill Clinton as their candidate (despite accusations of womanizing and draft evasion) and Albert Gore, Jr. as his running mate. The Democrats tried a new approach, promoting growth, strong defense, and anticrime policies, while campaigning to stimulate the economy.

The Republicans dwelled on "family values" and re-nominated George H. W. Bush for the presidency and J. Danforth Quayle for the vice presidency.

Third party candidate, Ross Perot entered the race and ended up winning 19,237,247 votes, although he won no Electoral votes.

Clinton won the election of 1992. Democrats also gained control of both the House and the Senate.

Presidency Clinton hired **minorities** and more **women** in Congress and his presidential cabinet. This included the first female attorney general, Janet Reno, Secretary of Health and Human Services, Donna Shalala, and Ruth Bader Ginsburg in the Supreme Court

A False Start for Reform

Clinton called for accepting homosexuals in the armed forces, but he had to settle for a "don't ask, don't tell" policy that unofficially accepted gays and lesbians.

Clinton appointed his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, to revamp the nation's health and medical care system. When the plan was revealed in October 1993, critics blasted it as cumbersome, confusing, and stupid. The previous image of Hillary as an equal political partner of her husband changed to a liability.

By **1998**, Clinton 's policies had led to **budget surplus** and he had **shrunk the federal deficit** to its lowest levels in ten years.

On February 26, 1993, a radical Muslim group bombed the **World Trade Center** in New York, killing six people. On April 19, 1993, a standoff at **Waco, Texas** between the government and the **Branch Davidian cult** ended in a fire that killed 82 people. On April 19, 1995, Timothy McVeigh bombed a federal building in **Oklahoma City**, killing 169 people.

The Politics of Distrust

In 1994, Newt Gingrich led Republicans on an attack of Clinton's liberal failures with a conservative "**Contract with America.**" That year, Republicans won eight more seats in the Senate and 53 more seats in the House, where Gingrich became the new Speaker of the House.

A conservative Congress passed the **Welfare Reform Bill**, which made cuts to welfare programs.

In 1995, the government shut down when Congress could not agree on a budget.

In the **election of 1996**, Clinton beat Republican Bob Dole. Ross Perot, the third party candidate, again finished third.

Clinton Comes Back

During his second term, Clinton was more of a political moderate.

Racial Progress and Perils

Affirmative action was struck down in a court ruling in California.

Riots in Los Angeles broke out in 1992 when white police officers were acquitted in the beating of a black suspect.

Globalization and Its Discontents

The economy was booming in the late 1990s due to the Federal Reserve Board's low interest rates and the growth of Internet business.

The **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)** was passed in 1993, and it created a **free-trade zone** between Mexico, Canada, and the United States. (It eliminated tariffs between the countries).

The **World Trade Organization (WTO)** was created in 1994, and it promoted trade between the participating countries. It was supported by Clinton.

Clinton fought for two domestic issues during his second term: the fight against **tobacco companies** and the fight for **gun control**.

The Feminist Revolution

By the 1990's, half of the work force was comprised of women.

Congress passed the **Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993**, which gave job protection to men and women who needed to take off of work due to family-related reasons.

Searching for a Post-Cold War Foreign Policy

Clinton struggled to develop an American foreign policy that wasn't centered around fighting communism.

Clinton sent troops to Somalia, but eventually withdrew them. Clinton initially criticized China for its human rights abuses, but he eventually supported China when he realized how important trade with China was to America.

Clinton committed American troops to NATO to keep the peace in the former **Yugoslavia**.

Clinton led the 1993 reconciliation meeting between Israel's Yitzhak Rabin and Palestinian Yasir Arafat at the White House. Two years later, though, Rabin was assassinated, ending hopes for peace in the Middle East.

Scandal and Impeachment

In 1998, it was discovered that President Clinton had an affair with a White House intern, Monica Lewinsky (**Lewinsky Affair**). Clinton lied about the affair under oath. The House Republicans passed two articles of **impeachment** against Clinton: perjury before a grand jury and obstruction of justice.

In 1999, the Senate voted to remove Clinton from office, but the Republicans failed to obtain the 2/3 majority that was required.

Clinton's Legacy and the 2000 Election

The American economy prospered during Clinton's era in large part because of the global economic expansion.

The Democrats nominal Albert Gore for president and Joseph Lieberman for vice president for the election of **2000**. The Republicans nominated George W. Bush for president and Dick Cheney for vice president. Bush won nomination in large part because he was the son of former president George H. W. Bush.

Bush supported returning the federal budget surplus back to the people through tax cuts and through giving money to private institutions who would help the poor. Gore supported smaller tax cuts and strengthening Social Security.

The election was very close and the electoral votes of **Florida** would decide who won. For five weeks, it was uncertain who won Florida's ballots, some of which were defective or unreadable. The Supreme Court eventually ruled (on party lines) that **Bush had won the presidency**. Although Bush won more electoral votes, **Bush lost the popular vote**. (More people voted for Gore than for Bush.)

E Pluribus Plures

In the late 20th century, Americans began to stress the need to preserve and promote ethnic and racial cultures. As racial barriers were broken down, Americans were becoming more interracial.

Culture and Society at Century's End

More Americans were receiving college degrees, and this expanding population of educated people increased interest in liberal arts (reading, museums, music, etc). The American West became a popular literary focal point as more Americans moved west. Authors including Larry McMurtry, Raymond Carver, and Annie Dillard wrote Western-themed novels.

The number of popular authors and artists who were minorities (African-American, Asian-American, and women) also increased.

New York became the art capital of the world after World War II. The Ford Foundation and the federal government (**National Endowment for the Arts** in **1965**) supported the arts.

Notable artists after WWII included Jackson Pollock, Willem de Kooning, Andy Warhol, Robert Rauschenberg, and Georgia O'Keeffe. Film continued to grow as generations of younger filmmakers emerged (George Lucas, Spike Lee, Steven Spielberg, etc). Interest in architecture also increased after WWII due to the building boom.

40 To a New Century

Bush falsely claimed that Iraq had **weapons of mass destruction**. He used this rationale to invade Iraq.

Bush Begins

Although he entered office promising to be a uniter between the Democrats and Republicans, President Bush was a **very divisive president**. He strongly opposed welfare programs opposed environmentalist policies. He rejected the **Kyoto Treaty**, which was an international treaty aimed at reducing greenhouse gas emissions. He enacted large tax cuts that, along with upcoming wars, turned a federal budget surplus into a massive budget deficit.

Terrorism Comes to America

On **September 11, 2001**, terrorists hijacked four aircraft and crashed them into the World Trade Center Towers, the Pentagon, and rural Pennsylvania. **Al Qaeda**, which was based in **Afghanistan** and led by Osama bin Laden, was responsible for the attack.

In October 2001, Congress passed the **Patriot Act**, which expanded the government's ability to monitor citizens' communication, and it allowed immigrants suspected of terrorism to be deported. In 2002, Congress created the Department of Homeland Security which sought to protect the nation's borders. Hundreds of immigrants were put into jail without formal charges.

Guantanamo Detection Camp was created on the American military base in Cuba to hold captured Taliban fighters from Afghanistan.

The attacks on September 11th coincided with the beginning of an economic recession.

Bush Takes the Offensive Against Iraq

In January 2002, Bush created the "**axis of evil**," which included **Iraq, North Korea, and Iran**. Hussein had been harassing and dodging U.N. weapons inspectors for years. (Inspectors were supposed to be allowed in the country after the 1991 Persian Gulf War.) **Bush was determined to invade Iraq and overthrow its dictator, Saddam Hussein** (finish the job that his dad had started). Bush made a variety of false claims in his case for war against Iraq: Iraq had weapons of mass destruction; Iraq could be a democratic beacon for the Middle East; Iraq supported Al Qaeda.

The **U.S. invaded Iraq on March 19, 2003**. Britain was America's only major ally in the invasion. Hussein was quickly defeated.

On May 1, 2003, Bush made a speech in which he claimed that major combat operations in Iraq were complete.

Owning Iraq

Sectarian violence spread throughout Iraq as violence erupted between **Sunni** and **Shia** Muslims. **Sunnis** were the **minority** in Iraq that had power under Saddam. The **Shia majority** took over after Saddam was overthrown. In retaliation for being displaced from power, many Sunnis turned to bombings and political assassinations. In April, 2004, it was discovered that Iraqi prisoners were being tortured in **Baghdad's Abu Ghraib** prison.

Reelecting George W. Bush

For the election of 2004, the Republicans re-nominated Bush and the Democrats selected John F. Kerry.

Bush supported the **No Child Left Behind Act** of 2002, which mandated sanctions against schools that failed to meet federal performance standards.

Bush supported a constitutional amendment for banning gay marriage and he opposed stem cell research.

Bush won the election of 2004.

Bush's Bruising Second Term

Bush appointed two new conservative justices to the Supreme Court.

In 2005, Vice President Dick Cheney's chief of staff was convicted of perjury in an investigation into who leaked the name of undercover CIA agent in retaliation against her antiwar husband.

Also in 2005, it was discovered that the government was **illegally wiretapping** American citizens' communications.

The Federal Emergency Management Agency (**FEMA**) responded poorly to help New Orleans after **Hurricane Katrina** in 2005.

Anti-Republican sentiment helped Democrats win majorities in the House and Senate in the midterm elections of 2006.

By 2005, most of the American public opposed the war in Iraq. By 2008, Bush's approval rating was below 30%.

The Presidential Election of 2008

Barack Obama beat Hillary Clinton to win the Democrat's presidential nomination for the election of 2008. The Republicans nominated John McCain for president and Sarah Palin for vice president. McCain had extensive experience in government, while Palin had no experience and was not politically astute.

Another **recession** hit the American economy in **2008**. It was caused by a bursting **housing bubble** and the private banking system's poor lending practices. Real estate prices and the

stock market plummeted. The federal government responded by taking over the country's two biggest mortgage companies, **Fannie Mae** and **Freddie Mac**, and by taking over the world's biggest insurance company, the **American International Group (AIG)**. Congress also passed the **Troubled Assets Relief Program (TARP)** to keep the nation's banks and businesses afloat.

Obama won the election of 2008 by a large margin.

Obama in the White House

To jumpstart the economy, Obama supported the passage of the **American Relief and Recovery Act**. This was an economic stimulus bill that was comprised of tax cuts, spending for jobs programs, and funding for state and local governments.

The economy started to recover from the "**Great Recession**" by 2009.

Obama supported a healthcare reform bill in 2010 called the **Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act**. Most notably, this required all Americans to buy health insurance and prohibited health insurers from denying coverage to people with pre-existing conditions.

In 2010, Obama signed the **Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act**. This overhauled the nation's financial regulatory system.

Back to Backlash

The "**Tea Party**" emerged in 2009 as a right-wing, ultra-Republican party. They vehemently opposed most of Obama's policies.

In 2010, Obama helped repeal the military's "Don't Ask Don't Tell" policy and he renewed a nuclear arms reduction treaty with Russia.

New Directions in Foreign Policy

President Obama won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2009.

By 2011, Obama had withdrawn all American combat troops from Iraq.

Afghan insurgents made Afghanistan very unstable and made it difficult for American troops to leave. American troops began leaving Afghanistan in 2011.

Osama bin Laden was killed by American forces in Pakistan in 2011.

The Politics of Inequality

"**Occupy Wall Street**" began in 2011 as small demonstrations by young people who were upset about income inequality.

Income inequality grew between 1968 and 2012. It was likely caused by: increasing global competition; reduction in high-paying manufacturing jobs; growth of the financial sector; growth of part-time work; influx in low-skill immigrants.

Battling for the White House in 2012

Mitt Romney was the GOP nominee in the presidential election of 2012. He promised to repeal the Affordable Care Act and the Wall Street Reform Act.

The Supreme Court ruled in 2010 in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* that corporations, unions, and advocacy groups could not be limited in how much money they spent on political campaigns. This ruling vastly increased the amount of money spent on campaigns. Obama won the election of 2012.

Second-Term Stalemate

Despite losing the presidential election of 2012, congressional Republicans continued to oppose Obama's policies.

The GOP forced a **government shutdown** in 2013 when they prevented Congress from passing a budget.

Obama tried to pass the **DREAM Act** in 2010, but it was blocked by congressional Republicans. The bill would have given undocumented youths a path to citizenship if they had graduated from college or served in the U.S. armed forces.

The Immigration Impasse

Anti-immigration sentiment swept over America as people were concerned that the U.S. could not absorb the influx of immigrants. Studies showed that immigrants actually took jobs that Americans didn't want. Immigrants also paid more dollars in taxes than they received in welfare.

Civil Rights and Civil Liberties

In 2013, the Supreme Court ruled that the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act was unconstitutional. The Act had denied federal benefits to same-sex couples.

In 2013, it was revealed through government leaks that the National Security Agency (NSA) had been **spying on Americans**.

Gridlock Grinds On

In the midterm elections of 2014, Republicans expanded their majority in the House and took control of the Senate. Republican gains were likely due to dissatisfactions with the status quo (people wanted change).

The emergence of social platforms like Facebook led to **confirmation bias** in politics.

Obama's Troubled Last Years

President Obama negotiated the **Iran nuclear deal** with Iran in 2015, which curbed Iran's development of nuclear weapons.

The Astonishing Election of 2016

Donald Trump won the republican nomination for president despite being a former Democrat, bragging about groping women, and generally disregarding facts that disagreed with his opinions.

Donald Trump (Republican) won the presidential election of 2016, defeating Hillary Clinton (Democrat). Trump lost the popular vote by 3 million votes.

Russia interfered in the 2016 election, in an attempt to help Trump.

Trump in Power

Trump criticized fact-based news reporting as "fake news" if those sources reported negatively about him. Trump also made up derogatory nick-names for people who disagreed with him. In 2017, Congress passed the **Tax Cuts and Jobs Act**, which cut the corporate tax rate. The act also capped the mortgage interest deduction, an apparent political retribution against Democrat states. The act will likely add **\$1 trillion** to the **national debt**, an about-face for Republicans who shut down the government for several weeks during the Obama administration over the rising national debt.

The World Warily Watches Washington

After World War II, the United States was a global leader, building multinational institutions like the United Nations, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization. With an "**America First**" agenda, Trump sought to limit America's involvement in these institutions, putting at risk the peace and prosperity of the entire planet.