

Advanced Placement United States History Study Guides

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Chapter 1: “New World Beginnings”

Summary:

225 million years ago, Earth was one supercontinent (Pangaea) and ocean. About 10 million years ago, the North America that we know today was formed (geographical shape). The first discoverers of North America were nomadic Asians who wandered over here by way of an exposed land bridge from Russia to Alaska during the Ice Age. Though they were hunters at

first, by 5000 BC, they had become hunter-gatherers with a diet of basically corn. Great pre-European Indian cultures included the Pueblos, the Iroquois, the Mound Builders, the Mayans, the Incas, the Aztec, and the Sioux, among others. The Indians revered nature and land, and didn't carelessly destroy it. Everything was put to use.

In 1000 AD, Vikings discovered Newfoundland, but later abandoned it due to unfavorable conditions. Europeans, though, slowly began to proliferate into non-European worlds starting around the 1400s. After Marco Polo came back with stories of China and its riches, Europeans began to explore. First, they set up settlements in Africa, near the coast, where they used African slaves to work on plantations. In 1498, Vasco da Gama reached India, opening a sea route to the Far East.

Complications and dangers of this eastern sea route influenced Christopher Columbus to sail west. In doing so, he inadvertently discovered the Americas, though he never knew it. The Portuguese were first to settle in America, but the Spanish later became the dominant nation in the Americas. Spanish *Conquistadores* swept through Latin and South America, destroying the Aztecs and the Incas. Meanwhile, Magellan's crew sailed around the world in 1519, becoming the first voyage to do so. As the chapter ended, Spain was very much in control of much of the Americas, though other countries were beginning to challenge the Spanish dominance.

Important People:

The Aztecs-

Native Americans who that lived in what is now Mexico and routinely offered their gods human sacrifices; these people were violent, yet built amazing pyramids and built a great civilization without having a wheel.

The Mound Builders-

Indians of the Ohio River Valley

The Mississippian settlement-

At Cahokia, near present-day East St. Louis, Illinois, was home to about 40,000 people in at 1100 A.D.

Hiawatha-

This was legendary leader who inspired the **Iroquois**, a powerful group of Native Americans in the northeaster woodlands of the U.S.

The Norse-

These Vikings discovered America in about 1000 A.D., when they discovered modern-day Newfoundland. They abandoned it later due to bad conditions.

Marco Polo-

Italian adventurer who supposedly sailed to the Far East (China) in 1295 and returned with stories and supplies of the Asian life there (silk, pearls, etc...)

Bartholomeu Dias-

A Portuguese sailor, he was the first to round the southernmost tip of Africa, a feat he did in 1488.

Vasco da Gama-

In 1498, he reached India and returned home with a small but tantalizing cargo of jewels and spices.

Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile-

The wedded king and queen of Spain, their marriage united the previously non-existing country.

Christopher Columbus-

An Italian seafarer who persuaded Spain to give him three ships for which to sail west to look for a better route to India, he “discovered” America in 1492

Vasco Nuñez Balboa-

Discoverer of the Pacific Ocean in 1513

Ferdinand Magellan-

In 1519, his crew began a voyage and eventually ended up becoming the first to circumnavigate the world, even though he died in the Philippines. The sole surviving ship returned to Europe in 1522.

Ponce de León-

In 1513 and 1521, this Spanish Explorer explored Florida, searching for gold (contrary to the myth of his seeking the “Fountain of Youth”).

Francisco Coronado-

From 1540 to 1542, he explored the pueblos of Arizona and New Mexico, penetrating as far east as Kansas. He also discovered the Grand Canyon and enormous herds of bison.

Hernando de Soto-

From 1539 to 1542, he explored Florida and crossed the Mississippi River. He brutally abused Indians and died of fever and battle wounds.

Francisco Pizarro-

In 1532, he crushed the Incas of Peru and got lots of bounty.

Bartolomé de Las Casas-

A Spanish missionary who was appalled by the method of *encomienda*, calling it “a moral pestilence invented by Satan”

Hernán Cortés-

Annihilator of the Aztec in 1519

Malinche-

A female Indian slave who knew Mayan and **Nahuatl**, the language of the Aztec

Montezuma-

The leader of the Aztecs at the time of Cortés’ invasion who believed that Cortés was the Aztec god Quetzalcoatl

Giovanni Caboto-

AKA John Cabot, he explored the northeastern coast of North America in 1497-98.

Giovanni da Verranzo-

An Italian explorer dispatched by the French king in 1524 to probe the eastern seaboard of U.S.

Don Juan de Oñate-

Leader of a Spanish group that traversed parts of Mexico, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas in 1598, he and his men proclaimed the province of New Mexico in 1609 and founded its capital, Santa Fe.

Robert de La Salle-

Sent by the French, he went on an expedition down the Mississippi in the 1680s.

Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo-

He explored the California coast in 1542 but failed to find anything of interest.

Father Junipero Serra-

The Spanish missionary who founded 21 missions in California, in 1769, he founded Mission San Diego, the first of the chain.

Key Terms & Words, etc...:

maize - the Indian word for corn

Conquistadores - the Spanish word for “conqueror,” these explorers claimed much of America for Spain, slaughtering millions of natives in the process

encomienda - a euphemism for slavery in which Indians were given to colonists to be “Christianized.”

- Día de la Raza** - Spanish for Columbus Day.
- Lake Bonneville** - massive prehistoric lake, all of which remains today in the form of the Great Salt Lake
- Treaty of Tordesillas** - treaty that settled Spanish and Portuguese differences in the Americas, Portugal got modern-day Brazil; Spain got the rest.
- Pope's Rebellion** - revolt in which Indians took over New Mexico and held control for nearly half a century

Places and Countries:

Timbuktu-

Capital of the West African kingdom of **Mali**, a place located in the **Niger River Valley**.

Madeira, the Canaries, São Tomé, Pricipe-

Areas where sugar plantations were established by Portugal then Spain where African slaves were forced to work

Potosí-

A rich silver mine in Bolivia that enriched Spain with lots of wealth.

Timeline:

c. 33,000 – 8000 BC	First humans come to Americas from land bridge connecting Asia and Alaska.
c. 5000 BC	Corn is developed as a stable crop in highland Mexico.
c. 4000 BC	First civilized societies develop in the Middle East.
c. 1200 BC	Corn planting reaches present-day American Southwest.
c. 1000 AD	Norse voyagers discover and briefly settle in Newfoundland (Vinland). Also, corn cultivation reaches Midwest and southeaster Atlantic seaboard.
c. 1100 AD	Height of Mississippian settlement at Cahokia
c. 1100 – 1300	Christian crusades arouse European interest in the East.
1295	Marco Polo returns to Europe from Asia.
Late 1400s	Spain unites.
1488	Díaz rounds the southern tip of Africa.
1492	Columbus land 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 León explores Florida.
1519 – 1521	Cortés conquers Mexico for Spain, defeating the Aztecs.
1522	Magellan's crew completes circumnavigation of the world.
1524	Verrazano explores eastern seaboard of North America for France.

1532	Pizarro crushes the Incas.
1534	Cartier journeys up the St. Lawrence River.
1539 – 1542	de Soto explores the Southeast and discovers the Mississippi River.
1540 – 1542	Coronado 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)
c. 1598 – 1609	Spanish under Oñate conquer Pueblo peoples of Rio Grande Valley.
1609	Spanish found New Mexico.
1680	Popé's rebellion of New Mexico.
1680s	French expedition down Mississippi River under La Salle
1769	Father Junipero Serra founds Mission San Diego, in California.

Makers of America:

- *Conquistadores* included Hernán Cortes and Francisco Pizarro, who conquered the Aztecs and the Incas respectively.
- Within half a century of Columbus' "discovery" of America, they had claimed, for Spain, territory that stretched from Colorado to Argentina.
- They spread from Cuba through Mexico and from Panama, south through Peru.
- As the Spanish crown tightened its grip on its colonies, though, the *conquistadors* lost more and more power.
- Most of them never achieved their dreams of glory, though a few received royal titles.
- Many of them married Indian women, creating a new class of people called *mestizos*.
- The *mestizos* formed a bridge between Latin America's Indian and European races.

Chapter 2: “The Planting of English America”

I. England’s Imperial Stirrings

A. North America

1. *North America* in 1600 was largely unclaimed, though the Spanish had much control in Central and South America.
2. Spain had only set up Santa Fe, while France had founded Quebec and Britain had founded Jamestown.
3. In the 1500s, Britain didn’t really colonize because of internal conflicts.
 - a. King Henry VIII broke with the Roman Catholic Church in the 1530s and launched the English Protestant Reformation.
 - b. After Elizabeth I became queen, Britain became basically Protestant, and a rivalry with Catholic Spain intensified.
 - c. In Ireland, the Catholics sought Spain’s help in revolting against England, but the English crushed the uprising with brutal atrocity, and developed an attitude of sneering contempt for natives.

II. Elizabeth Energizes England

A. Colonization

1. After Britain basically defeated Spain (i.e. Spanish Armada defeat), British swarmed to America and took over lead in colonization and power.
 - a. Sparked new literature, like Shakespeare
2. After Drake circumnavigated the globe, Liz I knighted him on his ship.
3. However, English tries at colonization in the New World failed often and embarrassingly.
4. Britain and Spain finally signed a peace treaty in 1604.

III. England on the Eve of the Empire

A. Reasons for Emigration

1. In the 1500s, Britain’s population was mushrooming.
2. Farmers were enclosing land for farming.
3. Puritanism took a strong root in the woolen districts of western and eastern England.
4. Younger sons of rich folk (who couldn’t inherit money) tried their luck with fortunes elsewhere, like America.
5. By the 1600s, the joint-stock company was perfected, being a forerunner to today’s corporations.

IV. England Plants the Jamestown Seedling

A. Jamestown

1. In 1606, the Virginia Company received a charter from King James I to make a settlement in the New World.
 - a. Such joint-stock companies usually did not exist long, as stockholders hoped to form the company, make a profit, and then quickly sell for profit a few years later.
2. The charter of the Virginia Company guaranteed settlers the same rights as Englishmen in Britain.
3. On May 24, 1607, about a 100 English settlers disembarked from their ship and founded Jamestown.
 - a. Forty colonists perished during the voyage.
 - b. In mosquito-ridden Virginia, disease was rampant. It didn't help that a supply ship shipwrecked in the Bahamas in 1609 either.
4. Luckily, in 1608, a Captain John Smith took over control and whipped the colonists into discipline.
 - a. He had been kidnapped by local Indians and forced into a mock execution by the chief Powhatan and had been "saved" by Pocahontas.
 - b. The act was meant to show that Powhatan wanted peaceful relations with the colonists.
5. Still, the colonists were reduced to eating cats, dogs, rats, even other people.
6. Finally, in 1610, a relief party headed by Lord De La Warr arrived to alleviate the suffering.
7. By 1625, out of an original overall total of 8000 would-be settlers, only 1200 had survived.

V. Cultural Clash in the Chesapeake

A. The Indian's Begin to Lose Power

1. At first, Powhatan possibly considered the new colonists potential allies and tried to be friendly with them, but as time passed and colonists raided Indian food supplies, relations deteriorated and eventually, war occurred.
2. The First Anglo-Powhatan War ended in 1614 with a peace settlement sealed by the marriage of Pocahontas to colonist John Rolfe.
3. Eight years later, in 1622, the Indians struck again with a series of attacks that left 347 settlers, including John Rolfe, dead.
4. The Second Anglo-Powhatan War began in 1644, ended in 1646, and effectively banished the Chesapeake Indians from their ancestral lands.

5. After the settlers began to grow their own food, the Indians were useless, and were therefore banished.

VI. Virginia: Child of Tobacco

A. Tobacco Info

1. Tobacco created a greed for land, since it heavily depleted soil and ruined the land.
2. King James I detested tobacco.
3. Representative self-government was born in Virginia, when in 1619, settlers created the House of Burgesses.
4. Slavery in the Americas was also born in 1619.

VII. Maryland: Catholic Heaven

A. Religious Diversity

1. Founded in 1634 by Lord Baltimore, Maryland was the second plantation colony and the fourth overall colony to be formed.
2. It was a place for persecuted Catholics to find refuge.
3. Lord Baltimore gave huge estates to his Catholic relatives, but the poorer people who settled there were mostly Protestant, creating friction.
4. However, Maryland prospered with tobacco.
5. It had a lot of indentured servants.
6. Only in the later years of the 1600s (in Maryland and Virginia) did Black slavery began to become popular.
7. Maryland's religious statute guaranteed toleration to all Christians, but decreed the death penalty to Jews and atheists and others who didn't believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ.

VIII. The West Indies: Way Station to Mainland America

A. Their Use

1. As the British were colonizing Virginia, they were also settling in the West Indies (Spain's declining power opened the door).
2. By mid-1600s, England had secured claim to several West Indies islands, including Jamaica in 1655.
3. They grew lots of sugar there.
4. Thousands of African slaves were needed to operate sugar plantations, and these weren't for the poor either.
5. To control so many slaves "codes" were set up that defined the legal status of slaves and the rights of the masters. They were typically strict.

IX. Colonizing the Carolinas

A. Restoration Period

1. In England, King Charles I had been beheaded. Oliver Cromwell had ruled for ten years before tired Englishmen restored Charles II to the throne.
2. The bloody period had interrupted colonization.
3. Carolina was named after Charles II, and was formally created in 1670.
4. Carolina flourished by developing close economic ties with the West Indies.
5. Many original Carolina settlers had come from Barbados.
6. Interestingly, Indians as slaves in Carolina was protested, but to no avail. Slaves were sent to the West Indies to work, as well as New England.
7. Rice emerged as the principle crop in Carolina.
 - a. African slaves were hired to work on rice fields, due to their immunity to malaria and their familiarity with rice.
8. Despite violence with Spanish and Indians, Carolina proved to be too strong to be wiped out.

X. The Emergence of North Carolina

A. Conflict

1. Many newcomers to Carolina were “squatters,” people who owned no land.
2. North Carolinians developed a strong resistant to authority, due to geographic isolation from neighbors.
3. In 1712, North and South Carolina were officially separated.
4. In 1711, when Tuscarora Indians attacked North Carolinas, the Carolinians responded by crushing the opposition, selling hundreds to slavery and leaving the rest to wander north, eventually becoming the Sixth Nation of the Iroquois.

XI. Late-Coming Georgia: The Buffer Colony

A. Georgia’s Purpose

1. Georgia was intended to be a buffer between the British colonies and the hostile Spanish settlements in Florida and the enemy French in Louisiana.
2. Founded in 1733 by a high-minded group of philanthropists, it was the last colony founded.
3. Named after King George II of England, Georgia was also meant to be a haven for wretched souls in debt.
4. James Oglethorpe, the ablest of the founders and a dynamic soldier-statesman, repelled Spanish attacks.

- a. He saved “the Charity Colony” by his energetic leadership and by using his own fortune to help with the colony.
- 5. All Christians except Catholics enjoyed religious toleration, and many missionaries came to try to convert the Indians.
 - a. John Wesley was one of them, and he later returned to England and founded Methodism.
- 6. Georgia grew very slowly.

XII. The Plantation Colonies

A. Comparisons and Contrasts

- 1. Slavery was found in all the plantation colonies.
- 2. Growth of cities was often stunted by forests.
- 3. Establishment of schools and churches was difficult.
- 4. In the South, the crops were tobacco and rice.
- 5. All the plantation colonies permitted some religious toleration.
- 6. Confrontations with Native Americans were often.

XIII. Makers of America: The Iroquois

- In what is now New York State, the Iroquois once were a great power.
- They were made up of the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Deganawidah, and the Hiawatha.
- They vied with neighboring Indians and later French, English, and Dutch for supremacy.
- The longhouse was the building block of Iroquois society.
- Only 25 feet wide but over 200 feet long, longhouses were typically occupied by a few blood-related families (on the mother’s side).
- The Mohawks were middlemen with European traders.
- The Senecas were fur suppliers.
- The Five Nations of the Iroquois’ rivals, the neighboring Hurons, Eries, and Petuns, were vanquished.
- Throughout the 1600s and 1700s, the Iroquois allied with the British and French (whichever more beneficial).
- When the American Revolution broke out, the decision to side with who was split. Most sided with the British, but not all.
- Afterwards, the Iroquois were forced to reservations, which proved to be unbearable to these proud people.
- An Iroquois named Handsome Lake arose to warn his tribes’ people to mend their ways.
- His teachings live today in the form of the longhouse religion.
- He died in 1815.

Chapter 3: “Settling the Northern Colonies”

I. The Protestant Reformation Produces Puritanism

A. Beginnings

1. In 1517, Martin Luther nailed his 95 Theses to the door of the Wittenberg cathedral.
 - a. He ignited the Protestant Reformation.
2. John Calvin preached Calvinism
 - a. Basic doctrines were stated in the 1536 document entitled Institutes of the Christian Religion.
 - b. Stated that all humans were weak and wicked.
 - c. Only the predestined could go to heaven, no matter what.
 - d. Calvinists were expected to seek “conversions,” signs that they were one of the predestined, and afterwards, lead “sanctified lives.”
3. In England, King Henry VIII was breaking his ties with the Holy Roman Catholic Church in the 1530s.
4. Some people, called Puritans, were influenced to totally reform the Christian faith.

B. Puritans

1. All believed that only “visible saints” should be admitted to church membership.
2. Separatists vowed to break away from the Church of England because the “saints” would have to sit with the “damned.”
3. King James I, father of the beheaded Charles I, harassed the Separatists out of England because he thought that if people could defy him as their spiritual leader, they might defy him as their political ruler.

II. The Pilgrims End Their Pilgrimage at Plymouth

A. The Voyage

1. The Separatists that left were from Holland, where they had fled to after they had left England.
 - a. They were concerned that their children were getting to “Dutchified.”
 - b. They wanted a place where they were free to worship their own religion and could live and die as good Puritans.
2. After negotiating with the Virginia Company, the Separatists left Holland and sailed for 65 days at sea on the Mayflower until they arrived off the rocky coast of New England in 1620, a trip in which only one person died and one person was born.

- a. Less than half of the pilgrims on the Mayflower were actually Separatists.
 - b. Contrary to myth, the Pilgrims undertook a few surveys before deciding to settle at Plymouth, an area far from Virginia.
 - c. The Pilgrims became squatters, people without legal right to land and without specific authority to establish government.
- 3. Captain Myles Standish (a.k.a. Captain Shrimp) proved to be a great Indian fighter and negotiator.
- 4. Before disembarking from ship, the Pilgrims signed the Mayflower Compact, a set of rules by which to obey.
 - a. Though it wasn't a constitution, it did set the standard for later constitutions.
- 5. In the winter of 1620-21, only 44 of the 102 survived.
- 6. 1621 brought bountiful harvests, though, and the first Thanksgiving was celebrated that year.
- 7. William Bradford, chosen governor of Plymouth 30 times in the annual elections, was a great leader, and helped Plymouth to survive and trade fur, fish, and lumber.
- 8. In 1691, Plymouth finally merged with the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

III. The Bay Colony Bible Commonwealth

A. Settling In

- 1. In 1629, some non-Separatist Puritans got a royal charter from England to settle in the New World. Secretly, they took the charter with them and later used it as a type of constitution.
- 2. It was a well-equipped group of which about 11,000 people came to Massachusetts.
- 3. John Winthrop was elected governor or deputy governor for 19 years, helping Massachusetts prosper in fur trading, fishing, and shipbuilding

IV. Building the Bay Colony

A. Government

- 1. Soon after the establishment of the colony, the franchise was extended to all "freemen:" adult males who belonged to the Puritan congregations (later called the Congregational church), making people who could enjoy the franchise about two fifths of the total population.
 - a. Unchurched men and women weren't allowed in.
- 2. The provincial government was not a democracy.
 - a. Governor Winthrop feared and distrusted the common people, calling democracy the "meanest and worst" of all forms of government.

3. Religious leaders wielded powerful influence over the admission to church membership.
4. John Cotton, a prominent clergy member, was educated at Cambridge and had immigrated to Massachusetts to avoid persecution from his criticism of the Church of England.
5. However, congregations could hire and fire their ministers at will.
6. Still, there were laws to limit earthly pleasures, such as a fine of twenty shillings for couples caught kissing in public.
7. The Puritan concept of Hell was very serious and scary.
 - a. Michael Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom," written in 1662, sold one copy for every twenty people.

V. Trouble in the Bible Commonwealth

A. Defiance

1. Tensions arose in Massachusetts.
 - a. Quakers were fined, flogged, and/or banished.
 - b. Anne Hutchinson was a very intelligent, strong-willed, talkative woman who claimed that a holy life was no sure sign of salvation and that the truly saved need not bother to obey the law of either God or man.
 - (1) Brought to trial in 1638, Anne boasted that her beliefs were directly from God.
 - (2) She was banished from the colony and eventually made her way to Rhode Island.
 - (3) She died in New York after an attack by Indians.
 - c. Roger Williams was a radical idealist hounded his fellow clergymen to make a clean and complete break with the Church of England.
 - (1) He went on to deny that civil government could and should govern religious behavior.
 - (2) He was banished in 1635, and fled to the Rhode Island area the next year.

VI. The Rhode Island "Sewer"

A. Land of the Outcasts

1. People who went to Rhode Island weren't necessarily similar; they were just unwanted everywhere else.
2. They were against special privilege.

3. “Little Rhody” was later known as “the traditional home of the otherwise minded.”
4. It finally secured a charter in 1644.

VII. New England Spreads Out

A. More Settling

1. In 1635, Hartford, Connecticut was founded.
2. Reverend Thomas Hooker led an energetic group of Puritans west.
3. In 1639, settlers of the new Connecticut River colony drafted in open meeting a trailblazing document called the Fundamental Orders.
 - a. It was basically a modern constitution.
4. In 1638, New Haven was founded and eventually merged into Connecticut.
5. In 1623, Maine was absorbed by Massachusetts and remained so for nearly a century and a half.
6. In 1641, the granite-ribbed New Hampshire was absorbed into Massachusetts.
 - a. In 1679, the king separated the two and made New Hampshire a royal colony.

VIII. Puritans vs. Indians

A. Violence

1. Before the Puritans had arrived in 1620, an epidemic had swept through the Indians, killing over three quarters of them.
2. At first, Indians tried to befriend the Whites.
 - a. Squanto, a Wampanoag, helped keep relative peace.
3. In 1637, though, after mounting tensions exploded, English settlers and the powerful Pequot tribe fought in the Pequot War, in which the English set fire to a Pequot village on Connecticut’s Mystic River, annihilating the Indians and bringing about forty years of tentative peace.
 - a. In an attempt to save face, the Puritans did try to convert some of the Indians, though with less zeal than that of the Spanish and French.
4. IN 1675, Metacom (called King Philip by the English) united neighboring Indians in a last-ditched attack that failed.
 - a. The King Philip’s War slowed colonial western march, but Metacom was beheaded and quartered and his head was stuck on a sharp pike for all to see, his wife and son sold to slavery.

IX. Seeds of Colonial Unity and Independence

A. A Bit of Unity Shown

1. In 1643, four colonies banded together to form the New England Confederation.
 - a. It was almost all Puritan.
 - b. It was weak, but still a notable milestone toward American unity.
2. The colonies were basically allowed to be semiautonomous commonwealths.
3. After Charles II was restored to the British throne, he hoped to control his colonies more firmly, but was shocked to find how much his orders were ignored by Massachusetts.
 - a. As punishment, a sea-to-sea charter was given to rival Connecticut (1662), and a charter was given to Rhode Island (1663).
 - b. Finally, in 1684, Massachusetts' charter was revoked.

X. Andros Promotes the First American Revolution

A. Opposition to England Grows

1. In 1686, the Dominion of New England was created to bolster the colonial defense against Indians and tying the colonies closer to Britain by enforcing the hated Navigation Acts.
 - a. The acts forbade American trade with countries other than Britain.
 - b. As a result, smuggling became common.
 - c. Head of the Dominion was Sir Edmund Andros.
 - (1) Establishing HQ in Boston, he openly showed his association with the locally hated Church of England.
 - (2) His soldiers were vile-mouthed.
2. Andros responded to opposition by curbing town meetings, restricting the courts and the press, and revoking all land titles.
3. He taxed the people without their consent.
4. At the same time, the people of England staged the Glorious Revolution, instating William and Mary to the crown.
 - a. Result, the Dominion of New England collapsed.
 - b. Massachusetts got a new charter in 1691, but this charter allowed all landowners to vote, as opposed to the previous law of voting belonging only to the church members.

XI. Old Netherlanders at New Netherland

A. The Little Guys Gain Power

1. In the 17th Century, the Netherlands revolted against Spain, and with help of Britain, gained their independence.
2. The Dutch East India Company was established, with an army of 10,000 men and a fleet of 190 ships (including 40 men-of-war).
3. The Dutch West India Company often raided rather than traded.

4. In 1609, Henry Hudson ventured into Delaware and New York Bay and claimed the area for the Netherlands.
5. It was the Dutch West India Company that bought Manhattan Island for some worthless trinkets (22,000 acres of the most valuable land in the world today).
6. New Amsterdam was a company town, run by and for the Dutch company and in the interests of stockholders.
7. The Dutch gave patroonships (large areas of land) to promoters who agreed to settle at least 50 people on them.
8. New Amsterdam attracted people of all types and races.
 - a. One French Jesuit missionary counted 18 different languages being spoken on the street.

XII. Friction with English and Swedish Neighbors

A. Trouble for the Dutch

1. Indian's attacked the Dutch for their cruelties.
2. New England was hostile against Dutch growth.
3. The Swedes trespassed Dutch reserves from 1638 to 1655 by planting the anemic colony of New Sweden on the Delaware River.
4. Things got so bad that the Dutch erected a wall in New Amsterdam, for which Wall Street is named today.
5. In 1655, the Dutch sent one legged Peter Stuyvesant to besiege the main Swedish fort, and he won, ending Swedish colonial rule and leaving only Swedish log cabins and place names as evidence that the Swedes were every in Delaware.

XIII. Dutch Residues in New York

A. The Dutch Get Voted Off the Island

1. In 1664, Charles II granted the area of modern-day New York to his brother, the Duke of York, and that year, British troops landed and defeated the Dutch, kicking them out, without much violence.
2. New Amsterdam was renamed New York.

B. The Dutch Legacy

1. The people of New York retained their autocratic spirit.
2. Dutch names of cities remained, like Harlem, Brooklyn, and Hell Gate.
3. Even their architecture left its mark on buildings.
4. The Dutch also gave us Easter eggs, Santa Claus, waffles, sauerkraut, bowling, sleighing, skating, and golf.

XIV. Penn's Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania

A. William Penn and the Quakers

1. The Quakers (characteristics)
 - a. They “quaked” under deep religious emotion.
 - b. They were offensive to religious and civil rule.
 - c. They addressed everyone with simple “thee”s and “thou”s and didn’t swear oaths because Jesus had said “Swear not at all,” this last part creating a problem, since you had to swear a test oath to prove that you weren’t Roman Catholic.
 - d. Though stubborn and unreasonable, they were simple, devoted, democratic people against war and violence.
2. William Penn, a well-born Englishman, embraced the Quaker faith.
3. In 1681, he managed to secure an immense grant of fertile land from the land.
 - a. It was called Pennsylvania, in honor of Penn, who, being the modest person that he was, had insisted that it be called Sylvania.
 - b. It was the best advertised of all the colonies.

XV. Quaker Pennsylvania and Its Neighbors

A. Penn Settles

1. Thousands of squatters already lived in Pennsylvania.
2. Philadelphia was more carefully planned than most cities, with beautiful, wide streets.
3. Penn bought land from the Indians, like Chief Tammany, later patron saint of New York’s political Tammany Hall.
4. His treatment of the Indians was so gentle that Quakers could walk through Indian territory unarmed without fear of being hurt.
5. However, as more and more non-Quakers came to Pennsylvania, they mistreated the Indians more and more.
6. Freedom of worship was available to everyone except for Jews and Catholics (only because of pressure from London), and the death penalty was only for murder and treason.
7. No restrictions were placed on immigration, and naturalization was made easy.
8. The Quakers also developed a dislike toward slavery.
9. Pennsylvania attracted a great variety of people from all races, class, and religion.
10. By 1700, only Virginia was more populous and richer.
11. Penn, unfortunately, was not well-liked because of his friendliness towards James II, the deposed Catholic king, and he was jailed at times, and also suffered a paralytic stroke, dying full of sorrows.
12. New Jersey and Delaware prospered as well.

XVI. The Middle Way in the Middle Colonies

A. New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania

1. All had fertile soil and broad expanse of land.
2. All except for Delaware exported lots of grain.
3. The Susquehanna River tapped the fur trade of the interior, and the rivers were gentle, with little cascading waterfalls.
4. The middle colonies were the middle way between New England and the southern plantation states.
5. Landholdings were generally intermediate in size.
6. The middle colonies were more ethnically mixed than other colonies.
7. A considerable amount of economic and social democracy prevailed.
8. Benjamin Franklin, born in Boston, entered Philadelphia as a seventeen-year-old in 1720 with a loaf of bread under each arm and immediately found a congenial home in the urbane, open atmosphere of the city.
9. Americans began to realize that not only were they surviving, but that they were also thriving.

XVII. Makers of America: The English

- In the 1600s, England was undergoing a massive population boom.
- About 75% of English immigrants were indentured servants.
- Most of them were young men from the “middling classes.”
- Some had fled during the cloth trade slump in the early 1600s while others had been forced off their land due to enclosure.
- Some 40% of indentured servants died before their seven years were over.
- Late in the 17th Century, as the supply of indentured servants slowly ran out, the southerners resolved to Black Slaves.
- From 1629 to 1642, 11,000 Puritans swarmed to the Massachusetts Bay Colony.
- In contrast to the indentured servants, Puritans migrated in family groups, not alone.
- Puritans brought the way of life from England with them to America.
 - i.e. Marblehead, Mass. had mostly fishermen because most of the immigrants had been fisherman in England.
 - i.e. Rowley, Mass. brought from Yorkshire, England their distinctive way of life.
- In Ipswich, Massachusetts, settled by East Anglian Puritans, the rulers had long terms and ruled with an iron hand.
- However, in Newbury, people rarely won reelection.

Chapter 4: “American Life in the Seventeenth Century”

I. The Unhealthy Chesapeake

1. Life in the American wilderness was harsh.
 - a. Diseases like malaria, dysentery, and typhoid killed many.
 - b. Few people lived to 40 or 50 years.
 - c. In the early days of colonies, women were so scarce that men fought over all of them.
 - d. Few people knew any grandparents.
 - e. A third of all brides in one Maryland County were already pregnant before the wedding (scandalous).
 - f. Virginia, with 59,000 people, became the most populous colony.

II. The Tobacco Economy

1. The Chesapeake was very good for tobacco cultivation.
2. Chesapeake Bay exported 1.5 million pounds of tobacco yearly in the 1630s, and by 1700, that number had risen to 40 million pounds a year.
 - a. More availability led to falling prices, and farmers still grew more
 - b. Early on, most of the laborers were indentured servants.
 - (1) Life for them was hard, but there was hope at the end of seven years for freedom.
 - (2) Conditions were brutal, and in the later years, owners unwilling to free their servants extended their contracts by years for small mistakes.

III. Frustrated Freeman and Bacon's Rebellion

1. By the late 1600s, there were lots of free, poor, landless, single men frustrated by the lack of money, land, work, and women (that's nicely put).
2. In 1676, Nathaniel Bacon led a few thousand of these men in a rebellion against the hostile conditions.
 - a. These people wanted land and were resentful of Virginia governor William Berkeley's friendly policies toward the Indians.
 - b. Bacon's men murderously attacked Indian settlements after Berkeley refused to retaliate for a series of savage Indian attacks on the frontier.
3. Then, in the middle of his rebellion, Bacon suddenly died of disease, and Berkeley went on to crush the uprising.
 - a. Still, Bacon's legacy lived on, giving frustrated poor folks ideas to rebel, and so a bit of paranoia went on for some time afterwards.

IV. Colonial Survey

1. In the 300 years following Columbus' discovery of America, only about 400,000 of a total of 10 million African slaves were brought over to the United States.

2. By 1680, though, many landowners were afraid of possibly mutinous white servants, by the mid 1680s, for the first time, black slaves outnumbered white servants among the plantation colonies' new arrivals.
3. After 1700, more and more slaves were imported, and in 1750, Blacks accounted for nearly half of the Virginian population.
 - a. Most of the slaves were from West Africa, from places like Senegal and Angola.
4. Some of the earliest Black slaves gained their freedom and some became slaveholders themselves.
5. Eventually, to clear up issues on slave ownership, it was made so that slaves *and their children* would remain slaves to their masters for life, unless they were voluntarily freed.
 - a. Some laws made teaching slaves to read a crime, and not even conversion to Christianity might qualify a slave for freedom.

V. Africans in America

1. Slave life in the Deep South was very tough, as rice growing was much harder than tobacco growing.
 - a. Many Blacks in America evolved their own languages, blending their native tongues with English.
 - b. Blacks also contributed to music with instruments like the banjo and bongo drum.
2. A few of the slaves became skilled artisans (i.e. carpenters, bricklayers and tanners), but most were relegated to sweaty work like clearing swamps and grubbing out trees.
3. Revolts did occur.
 - a. In 1712, a slave revolt in New York City cost the lives of a dozen Whites and 21 Blacks were executed.
 - b. In 1739, South Carolina blacks along the Stono River revolted and tried to march to Spanish Florida, but failed.

VI. Southern Society

1. A social gap appeared and began to widen.
 - a. In Virginia, a clutch of extended clans (i.e. the Fitzhughs, the Lees, and the Washingtons) owned tracts and tracts of real estate and just about dominated the House of Burgesses.
 - (1) They came to be known as the First Families of Virginia (FFV).
2. In Virginia, there was often a problem with drunkenness.
3. The largest social group was the farmers.
4. Few cities sprouted in the in the South, so schools and churches were slow to develop.

VII. The New England Family

1. In New England, there was clean water and cool temperatures, so disease was not as predominant as in the South.
2. The first New England Puritans had an average life expectancy of 70 years.
3. In contrast to the Chesapeake, the New Englanders tended to migrate as a family, instead of individually.
 - a. Women usually married in their early twenties and gave birth every two years until menopause.
 - b. A typical woman could expect to have ten babies and raise about eight of them.
 - c. Death in labor for women was not rare, so that wasn't exactly something to look forward to as an event.
4. In the South, women usually had more power, since the Southern men typically died young and women could inherit the money, but in New England, the opposite was true.
 - a. In New England men didn't have absolute power over their wives (as evidenced by the punishments of unruly husbands) but they did have much power over women.
5. New England law was very severe and strict.
 - a. For example, adulterous women had to wear the letter "A" on their bosoms if they were caught (ala *The Scarlet Letter*)

VIII. Life in the New England Towns

1. Life in New England was organized.
 - a. New towns were legally chartered by colonial authorities.
 - b. A town usually had a meetinghouse surrounded by houses and a village green.
 - c. Towns of more than 50 families had to provide primary education.
 - d. Towns of more than 100 had to provide secondary education.
2. In 1636, Massachusetts Puritans established Harvard College to train boys to become ministers.
 - a. (Note: in 1693, Virginia established their first college, William and Mary.)
3. Puritans ran their own churches, and democracy in Congregational church government led logically to democracy in political government.

IX. The Half-Way Covenant and the Salem Witch Trials]

1. As Puritans began to worry about their children and whether or not they would be as loyal and faithful, and new type of sermon came about called "jeremiads."
 - a. Earnest preachers scolded parishioners for their waning piety in hope to improve faith.

2. Troubled ministers announced a new formula for church membership in 1662, calling it the “Half-Way Covenant.”
 - a. Jeremiads continued to thunder from the pulpits.
 - b. All people could come, whether or not they were converted (with the exception of a few extremely hated groups).
3. In the 1690s, a group of Salem girls claimed to have been bewitched by certain older women.
4. What followed was a hysterical witch-hunt that led to the executions of 20 people (19 of which were hung) and two dogs.
 - a. Back in Europe, larger scale witch-hunts were already occurring.
5. Witchcraft hysteria eventually ended in 1693.

X. The New England Way of Life

1. Due to the hard New England soil (or lack thereof), New Englanders became great traders.
2. New England was also less ethnically mixed than its neighbors.
3. The climate of New England encouraged diversified agriculture and industry.
 - a. Black slavery was attempted but didn’t work.
4. Rivers were short and rapid.
5. The Europeans in New England chastised the Indians for “wasting” the land, and felt a need to clear as much land for use as possible.
6. Fishing became a very popular industry.

XI. The Early Settlers’ Days and Ways

1. Early farmers usually rose at dawn and went to bed at dusk.
2. Few events were done during the night unless they were “worth the candle.”
3. Life was humble but comfortable, at least in accordance to the surroundings.
4. The people who emigrated from Europe to America were most usually lower middle class citizens looking to have a better future in the New World.
5. Because of the general sameness of class in America, laws against extravagances were sometimes passed, but as time passed, America grew.

XII. Makers of America: From African to African-American

- Africans’ arrival into the New World brought new languages, music, and cuisines to America.
- Africans working on the rice fields of North Carolina produced lots of rice.
- The first slaves were men; some eventually gained freedom.
- By 1740, large groups of African slaves lived together on plantations, where female slaves were expected to perform backbreaking labor and spin, weave, and sew.
- Most slaves became Christians, though many adopted elements from their native religions.

- Many African dances led to modern dances (i.e. the Charleston).
- Christian songs could also be code for the announcement of the arrival of a guide to freedom.
- Jazz is the most famous example of slave music entering mainstream culture.

Chapter 5: “Colonial Society on the Eve of the Revolution”

I. Conquest by the Cradle

1. By 1775, Great Britain ruled 32 colonies in North America.
 - a. Only 13 of them revolted.
 - b. Canada and Jamaica were wealthier than the 13.
2. All of them were growing by leaps and bounds.
3. By 1775, the population numbered 2.5 million people.
4. The average age was 16 years.
5. Most of the population was densely cooped up east of the Alleghenies, though by 1775, some had slowly trickled into Tennessee and Kentucky.
6. About 90% of the people lived in rural areas.

II. A Mingling of the Races

1. Colonial America, though mostly English, had other races as well.
 - a. Germans accounted for about 6% of the population, or about 150,000 people by 1775.
 - (1) Most were Protestant (primarily Lutheran) and were called the Pennsylvania Dutch.
2. The Scots-Irish were about 7% of the population, with 175,000 people.
 - a. Over many decades, they had been transplanted to Northern Ireland, but they had not found a home there (the already existing Irish Catholics resented the intruders).
 - b. Many of them reached America and became squatters, quarreling with both Indians and white landowners.
 - c. They seemed to try to move as far from Britain as possible, trickling down to Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas.
 - d. In 1764, the Scots-Irish led the armed march of the Paxton Boys.
 - e. They were very hotheaded.
 - f. Many eventually became American revolutionists.
3. About 5% of the multicolored population consisted of other European group, like French Huguenots, Welsh, Dutch, Swedes, Jews, Irish, Swiss, and Scots Highlanders.
4. Americans were of all races and mixed bloods, so it was no wonder that other races from other countries had a hard time classifying them.

III. The Structure of the Colonial Society

1. In contrast to contemporary Europe, America was a land of opportunity.

2. Anyone who was willing to work hard could easily go from rags to riches, and poverty was scorned upon.
3. Class differences did emerge, as a small group of aristocrats (made up of the rich farmers, lawyers, officials, clergymen) had much of the power.
4. Also, armed conflicts in the 1690s and 1700s enriched a number of merchant princes in the New England and middle colonies.
5. War also created many widows and orphans who eventually became to charity.
6. In the South, the hugely rich plantation owners had lots of slaves.
7. Far less fortunate than the indentured servants of America were the paupers and the criminals sent to the New World.
 - a. Some of them were actually unfortunate victims of Britain's unfair laws and did become respectable citizens.
8. The least fortunate were the Black slaves, who had little or no hope of freedom again.
 - a. Slavery became a divisive issue because some colonies didn't want slaves while others needed them, and therefore vetoed any bill banning the importation of slaves.

IV. Clerics, Physicians, and Jurists

1. The most honored profession in the colonial times was the clergy, which in 1775, had less power than before but still wielded a great amount of it.
2. Physicians were not highly esteemed and many of them were bad.
 - a. Bleeding was often a favorite, and deadly, solution to illnesses.
3. Plagues were a nightmare.
 - a. Smallpox (afflicting 1 of 5 persons, including George Washington) was rampant, though a crude form of inoculation for it was introduced in 1721.
 - b. Some of the clergy and doctors didn't like it though, preferring not to tamper with the will of God.
4. At first lawyers weren't liked, being regarded as noisy scumbags.
 - a. Criminals often represented themselves in court.
 - b. By 1750, lawyers were recognized as useful, and many defended high-profile cases, were great orators and played important roles in the history of America.

V. Workaday America

1. Agriculture was the major leading industry (by a huge margin), since farmers could seem to grow anything.
 - a. In Maryland and Virginia, tobacco was the staple crop, and by 1759 New York was exporting 80,000 barrels of flour a year.
2. Fishing could be rewarding, though not as much as farming, and it was pursued in all the American colonies especially in New England.
3. Trading was also a popular and prevalent industry, as commerce occurred all around the colonies.

- a. The “triangular trade” was common: A ship, for example, would leave New England with rum and go to the Gold Coast of Africa and trade it for African slaves. Then, it would go to the West Indies and exchange the slaves for molasses, which it’d sell to New England once it returned there.
- 4. Manufacturing was not as important, though many small enterprises existed.
- 5. Strong-backed laborers and skilled craftspeople were scarce and highly prized.
- 6. Perhaps the single most important manufacturing activity was lumbering.
 - a. Britain sometimes marked the tallest trees for its navy, and colonists resented that, even though there were countless other good trees in the area and the marked tree was going toward a common defense (it was the principle).
- 7. In 1733, Parliament passed the Molasses Act, which, if successful, would have struck a crippling blow to American international trade by hindering its trade with the French West Indies.
 - a. The result was disagreement, and colonists got around it through smuggling.

VI. Horsepower and Sailpower

- 1. Roads in 1700s America were very bad, and not until the 18th century did they even connect large cities.
 - a. It took a young Benjamin Franklin 9 days to get from Boston to Philadelphia.
- 2. Roads were so bad that they were dangerous.
 - a. People who would venture these roads would often sign wills and pray with family members before embarking.
- 3. As a result, towns seemed to cluster around slow, navigable water sources, like gentle rivers, or by the ocean.
- 4. Taverns and bars sprang up to serve tired travelers and were great places of gossip.
- 5. An inter-colonial mail system was set up in the mid-1700s, but mailmen often passed time by reading private letters, since there was nothing else to do.

VII. Dominant Denominations

- 1. Two “established” (tax-supported) churches by 1775 were the Anglican and the Congregational.
- 2. A great majority of people didn’t worship in churches.
- 3. The Church of England (Anglican) was official in Georgia, both Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, and a part of New York.
 - a. Anglican sermons were shorter, its descriptions of hell were less frightening, and amusements were less scorned.

- b. William and Mary was founded in 1693 to train young clergy members.
- 4. The Congregational church had grown from the Puritan church, and it was established in all the New England colonies except for Rhode Island.
 - a. There was worry that people weren't devout enough.
- 5. For Anglicans, **not** having a resident bishop proved to be a problem for unordained young ministers.

VIII. The Great Awakening.

- 1. Due to less religious fervor than before and worry that so many people would not be saved, the stage was set for a revival, which occurred, and became the Great Awakening.
- 2. Jonathan Edwards was a preacher with fiery preaching methods, emotional moving many listeners to tears while talking of the eternal damnation that nonbelievers would face after death.
 - a. He began preaching in 1734, and his methods sparked debate among his peers.
- 3. George Whitefield was even better than Edwards when he started four years later.
 - a. An orator of rare gifts, he even made Jonathan Edwards weep and persuaded Ben Franklin to empty his pockets into the collection plate.
 - b. Imitators copied his emotional shaking sermons and his heaping of blame on sinners.
- 4. These new preachers were met with skepticism by the "old lights," or the orthodox clergymen.
- 5. However, the Great Awakening led to the founding of "new light" centers like Princeton, Brown, Rutgers, and Dartmouth.
- 6. The Great Awakening was the first religious experience shared by all Americans as a history.

IX. Schools and Colleges

- 1. Education was most important in New England, where it was used to train young future clergymen.
- 2. In other parts of America, farm labor used up most of the time that would have been spent in school.
- 3. However, there were fairly adequate primary and secondary schools in areas other than New England.
- 4. In a gloom and grim atmosphere, colonial schools put most of the emphasis on religion and on the classical languages, as well as doctrine and orthodoxy.
- 5. Discipline was quite severe, with such punishments as a child being cut by a piece from a birch tree.
- 6. Also, at least in New England, college education was regarded more important than the ABC's.

7. Eventually, some change was made in emphasis of curriculum from dead languages to live ones, and Ben Franklin helped by launching the school that would become the University of Pennsylvania.

X. Culture in the Backwoods

1. Though there was little time for recreation (farm work, fear of Indians, etc...), the little free time that was there was used on religion, not art.
2. Painters were frowned upon.
 - a. John Trumbull of Connecticut was discouraged, as a youth, by his father.
 - b. Charles Willson Peale, best know for his portraits of George Washington, also ran a museum, stuffed birds, and practiced dentistry in addition to his art.
 - c. Benjamin West and John Singleton Copley had to go to England to complete their ambitious careers.
3. Architecture was largely imported from the Old World and modified to meet American needs.
 - a. The log cabin was borrowed form Sweden.
 - b. The red-bricked Georgian style was introduced in about 1720.
4. Colonial literature was also generally undistinguished.
 - a. However, a slave girl, Phillis Wheatley, who had never been formally educated, did go to Britain and publish a book of verse and subsequently wrote other polished poems that revealed the influence of Alexander Pope.
 - b. Ben Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac* was very influential, containing many common sayings and phrases, and was more widely read in America and Europe than anything except for the Bible.
5. Ben Franklin's experiments with science, and his sheer power of observation, also helped advance science.

XI. Pioneer Presses

1. Few libraries were found in early America, and few Americans were rich enough to buy books.
2. On the eve of the revolution, many hand-operated presses cranked out leaflets, pamphlets, and journals signed with pseudonyms.
3. In one famous case, John Peter Zenger, a New York newspaper printer, was taken to court and charged with seditious libel.
 - a. The judge urged the jury to consider that the mere fact of publishing was a crime, no matter whether the content was derogatory or not.
 - b. Zenger won after his lawyer, Andrew Hamilton, excellently defended his case.
 - c. Afterwards, freedom of the press was pretty much assured in America.

XII. The Great Game of Politics

1. By 1775, eight of the colonies had royal governors who were appointed by the king.
2. Three had governors chosen by proprietors.
3. Practically every colony utilized a two-house legislative body.
 - a. The upper house was appointed by royal officials or proprietors.
 - b. The lower house was elected by the people.
4. Self-taxation with representation came to be a cherished privilege that Americans came to cherish above most other rights.
5. Most governors did a good job, but some were just plain corrupt.
 - a. Lord Cornbury, first cousin of Queen Anne, was made governor of New York and New Jersey in 1702 but proved to be a drunkard, a spendthrift, a gafter, and embezzler, a religious bigot, and a vain fool.
6. The right to vote was not available to anyone, just white landowners.
 - a. However, the ease of acquiring land to hard workers made voting a privilege easily attainable to many people.

XIII. Colonial Folkways

1. Americans had many hardships, as many basic amenities that we have today were not available.
 - a. Churches weren't heated at all.
 - b. Running water in houses was nonexistent.
 - c. No plumbing was available either.
 - d. Garbage disposal was primitive at best.
2. Yet, amusement was permitted, and people often worked on house-raising, apple parings quilting bees, husking bees, and other merrymaking.
3. In the South, card playing, horse racing, cockfighting, and fox hunting were fun.
4. Lotteries were universally approved, even by the clergy because they helped raise money for churches and colleges.
5. Stage plays were popular in the South, but not really in the North.
6. Holidays were celebrated everywhere in the colonies (New England didn't like Christmas, though).
7. America in 1775 was like a quilt, each part different and individual in its own way, but all coming together to form one single, unified piece.

XIV. Makers of America: The Scots-Irish

1. Life for the Scots was miserable in England, as many were too poor, and Britain still taxed them, squeezing the last cent out of them.
2. Migrating to Ulster, the Scots still felt unwelcome, and eventually came to America.
3. They constantly tried to further themselves away from Britain.
 - a. Most went to Pennsylvania, where tolerance was high.

4. The Scots-Irish were many of America's pioneers, clearing the trails for others to follow.
5. Otherwise independent, religion was the only thing that bonded these people.
6. Their hatred of England made them great allies and supporters of the United States during the Revolutionary War.

Chapter 6: "The Duel for North America"

I. France Finds a Foothold in Canada

1. Like England and Holland, France was a latecomer in the colony race.
 - a. It was convulsed in the 1500s by foreign wars and domestic strife.
 - b. In 1598, the Edict of Nantes was issued, allowing limited toleration to the French Huguenots.
2. When King Louis XIV became king, he took an interest in overseas colonies.
3. In 1608, France established Quebec, overlooking the St. Lawrence River.
4. Samuel de Champlain, an intrepid soldier and explorer, became known as the "Father of New France."
 - a. He entered into friendly relations with the neighboring Huron Indians and helped them defeated the Iroquois.
 - b. The Iroquois, however, did hamper French efforts into the Ohio Valley later.
5. Unlike English colonists, French colonists didn't immigrate to North America by hordes.
 - a. The peasants were too poor, and the Huguenots weren't allowed to leave.

II. New France Fans Out

1. New France's (Canada) one valuable resource was the beaver.
 - a. Beaver hunters were known as the *coureurs de bois* and littered the land with place names, including Baton Rouge (red stick), Terre Haute (high land), Des Moines (some monks) and Grand Teton (big breasts). (by the way, they drank a lot)
 - b. The French *voyageurs* also recruited Indians to hunt for beaver as well, but Indians were decimated by White Man's diseases, and the beaver population was heavily extinguished.
2. French Catholic missionaries zealously tried to convert Indians.

3. To thwart English settlers from pushing into the Ohio Valley, Antoine Cadillac founded Detroit (“city of straits”) in 1701.
4. Louisiana was founded, in 1682, by Robert de La Salle, to thwart Spanish expansion into the area near the Gulf of Mexico.
 - a. Three years later, he tried to fulfill his dreams by returning, but instead landed in Spanish Texas and was murdered by his mutinous men in 1687.
5. The fertile Illinois country, where the French established forts and trading posts at Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes, became the garden of France’s North American empire.

III. The Clash of Empires

1. King William’s War and Queen Anne’s War (two different fights)
 - a. The English colonists fought the French *coureurs de bois* and their Indian allies.
 - i. Neither side considered America important enough to waste real troops on.
 - b. The French-inspired Indians ravaged Schenectady, New York, and Deerfield.
 - c. The British did try to capture Quebec and Montreal, failed, but did temporarily have Port Royal.
 - d. The peace deal in Utrecht in 1713 gave Acadia (renamed Nova Scotia), Newfoundland, and Hudson Bay to England, pinching the French settlements by the St. Lawrence. It also gave Britain limited trading rights with Spanish America.
2. The War of Jenkin’s Ear
 - a. An English Captain named Jenkin’s had his ear cut off by a Spanish commander, who had sneered at him to go home crying (essentially).
 - b. This war was confined to the Caribbean Sea and Georgia.
 - c. This war soon merged with the War of Austrian Succession and came to be called King George’s War in America.
 - d. France allied itself with Spain, but England’s troops captured the reputed impregnable fortress of Cap Breton Island.
 - e. However, peace terms of this war gave Louisbourg, which the New Englanders had captured, back to France, outraging the colonists, which feared it.

IV. George Washington Inaugurates War with France

1. The Ohio Valley became a battleground among the Spanish, British, and French.
 - a. It was lush and very good land.

2. In 1754, the governor of Virginia sent 21 year-old George Washington to the Ohio country as a lieutenant colonel in command of about 150 Virginia minutemen.
 - a. Encountering some Frenchmen in the forest about 40 miles from Fort Duquesne, the troops opened fire, killing the French leader.
 - b. Later, the French returned and surrounded Washington's hastily constructed Fort Necessity, and after a 10-hour siege, made him surrender.
 - c. He was permitted to march his men away with the full honors of war.

V. Global War and Colonial Disunity

1. The fourth of these wars between empires started in America, unlike the first three.
2. The French and Indian War (aka Seven Years' War) began with Washington's battle with the French.
3. It was England and Prussia vs. France, Spain, Austria, and Russia.
4. In Germany, Frederick the Great won his title of "Great" by repelling French, Austrian, and Russian armies, even though he was badly outnumbered (skill...).
5. In previous wars, the Americans were not unified, but now they were.
6. In 1754, an intercolonial congress was held in Albany, New York.
 - a. A month before the congress, Ben Franklin had published his famous "Join or Die" cartoon featuring a snake in pieces, symbolizing the colonies.
7. Franklin helped unite the colonists in Albany, but the Albany plan failed because it compromised too much.

VI. Braddock's Blundering and Its Aftermath

1. In the beginning, the British sent haughty 60 year-old general Braddock to lead a bunch of inexperienced soldiers with slow, heavy artillery.
2. In a battle with the French, the British were routed.
 - a. In this battle, Washington reportedly had two horses shot from under him and four bullets go through his coat, but never him.
3. Afterwards, the frontier from Pennsylvania to North Carolina felt the Indian wrath, as scalping was everywhere.
4. As the British tried to attack a bunch of strategic wilderness posts, defeated after defeat piled up.

VII. Pitt's Palms of Victory

1. In this hour of British trouble, William Pitt, the "Great Commoner," took the lead.
2. In 1757, he became a foremost leader in the London government.
3. Later earning the title of "Organizer of Victory," he soft-pedaled assaults on the French West Indies, assaults which sapped British strength, and concentrated on Quebec-Montreal.
4. In 1758, Louisbourg fell after a blistering siege.
5. 32 year-old James Wolfe, dashing and attentive to detail, commanded an army that boldly scaled the cliff walls of a part protecting Quebec, met French troops near the Plains of Abraham, and in a battle in which he and French commander Marquis de Montcalm both died, the French were defeated and the city of Quebec surrendered.
 - a. The 1759 Battle of Quebec ranks as one of the most significant engagements in British and American history, and when Montreal fell in 1760, that was the last time French flags would fly on American soil.
6. In the peace treaty at Paris in 1763, Britain got all of Canada, but the French were allowed to retain several small but valuable sugar islands in the West Indies and two never-to-be-fortified islets in the Gulf of St. Lawrence for fishing stations.
7. France's final blow came when they gave Louisiana to Spain to compensate for Spain's losses in the war.
 - a. Great Britain took its place as the leading naval power in the world, and a great power in North America.

VIII. Restless Colonials

1. The colonists, having experienced war firsthand and come out victors, were very confident.
 - a. However, the myth of British invincibility had been shattered.
2. Ominously, friction developed between the British officers and the colonial "boors."
3. The British refused to recognize any American officers above the rank of captain.
4. However, the hardworking Americans believed that they were equals with the Redcoats, and trouble began to brew.
5. Brits were concerned about American secret trade with enemy traders during the war; in fact, in the last year of the war, the British forbade the export of all supplies from New England to the middle colonies.

6. Also, many American colonels refused to help fight the French until Pitt offered to reimburse them.
7. During the French and Indian War, though, Americans from different parts of the colonies found, surprisingly to them, that they had a lot in common (language, ideals), and barriers of disunity began to melt.

IX. Americans: A People of Destiny

1. Now that the French had been beaten, the colonists could now roam freely, and were less dependent upon Great Britain.
2. The French consoled themselves with the thought that if they could lose such a great empire, maybe the British would one day lose theirs too.
3. Spain was eliminated from Florida, and the Indians could no longer play the European powers against each other, since it was only Great Britain in control now.
4. In 1763, Ottawa chief Pontiac led a few French-allied tribes in a brief but bloody campaign through the Ohio Valley, but the Whites quickly and cruelly retaliated after being caught off guard.
 - a. One commander ordered blankets infected with smallpox to be distributed among the Indians.
 - b. Such violence convinced Whites to station troops along the frontier.
5. Now, land-hungry Americans could now settle west of the Appalachians, but in 1763, Parliament issued its Proclamation of 1763, prohibiting any settlement in the area beyond the Appalachians.
 - a. Actually, this document was meant to work out the Indian problem, but colonists saw it as another form of oppression from a far away country.
 - b. In 1765, an estimated on thousand wagons rolled through the town of Salisbury, North Carolina, on their way “up west” in defiance of the Proclamation.
6. The British, proud and haughty, were in no way to accept this blatant disobedience by the lowly Americans, and the stage was set for the Revolutionary War.

X. Makers of America: The French

1. Louis XIV envisioned a French empire in North America, but defeats in 1713 and 1763 snuffed that out.
2. The first French to leave Canada were the Acadians.
 - a. The British who had won that area had demanded that all residents either swear allegiance to Britain or leave.
 - b. In 1755, they were forcefully expelled from the region.

3. The Acadians fled far south to the French colony of Louisiana, where they settled among sleepy bayous, planted sugar cane and sweet potatoes, and practiced Roman Catholicism.
 - a. They also spoke a French dialect that came to be called Cajun.
 - b. Cajuns married Spanish, French, and Germans.
 - c. They were largely isolated in large families until the 1930s, when a bridge-building spree engineered by Governor Huey Long, broke the isolation of these bayou communities.
4. In 1763, a second group of French settlers in Quebec began to leave, heading toward New England because bad harvests led to lack of food in Quebec.
 - a. Most hoped to return to Canada someday.
 - b. These people also preserved their Roman Catholicism and their language.
 - c. Yet today, almost all Cajuns and New England French-Canadians speak English.
5. Today, Quebec is the only sign of French existence that once ruled.
 - a. French culture is strong there in the form of road signs, classrooms, courts, and markets, eloquently testifying to the continued vitality of French culture in North America.

Chapter 7: “The Road to Revolution”

I. The Deep Roots of Revolution

1. In a broad sense, the American Revolution began when the first colonists set foot on America.
2. The war may have lasted for eight years, but a sense of independence had already begun to develop because London was over 3000 miles away.
 - a. Sailing across the Atlantic in a ship often took 6 to 8 weeks.
 - b. Survivors felt physically and spiritually separated from Europe.
 - c. Colonists in America, without influence from superiors, felt that they were fundamentally different from England, and more independent.
 - d. Many began to think of themselves as Americans.

II. The Mercantile Theory

1. Of the 13 original colonies, only Georgia was formally planted by the British government.

- a. The rest were started by companies, religious groups, land speculators, etc...
- 2. The British embrace a theory that justified their control of the colonies: mercantilism:
 - a. A country's economic wealth could be measured by the amount of gold or silver in its treasury.
 - b. To amass gold and silver, a country had to export more than it imported.
 - c. Countries with colonies were at an advantage, because the colonies could supply the mother country with materials, wealth, supplies, etc...
 - d. For America, that meant giving Britain all the ships, ships' stores, sailors, and trade that they needed and wanted.
 - e. Also, they had to grow tobacco and sugar for England that Brits would otherwise have to buy from other countries.

III. Mercantilist Trammels on Trade

- 1. The Navigation Laws were the most famous of the laws to enforce mercantilism.
 - a. The first of these was enacted in 1650, and was aimed at rival Dutch shippers who were elbowing their way into the American carrying trade.
 - b. The Navigation Laws restricted commerce from the colonies to England (and back) to only English ships, and none other.
 - c. Other laws stated that European goods consigned to America had to land first in England, where custom duties could be collected.
 - d. Also, some products could only be shipped to England and not other nations.
- 2. Settlers were even restricted in what they could manufacture at home; they couldn't make woolen cloth and beaver hats to export (they could make them for themselves).
- 3. Americans had no currency, but they were constantly buying things from Britain, so that gold and silver was constantly draining out of America, forcing some to even trade and barter.
 - a. Eventually, the colonists were forced to print paper money, which depreciated.
- 4. Colonial laws could be voided by the Privy Council, though this privilege was used sparingly (469 times out of 8563 laws).
 - a. Still, colonists were inflamed by its use.

IV. The Merits of Mercantilism

1. The Navigation Laws were hated, but until 1763, they were not really enforced much, resulting in widespread smuggling.
 - a. In fact, John Hancock amassed a fortune through smuggling.
2. Tobacco planters, though they couldn't ship it to anywhere except Britain, still had a monopoly within the British market.
3. Americans had unusual opportunities for self-government.
4. Americans also had the mightiest army in the world, and didn't have to pay for it.
 - a. After independence, the U.S. had to pay for a tiny army and navy.
5. Basically, the Americans had it made: even repressive laws weren't enforced much, and the average American benefited much more than the average Englishman.
 - a. The mistakes that occurred didn't occur out of malice, at least until the revolt.
 - b. In fact, France and Spain also embraced mercantilism, but enforced it heavily.

V. The Menace of Mercantilism

1. However, after Britain started to enforce mercantilism in 1763, the fuse for the American Revolution was lit.
2. Disadvantages:
 - a. Americans couldn't buy, sell, ship, or manufacture under the most favorable conditions for them.
 - b. The South, which produced crops that weren't grown in England, was preferred over the North.
 - c. Virginia, which grew just tobacco, was at the mercy of the British buyers, who often paid very low and were responsible for putting many planters into debt.
 - d. Many colonists felt that Britain was just milking her colonies for all their worth.
 - e. Theodore Roosevelt said, "Revolution broke out because England failed to recognize an emerging nation when it saw one."

VI. The Stamp Tax Uproar

1. After the Seven Years' War, Britain had a HUGE debt, and though it fairly had no intention of making the Americans pay off all of it for Britain, it did feel that they should pay off one-third of the cost, since Redcoats had been used for the protection of the Americans.
2. Prime Minister George Grenville, an honest and able financier not noted for tact, ordered that the Navigation Laws be enforced, arousing resentment of settlers.

- a. He also secured the “Sugar Act” of 1764, which increased duty on foreign sugar imported from the West Indies; after numerous protests from spoiled Americans, the duties were reduced.
3. The Quartering Act of 1765 required certain colonies to provide food and quarters for British troops.
4. In 1765, he also imposed a stamp tax to raise money for the new military force.
 - a. The Stamp Act mandated the use of stamped paper of the affixing of stamps, certifying payment of tax.
 - b. Stamps were required on bills of sale for about 50 trade items as well as on certain types of commercial and legal documents.
 - c. Both the Stamp Act and the Sugar Act provided for offenders to be tried in the admiralty courts, where defenders were guilty until proven innocent.
 - d. Grenville felt that these taxes were fair, as he was simply asking the colonists to pay their share of the deal; plus, Englishmen paid a much heavier stamp tax.
5. Americans felt that they were unfairly taxed for an unnecessary army (hadn’t the French army and Pontiac’s warriors been defeated?), and lashed back violently, especially against the stamp tax.
 - a. “No taxation without representation!”
6. Americans took it upon themselves to enforce principle, reminding Brits of the principles that England’s own Puritan Revolution had brought forth.
7. Americans denied the right of Parliament to tax Americans, since no Americans were seated in Parliament.
8. Grenville replied that these statements were absurd, and pushed the idea of “virtual representation,” in which every Parliament member represented ALL British subjects.
9. Americans rejected “virtual representation,” and in truth didn’t really want representation because that wouldn’t have done them good, and if they had really had representation, there wouldn’t be a principle for which to rebel.

VII. Parliament Forced to Repeal the Stamp Act

1. In 1765, representatives from nine colonies met in NYC to discuss the Stamp Tax.
 - a. The Stamp Act Congress was largely ignored in Britain, but was a step toward intercolonial unity.
2. Some colonists agreed to boycott supplies, instead, making their own and refusing to buy British goods.

3. Sons and Daughters of Liberty took law into their own hands, tarring and feathering violators among people who had agreed to boycott the goods.
 - a. They also stormed the houses of important officials and took their money.
 - b. Stunned, demands appeared in Parliament for repeal of the stamp tax, though many wanted to know why 7.5 million Brits had to pay heavy taxes to protect the colonies, but 2 million colonials refused to pay only one-third of the cost of their own defense.
 - c. In 1766, Parliament repealed the Stamp Act but passed the Declaratory Act, proclaiming that Parliament had the right “to bind” the colonies “in all cases whatsoever.”

VIII. The Townshend Tea Tax and the Boston “Massacre”

1. Charles Townshend (a man who could deliver brilliant speeches in Parliament even while drunk) persuaded Parliament to pass the Townshend Acts in 1767.
 - a. They put light taxes on white lead, paper, paint, and tea.
2. In 1767, New York’s legislature was suspended for failure to comply with the Quartering Act.
3. Tea became smuggled, though, and to enforce the law, Brits had to send troops to America.
4. On the evening of March 5, 1770, a crowd of about 60 townspeople in Boston were harassing some ten Redcoats.
 - a. One got hit in the head; another got hit by a club.
 - b. Without orders but heavily provoked, they opened fire, wounding or killing eleven “innocent” citizens, including Crispus Attucks, the “leader” of the mob.
 - c. Only two Redcoats got prosecuted.

IX. The Seditious Committees of Correspondence

1. King George III was 32 years old, a good person, but a bad ruler who surrounded himself with sycophants like Lord North.
2. The Townshend Taxes didn’t really do much, so they were repealed, except for the tea tax.
3. The colonies, in order to spread propaganda and keep the rebellious moods, set up committees of correspondence; the first was started by Samuel Adams.

X. Tea Parties at Boston and Elsewhere

1. In 1773, the powerful British East India Company, overburdened with 17 million pounds of unsold tea, was facing bankruptcy.
2. The British decided to sell it to the Americans, who were suspicious and felt that it was a shabby attempt to trick the Americans with the bait of cheaper tea and pay tax.
3. On December 16, 1773, some Whites disguised as Indians opened 342 chests and dumped the tea into the ocean.
 - a. People in Annapolis did the same and burned the ships to the ground.
 - b. Reaction was varied, from approval to outrage to disapproval.
 - c. Edmund Burke declared, "To tax and to please, no more than to love and be wise, is not given to men."

XI. Parliament Passes the "Intolerable Acts"

1. In 1774, by huge majorities, Parliament passed a series of "repressive acts" to punish the colonies, namely Massachusetts.
2. The Boston Port Act
 - a. Boston Harbor was closed until retribution was paid.
 - b. Also, enforcing officials who killed colonials could now be tried in England.
3. Massachusetts Government Act
 - a. The charter of Massachusetts was revoked.
4. The Quebec Act
 - a. A good law in bad company, it guaranteed Catholicism to the French-Canadians, permitted them to retain their old customs, and extended the old boundaries of Quebec all the way to the Ohio River.
 - b. Americans saw their territory threatened and aroused anti-Catholics were shocked at the enlargement that would make a Catholic area as large as the original 13 colonies.

XII. The Continental Congress and Bloodshed

A. The First Continental Congress

1. In Philadelphia, from September 5th to October 26th, 1774, the First Continental Congress met to discuss problems.
2. While not wanting independence then, it did come up with a list of grievances, which were ignored in Parliament.
3. Only Georgia didn't have a representative there.
4. Also, they came up with a Declaration of Rights.
5. They agreed to meet again in 1775 (the next year) if nothing happened.

B. The "Shot Heard 'Round the World"

1. In April 1775, the British commander in Boston sent a detachment of troops to nearby Lexington and Concord to seize supplies and to capture Sam Adams and John Hancock.
2. Minutemen, after having eight of their own killed at Lexington, fought back at Concord, pushing the Redcoats back, sniped them from behind rocks and trees.

XIII. Imperial Strength and Weaknesses

1. WAR!!! Britain had the heavy advantage: 7.5 million people to America's 2 million, superior naval power, and great wealth.
2. Some 30,000 Hessians (German mercenaries) were also hired by George III, in addition to a professional army of about 50,000 men, plus about 50,000 American loyalists and many Native Americans.
3. However, Britain still had Ireland (used up troops) and France was just waiting to stab Britain in the back; plus, there was no William Pitt.
 - a. Many Brits had no desire to kill their American cousins, as shown by William Pitt's withdrawal of his son from the army.
 - b. English Whigs at first supported America, as opposed to Lord North's Tory Whigs, and they felt that if George III won, then his rule of England might become tyrannical.
 - c. Britain's generals were second-rate, and its men were brutally treated.
 - d. Provisions were often scarce, plus Britain was fighting a war some 3000 miles away from home.
 - e. America was also expansive, and there was no single capital to capture and therefore cripple the country.

XIV. American Pluses and Minuses

A. Advantages

1. Americans had great leaders like George Washington (giant general), and Ben Franklin (smooth diplomat).
2. They also had French aid (indirect), as the French provided the Americans with guns, supplies, gunpowder, etc...
3. Marquis de Lafayette, at age 19, was made a major general in the colonial army.
4. The colonials were fighting in a defensive way, and they were self-sustaining.
5. They were better marksmen.
 - a. A competent American rifleman could hit a man's head at 200 yards.
6. The Americans enjoyed the moral advantage in fighting for a just cause, and the historical odds weren't unfavorable either.

B. Disadvantages

1. Americans were terribly lacking in unity, though.
2. Jealousy was prevalent, as colonies resented the Continental Congress' attempt at exercising power.
 - a. Sectional jealousy boiled up over the appointment of military leaders; some New Englanders almost preferred British officers to Americans from other colonies.
3. Inflation also hit families of soldiers hard, and made many people poor.

XV. A Thin Line of Heroes

1. The American army was desperately in need of clothing, wool, wagons to ship food, and other supplies.
2. Many soldiers had also only received rudimentary training.
3. German Baron von Steuben, who spoke no English, whipped the soldiers into shape.
4. Blacks also fought and died in service, though in the beginning, many colonies barred them from service.
 - a. By war's end, more than 5000 blacks had enlisted in the American armed forces.
5. African-Americans also served on the British side.
6. In November 1775, Lord Dunmore, royal governor of Virginia, issued a proclamation declaring freedom for any enslaved black in Virginia who joined the British Army.
 - a. By war's end, at least 1400 Blacks were evacuated to Nova Scotia, Jamaica, and England.
7. Many people also sold to the British because they paid in gold.
8. Many people just didn't care, and therefore, raising a large number of troops was difficult, if not impossible.
9. Only because a select few threw themselves into the cause with passion, did the Americans win.
10. Seldom have so few done so much for so many.

Chapter 8: "America Secedes from the Empire"

I. Congress Drafts George Washington

1. After the bloodshed at Lexington and Concord in April of 1775, about 20,000 Minutemen swarmed around Boston, where they outnumbered the British.
2. The Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775, with no real intention of independence, merely a desire to continue fighting in the hope that the king and Parliament would consent to a redress of grievances.

- a. It sent another list of grievances to Parliament.
- b. It also adopted measures to raise money for an army and a navy.
- c. It also selected George Washington to command the army.
 - (1) George had never risen above the rank of colonel, and his largest command had only been of 1200 men, but he was a tall figure who looked like a leader, and thus, was a moral boost to troops.
 - (2) He radiated patience, courage, self-discipline, and a sense of justice, and though he insisted on working without pay, he did keep a careful expense account amounting to more than \$100,000.

II. Bunker Hill and Hessian Hirelings

1. In the first year, the war was one of consistency, as the colonists maintained their loyalty while still shooting at the king's men.
2. In May 1775, a tiny American force led by Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold, surprised and captured the British garrisons at Ticonderoga and Crown Point.
3. In June 1775, the colonials seized Bunker Hill (before known as Breed's Hill).
 - a. Instead of flanking them, the Redcoats launched a frontal attack, and the heavily entrenched colonial sharpshooters mowed them down until meager gunpowder supplies ran out and they were forced to retreat.
4. After Bunker Hill, George III slammed the door for all hope of reconciliation and declared the colonies to be in open rebellion, a treasonous affair.
5. The King also hired many German mercenaries, called Hessians, who, because they were lured by booty and not duty, had large numbers desert and remained in America to become respectful citizens.

III. The Abortive Conquest of Canada

1. In October 1775, the British burned Falmouth (Portland), Maine.
2. The colonists decided that invading Canada would add a 14th colony and deprive Britain of a valuable base for striking at the colonies in revolt.
 - a. Also, the French-Canadians would support the Americans because they supposedly were bitter about Britain's taking over of their land.
 - b. General Richard Montgomery captured Montreal.
 - c. At Quebec, he was joined by the bedraggled army of General Benedict Arnold.
 - d. On the last day of 1775, in the assault of Quebec, Montgomery was killed and Arnold was wounded in one leg, and the whole campaign collapsed as the men retreated up the St. Lawrence River, reversing the way Montgomery had come.
 - e. Besides, the French-Canadians, who had welcomed the Quebec Act, didn't really like the anti-Catholic invaders.

3. In January 1776, the British set fire to Norfolk, Virginia, but in March, they were finally forced to evacuate Boston.
4. In the South, the rebels won a victory against some 1500 Loyalists at Moore's Creek Bridge, in South Carolina, and against an invading British fleet at Charleston Harbor.

IV. Thomas Paine Preaches Common Sense

1. In 1776, Thomas Paine published *Common Sense*, which urged colonials to stop this war of inconsistency, stop pretending loyalty, and just fight.
2. Nowhere in the universe did a smaller body control a larger one, so Paine argued, saying why tiny Britain had to control gigantic America.
3. He called King George III "the Royal Brute of Great Britain."

V. Paine and the Idea of "Republicanism"

1. Paine argued his idea that there should be a "republic" where senators, governors, and judges should have their power from the consent of the people.
2. He laced his ideas with Biblical imagery, familiar to common folk.
3. His ideas about rejecting monarchy and empire and embrace an independent republic fell on receptive ears in America, though it should be noted that these ideas already existed.
 - a. The New Englanders already practiced this type of government in their town meetings.
4. Some patriots, though, favored a republic ruled by a "natural aristocracy."

VI. Jefferson's "Explanation" of Independence

1. Members of the Philadelphia Congress, instructed by their colonies, gradually moved toward a clean break with Britain.
2. On June 7, 1776, fiery Richard Henry urged for complete independence, an idea that was finally adopted on July 2, 1776.
3. To write such a statement, Congress appointed Thomas Jefferson, already renown as a great writer, to concoct a Declaration of Independence.
 - a. He did so eloquently, coming up with a list of grievances against King George III and persuasively explaining why the colonies had the right to revolt.
 - b. His "explanation" of independence also upheld the "natural rights" of humankind.
4. When Congress approved it on July 2nd, John Adams proclaimed that date to be celebrated from then on with fireworks, but because of editing and final approval, it was not completely approved until July 4th, 1776.

VII. Patriots and Loyalists

1. The War of Independence was a war within a war, as not all colonials were united.
 - a. There were Patriots, who supported rebellion and were called “Whigs.”
 - b. There were Loyalists, who supported the King, often went to battle against fellow Americans, and were called “Tories.”
 - c. There were those who didn’t care, and these people were constantly being asked to join one side or another.
2. During the war, the British proved that they could only control Tory areas, because when Redcoats packed up and left other areas, the rebels would regain control.
3. The Patriot militias constantly harassed small British detachments.
4. Loyalists were generally conservatives, but the war divided families.
 - a. Benjamin Franklin was against his illegitimate son, William, the last royal governor of New Jersey.
5. The Patriots were generally the younger generation, like Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry.
6. Loyalists were most numerous where the Anglican Church was strongest.
7. There were also those who sold to the highest bidder, selling the British and ignoring starving, freezing soldiers (i.e. George Washington at Valley Forge).
8. Loyalists were less numerous in New England, where Presbyterianism and Congregationalism flourished.

VIII. The Loyalist Exodus

1. After the Declaration of Independence, Loyalists and Patriots were more sharply divided, and Patriots often confiscated Loyalist property and resell it (good way to raise money).
2. Some 50,000 Loyalists served the British in one way or another (fighting, spying, etc...), and it was an oddity that the Brits didn’t make more use of them during the war.

IX. General Washington at Bay

1. After the evacuation of Boston, the British focused on New York as a HQ for operations.
 - a. An awe-inspiring fleet appeared off the coast in July 1776, consisting of some 500 ships and 35,000 men—the largest armed force seen in America ever until the Civil War.
 - b. Washington could only muster 18,000 ill-trained men to fight, and they were routed at the Battle of Long Island.
 - c. Washington escaped to Manhattan Island, crossed the Hudson River to New Jersey, reaching the Delaware River with taunting, fox-hunt calling British on his heels.

- d. Crossing the Delaware River at Trenton on a cold December 26, 1776, and surprised and captured a thousand Hessians who were sleeping off their Christmas Day celebration (drinking).
- e. He then left his campfires burning as a ruse, slipped away, and inflicted a sharp defeat on a smaller British detachment at Princeton, showing his military genius at its best.
- f. It was odd that General William Howe, the British general, didn't crush Washington when he was at the Delaware, but he well remembered Bunker Hill, and was cautious.

X. Burgoyne's Blundering Invasion

1. London officials adopted a complicated scheme for capturing the vital Hudson River Valley in 1777 which, if successful, would sever New England from the rest of the colonies:
 - a. General Burgoyne would push down the Lake Champlain route from Canada.
 - b. General Howe's troops in New York, if needed, could advance up the Hudson and meet Burgoyne in Albany.
 - c. A third and much smaller British force commanded by Colonel Barry St. Ledger would come in from the west by way of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk Valley.
2. However, Benedict Arnold, after failure at Quebec, retreated slowly along the St. Lawrence back to Lake Champlain, where the British would have to win control (of the lake) before proceeding.
 - a. The Brits stopped to build a huge force, while Arnold assembled a tattered flotilla from whatever boats he could find.
 - b. His "navy" was destroyed, but he had gained valuable time, because winter set in and the British settled in Canada; they would have to begin anew the next spring.
 - (1) Had Arnold not contributed his daring and skill, the Brits most likely would have recaptured Ticonderoga and Burgoyne could have started from there and succeeded in his venture.
3. Burgoyne began his mission with 7000 troops and a heavy baggage train consisting of a great number of the officers' wives.
 - a. Meanwhile, sneaky rebels, sensing the kill, were gathering along his flanks.
4. General Howe, at a time when he should be starting up the Hudson, deliberately embarked for an attack on Philadelphia.

- a. He wanted to force an encounter with Washington and leave the path wide open for Burgoyne's thrust; he thought he had enough time to help Burgoyne if needed.
 - b. Washington transferred his troops to Philly, but was defeated at Brandywine Creek and Germantown.
 - c. Then, the fun-loving Howe settled down in Philadelphia, leaving Burgoyne "to the dogs."
 - d. Ben Franklin, in Paris, joked that Howe hadn't captured Philadelphia, but that "Philadelphia had captured Howe."
- 5. Washington finally retired for the winter at Valley Forge, where his troops froze in the cold, but a recently arrived Prussian drill master, Baron von Steuben, whipped the cold troops into shape.
- 6. Burgoyne's doomed troops were bogged down, and the rebels swarmed in with a series of sharp engagements, pushing the St. Legers force back at Oriskany while Burgoyne, unable to advance or retreat, surrendered his entire force at Saratoga, on October 17, 1777.
 - a. Perhaps one of the most decisive battles in British and American history.

XI. Strange French Bedfellows

- 1. France was eager to get revenge on Britain, and secretly supplied the Americans throughout much of the war.
- 2. After the humiliation at Saratoga, the British offered the Americans a measure that gave them home rule—everything they wanted except independence.
- 3. After Saratoga, France finally was persuaded to enter the war against Britain.
 - a. Louis XVI's ministers argued that this was the perfect time to act, because if Britain regained control, she might then try to capture the French West Indies for compensation for the war.
 - b. Now was the time the strike, rather than risk a stronger Britain with its reunited colonies.
- 4. France, in 1778, offered a treaty of alliance, offering America everything that Britain had offered, plus recognition of independence.
 - a. The Americans accepted with caution, since France was pro-Catholic, but since they needed help, they'd take it.

XII. The Colonial War Becomes a World War

- 1. In 1779, Spain and Holland entered the war against Britain.
- 2. In 1780, Catherine the Great of Russia took the lead in organizing the Armed Neutrality (she later called it the Armed Nullity) that lined up all of Europe's neutrals in passive hostility against England.
- 3. America, though it kept the war going until 1778, didn't win until France, Spain, and Holland joined in and Britain couldn't handle them all.

4. Britain, with the French now in the seas, decided to finally evacuate Philadelphia and concentrate their forces in New York, and even though Washington attacked them at Monmouth on a blisteringly hot day in which scores of men died of sunstroke, the British escaped to New York.

XIII. Blow and Counterblow

1. French reinforcements, commanded by Comte de Rochambeau, arrived in Newport, Rhode Island in 1780, but flares sometimes erupted between the Americans and the French.
2. In 1780, feeling unappreciated and lured by British gold, General Benedict Arnold turned traitor by plotting with the British to sell out West Point.
 - a. When the plot was discovered, he fled with the British.
 - b. "Whom can we trust now?" cried George Washington in anguish.
3. The British devised a plan to roll up the colonies from the South.
 - a. Georgia was ruthlessly overrun in 1778-1779.
 - b. Charleston, South Carolina, fell in 1780.
 - c. In the Carolinas, Patriots bitterly fought their Loyalist neighbors.
 - d. However, in 1781, American riflemen wiped out a British detachment at King's Mountain, and then defeated a smaller force at Cowpens.
 - e. At the Carolina campaign of 1781, Quaker-reared tactician General Nathanael Greene distinguished himself with his strategy of delay.
 - (1) By slowly retreating and losing battles but winning campaigns, he helped clear the British out of most of Georgia and South Carolina.

XIV. The Land Frontier and the Sea Frontier

1. 1777 was known as the "bloody year" on the frontier, as Indians went on a scalping spree.
2. Most of the Indians supported Britain and believed that if they won, it would stop American expansion into the West, and save Indian land.
3. Mohawk chief Joseph Brant, recently converted to Anglicanism, and his men ravaged the backcountry of Pennsylvania and New York until check by Americans in 1779.
4. In 1784, the pro-British Iroquois (the Oneidas and the Tuscaroras had sided with the Americans, the other four with the British) signed the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, the first treaty between the U.S. and an Indian nation.
 - a. Under its terms, the Indians ceded most of their land.
5. Even in wartime, pioneers moved west, showing their gratitude to the French with such town names as Louisville while remembering the Revolution with Lexington, Kentucky.

6. George Rogers Clark, an audacious frontiersman, floated down the Ohio River with about 175 in 1778-1779 and captured forts Kaskaskia, Chohokia, and Vincennes in quick succession.
7. The tiny American navy never really hurt the British warships, but it did destroy British merchant shipping and carried the war into the waters around the British Isles.
8. Swift privateers preyed on enemy shipping, capturing many ships and forcing them to sail in convoys.

XV. Yorktown and the Final Curtain.

1. Before the last decisive victory, inflation continued to soar, and the government was virtually bankrupt, and announced that it could only repay many of its debts at a rate of 2.5 cents on the dollar.
2. However, Cornwallis was blundering into a trap.
 - a. Retreating to Chesapeake Bay and assuming that British control of the seas would give him much needed backup, Cornwallis instead was trapped by Washington's army, which had come 300 miles from New York, Rochambeau's French army, and the navy of French Admiral de Grasse.
3. After hearing the news of Cornwallis' defeat, Lord North cried, "Oh God! It's all over!"
4. Stubborn King George wanted to continue the war, since he still had 54,000 troops in North America and 32,000 in the U.S., and fighting did continue for about a year after Yorktown, especially in the South, but America had won.

XVI. Peace at Paris

1. Many Brits were weary of the war, since they had suffered heavy reverse in India and the West Indies, the island of Minorca in the Mediterranean had fallen, and the Rock of Gibraltar was tottering.
2. Ben Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay met in Paris for a peace deal.
 - a. Jay suspected that France would try to keep the U.S. cooped up east of the Alleghenies and keep America weak.
 - b. Instead, Jay, thinking that France would betray American ambitious to satisfy those of Spain, secretly made separate overtures to London (against instructions from Congress) and came to terms quickly with the British, who were eager to entice one of their enemies from the alliance.
3. The Treaty of Paris of 1783, Britain formally recognized the USA and granted generous boundaries, stretching majestically to the Mississippi on the west, the Great Lakes on the north, and to Spanish Florida on the South.

- a. The Yankees also retained a share in the priceless fisheries of Newfoundland.
- b. Americans couldn't persecute Loyalists, though, and Congress could only *recommend* legislatures that confiscated Loyalist land.

XVII. A New Nation Legitimized

1. Britain had ceded so much land because it was trying to entice America from its French alliance.
 - a. Remember, George Rogers Clark had only conquered a small part of the land.
2. Also, during the time, the American-friendly Whigs were in control of the Parliament, which was not to be the case in later years.
3. France approved the treaty, though with cautious eyes.
4. In truth, America came out the big winner, and seldom, if ever, have any people been so favored.

XVIII. Makers of America: The Loyalists

1. Loyalists were conservative, well-educated, thought that a complete break with Britain would invite anarchy, and felt that America couldn't win against the more powerful army in the world.
2. Many Britons had settled in America after the Seven Years' War, and they had reason to support their home country.
3. Thousands of African-Americans joined the British ranks for hope of freedom from bondage.
 - a. Many Black Loyalists won their freedom from Britain.
 - b. Others suffered betrayal, such as when Cornwallis abandoned over 4000 former slaves in Virginia and when many Black Loyalists boarded ships expecting to embark for freedom and instead found themselves sold back into slavery.
 - c. Some Black exiles settled in Britain, but weren't really accepted easily.
4. Most Loyalists remained in America, where they faced special burdens and struggled to re-establish themselves in a society that viewed them as traitors.
5. Hugh Gaine, though, succeeded.
 - a. He reopened his business and even won contracts from the new government.
 - b. He also published the new national army regulations authored by Baron von Steuben.
 - c. When New York ratified the Constitution in 1788, Gaine rode the float at the head of the city's celebration parade.
 - d. He had, like many other former Loyalists, become an American.

Chapter 9: “The Confederation and the Constitution”

I. A Revolution of Sentiments

1. The American Revolution was more of an accelerated evolution than a revolution.
2. However, the exodus of some 80,000 Loyalists left a great lack of conservatives.
3. This weakening of the aristocratic “upper crust” let Patriot elites emerge.
4. The fight for separation of church and state resulted in notable gains.
 - a. The Congregational church continued to be legally established by some New England states, but the Anglican Church was humbled and reformed as the Protestant Episcopal Church.
5. Slavery was a big, problematic issue, as the Continental Congress of 1774 had called for the abolition of slavery, and in 1775, the Philadelphia Quakers founded the world’s first antislavery society.
 - a. This new spirit of “all men are created equal” even inspired a few slave owners to free their slaves.
6. Another issue was women: they still were unequal to men, even though some had served (disguised as men) in the Revolutionary War.
 - a. There were some achievements: New Jersey’s 1776 constitution allowed women to vote (for a time).
 - b. Mothers devoted to their families were developed as an idea of “republican motherhood” and elevated women to higher statuses as keepers of the nation’s conscience.

II. Constitution Making in the States

1. The Continental Congress of 1776 called upon colonies to draft new constitutions (thus began the formation of the Articles of the Confederation).
 - a. Massachusetts contributed one innovation when it called a special convention to draft its constitution and made it so that the constitution could only be changed through another specially called constitutional convention.
 - b. Many states had written documents that represented a fundamental law.

- c. Many had a bill of rights and also required annual election of legislators.
 - d. All of them deliberately created weak executive and judicial branches (they distrusted power due to Britain's abusing it).
 - e. In most states, the legislative branch was given sweeping powers, though some people, like Thomas Jefferson, warned that "173 despots [in legislation] would surely be as oppressive as one."
2. Many states moved westward, like New Hampshire, New York, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia.

III. Economic Crosscurrents

- 1. After the Revolution, Loyalist land was seized, but people didn't chop heads off (France...).
- 2. Goods formerly imported from England were cut off, forcing Americans to make their own.
- 3. Still, America remained agriculturalist by a lot.
- 4. While, with Britain, Americans had great trade, and now they didn't, they could now trade with foreign countries, and with any nation they wanted to, a privilege they didn't have before.
- 5. Yankee shippers like the *Empress of China* (1784) boldly ventured into far off places.
- 6. However, inflation was rampant, and taxes were hated; the rich had become poor, and the new rich were viewed with suspicion; disrespect of private property became shocking.

IV. A Shaky Start Toward Union

- 1. While the U.S. had to create a new government, the people were far from united.
- 2. In 1786, after the war, Britain flooded America with cheap goods, greatly hurting American industries.
- 3. However, the states all did share similar constitutions, had a rich political inheritance from Britain, and America was blessed with men like Washington, Madison, Jefferson, Hamilton, and John Adams, great political leaders of high order.

V. Creating a Confederation

- 1. Even during the war, the states had created their individual currencies and tax barriers.
- 2. The Articles of the Confederation was finished in 1777, but it was finally completely ratified (that was needed) by the last state, Maryland, on March 1, 1781.

3. A major dispute was that states like New York and Virginia had huge tracts of land west of the Alleghenies that they could sell off to pay off their debts while other states could not do so.
 - a. As a compromise, these lands were ceded to the federal government, which pledged to dispense them for the common good of the union (states would be made).
 - b. The Northwest Ordinance later confirmed this.

VI. The Articles of the Confederation: America's First Constitution

1. The Articles had no executive branch (hence, no single leader), a weak Congress in which each state had only one vote, required 2/3 majority on any subject of importance, and a fully unanimous vote for amendments.
2. Also, Congress was pitifully weak, and could not regulate commerce or enforce tax collection.
3. Congress could only call up soldiers from the states, which weren't going to help each other.
 - a. Example: in 1783, a group of Pennsylvanian soldiers harassed the government in Philadelphia, demanding back pay. When it pleaded for help from the state, and didn't receive any, it had to shamefully move to Princeton College in New Jersey.
4. However, it was a model of what a loose confederation should be, and was a significant stepping-stone towards the establishment of the U.S. Constitution.
5. Still, the states wielded an alarmingly too great amount of power.

VII. Landmarks in Land Laws

1. The Land Ordinance of 1785 provided the acreage of the Old Northwest should be sold and that the proceeds be used to pay off the national debt.
 - a. This vast area would be surveyed before settlement and then divided into townships six miles square, which would then be divided into 36 square sections with one set aside for public schools.
2. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 made admission into the union a two stage affair:
 - a. There would be two evolutionary territorial stages, during which the area would be subordinate to the federal government
 - b. When a territory had 60,000 inhabitants, Congress as a state might admit it.
 - c. It worked so well to solve a problem that others had plagued many other nations.

VIII. The World's Ugly Duckling

1. However, Britain still refused to repeal the Navigation Laws, and closed down its trading to the U.S. (proved useless to U.S. smuggling); it also sought to annex Vermont to Britain with help from the Allen brothers and continued to hold a chain of trading posts on U.S. soil.
 - a. One excuse used was that the soldiers had to make sure the U.S. honor its treaty and pay back debts to Loyalists.
2. In 1784, Spain closed the Mississippi River to American commerce.
3. It also claimed a large area near the Gulf of Mexico that was ceded to the U.S. by Britain.
 - a. At Natchez, on disputed soil, it also held a strategic fort.
4. Both Spain and England, while encouraging Indian tribes to be restless, prevented the U.S. from controlling half of its territory.
5. Even France demanded payment of U.S. debts to France.
6. The pirates of the North African states, including the arrogant Dey of Algiers, ravaged U.S. ships in the area and enslaved Yankee sailors; America was too weak to stop them.

IX. The Horrid Specter of Anarchy

1. States were refusing to pay taxes, and national debt was mounting as foreign credibility was slipping.
2. Boundary disputes erupted into small battles while states taxed goods from other states.
3. Shays' Rebellion, which flared up in western Massachusetts in 1786, attacked tax collectors, etc..., causing all sorts of violence.
 - a. Shays was convicted but later pardoned.
 - b. The fear of such violence lived on, though, and paranoia existed.
4. People were beginning to doubt republicanism and this Articles of the Confederation.
5. However, many supporters believed that the Articles merely needed to be strengthened.
6. Things began to look brighter, though, as prosperity was beginning to emerge, Congress was beginning to control commerce, and overseas shipping was regaining its place in the world.

X. A Convention of "Demigods"

1. An Annapolis, Maryland convention was called, but only five states were represented.
2. On May 25, 1787, 55 delegates from 12 states (Rhode Island wasn't there) met in Philadelphia to "revise the Articles only."

- a. Among them were people like Jefferson, Hamilton, Franklin, and Madison.
- b. However, people like Jefferson, John and Sam Adams, Thomas Paine, Hancock, and Patrick Henry were not there (for various purposes).

XI. Patriots in Philadelphia

- 1. The 55 delegates were all well-off and young, and they hoped to preserve the union, protect the American democracy from abroad and preserve it at home, and curb the unrestrained democracy rampant in various states (like rebellions, etc...).

XII. Hammering Out a Bundle of Compromises

- 1. Some people decided to totally scrap the Articles and create a new Constitution.
 - a. Virginia's large state plan called for Congressional representation based on state population, while New Jersey's small state plan called for equal representation from all states (in terms of numbers, each state got the same number of reps.)
 - b. Afterwards, the "Great Compromise" was worked out so that Congress would have TWO houses, the House of Representatives, where reps were based on population, and the Senate, where each state got two reps.
 - i. All tax bills would start in the House.
- 2. Also, there would be a strong, independent executive branch with a president who would be military commander in chief and could veto legislation.
- 3. Another compromise was the election of the president through the Electoral College, rather than by the people directly.
- 4. Also, slaves would count as 3/5 of a person in census counts.
 - a. Also, the Constitution enabled a state to shut off slave importation if it wanted after 1807.

XIII. Safeguards for Conservatism

- 1. The delegates at the Convention all believed in a system with checks and balances, and the more conservative people deliberately erected safeguards against excesses of mobs.
- 2. Federal chief justices were appointed for life.
- 3. However, the people still had power, and government was based on the people.
- 4. By the end of the Convention, on Sept. 17, 1787, only 42 of the original 55 were still there to sign the Constitution

XIV. The Clash of Federalists and Antifederalists

1. Knowing that state legislatures were certainly veto the new Constitution, the Founding Fathers sent copies of it out to state conventions, where it could be debated and voted upon.
 - a. The people could judge it themselves.
2. The American people were shocked, because they had expected a patched up Articles of the Confederation and had received a whole new Constitution (the Convention had been VERY well concealed and kept secret).
3. The federalists, who favored the proposed stronger government, were against the antifederalists, who were opposed.
 - a. The antifederalists were mostly the poor farmers, the illiterate, and states' rights devotees; it was basically the poorer classes.
 - b. The federalists were more respectable and generally embraced the cultured and propertied groups, and many were former Loyalists.
4. Antifederalists truthfully cried that it was drawn up by aristocratic elements and was therefore antidemocratic.
5. They decried the dropping of annual elections of congressional reps and the erecting of what would become Washington D.C., and the creation of a standing army.

XV. The Great Debate in the States

1. Elections were run to elect people into the state conventions.
2. Four small states quickly ratified the Constitution, and Pennsylvania was the first large state to act.
3. In Massachusetts, a hard fought race between the supporters and detractors (including Samuel Adams, the "Engineer of Revolution" who now resisted change), and Massachusetts finally ratified it after a promise of a bill of rights to be added later.
 - a. Had this state not ratified, it would have brought the whole thing down.
4. Three more states ratified, and on June 21, 1788, the Constitution was officially adopted after nine states (all but Virginia, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island) had ratified.

XVI. The Four Laggard States

1. Virginia, knowing that it could not be an independent state (the Constitution was about to be ratified by the 9th state, New Hampshire, anyway), so it finally ratified by a vote of 89 to 79.
2. New York was swayed by *The Federalist Papers*, written by John Jay, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton, and finally yielded after realizing that it could prosper apart from the union.

3. North Carolina and Rhode Island finally ratified after intense pressure from the government.

XVII. A Conservative Triumph

1. The minority had triumphed again, and the transition had been peaceful.
2. Only about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the adult white males in the country (mainly those with land) had voted for the ratifying delegates.
3. Conservationism was victorious, as the safeguards had been erected against mob-rule excesses.
4. Revolutionaries against Britain had been upended by revolutionaries against the Articles.
 - a. It was a type of counterrevolution.
5. Federalists believed that every branch of government effectively represented the people, unlike antifederalists who believed that only the legislative branch did so.
6. In the United States, conservatives and radicals alike have championed the heritage of democratic revolution.

Chapter 10: “Launching of the New Ship of State”

I. A New Ship on an Uncertain Sea

1. In **1789, the new U.S. Constitution was launched**, and population was doubling every twenty years.
 - a. America’s population was still 90% rural, with 5% west of the Appalachians.
 - b. Vermont became the 14th state in 1791, and Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio (states where trans-Appalachian overflow was concentrated) became states soon after.
 - c. Visitors looked down upon the crude, rough pioneers, and these western people were restive and dubiously loyal at best.
2. In the twelve years after American independence, laws had been broken and a constitution had been completely scrapped and replaced with a new one, something that was not best of government
3. America was also heavily in debt, and paper money was worthless, but meanwhile, restless monarchs watched to see if the U.S. could succeed in setting up a republic while facing such overwhelming odds.

II. Washington’s Profederalist Regime

1. At 6’2”, 175 pounds, broad and sloping shoulders, a strongly pointed chin and pockmarks from Smallpox, **George Washington** was an

imposing figure, which helped in his getting unanimously drafted as president by the Electoral College in 1789.

2. His long journey from Mt. Vernon to New York (capital at the time) was a triumphant procession filled with cheering crowds and roaring festivities, and he took his oath of office on April 30, 1789, on a balcony overlooking Wall Street.
3. Washington established a diverse cabinet (which was not necessary, Constitution-wise).
 - a. Secretary of State: Thomas Jefferson
 - b. Secretary of the Treasury: Alexander Hamilton
 - c. Secretary of War: Henry Knox

III. The Bill of Rights

1. Many states had ratified the Constitution on the condition that there would be a **Bill of Rights**, and many antifederalists had criticized the Constitution for its lack of a Bill.
2. The necessary number of states adopted it in 1791.
 - a. Amendment I: Freedom of religion, speech or press, assembly, and petition.
 - b. Amendment II: Right to bear arms (for militia).
 - c. Amendment III: Soldiers can't be housed in civilian homes during peacetime.
 - d. Amendment IV: No unreasonable searches; all searches require warrants.
 - e. Amendment V: Right to refuse to speak during a civil trial; Double Jeopardy.
 - f. Amendment VI: Right to a speedy and public trial.
 - g. Amendment VII: Right to trial by jury when the sum exceeds \$20.
 - h. Amendment VIII: No excessive bails and/or fines.
 - i. Amendment IX: Other rights not enumerated are also in effect.
 - j. Amendment X: Non-federal powers belong to the state.
3. The **Judiciary Act of 1789** created effective federal courts.
4. **John Jay** became the first chief justice of the United States

IV. **Hamilton** Revives the Corpse of Public Credit

1. Born in the British West Indies, his loyalty to the U.S. was often questioned, even though he claimed he loved his adopted country more than his native country.
2. He urged the federal government to assume its debts (\$54 million) and try to pay them off at face value, PLUS interest, as well as assume the debts of the states (\$21.5 million).

- a. Massachusetts had a huge debt, but Virginia didn't, so there needed some haggling. This was because Virginia felt it unfair that all debts were to be assumed, instead of just a set amount. Essentially, its rival states would be at the same level as it even though they had obtained larger debts.
- b. Virginia would have the **District of Columbia** built on its land (therefore gaining prestige) in return for letting the government assume all the states' debts.
3. The "Funding at Par" would gain the support of the rich to the federal government, not the states.

V. Customs Duties and Excise Taxes.

1. With the national debt at a huge \$75 million, Alexander Hamilton was strangely unworried.
2. He used the debt as an asset: the more people the government owed money to, the more people who would care about what would happen to the U.S.
3. To pay off some of the debt, Hamilton first proposed custom duties, and the first one, imposing a low tariff of about 8% of the value of dutiable imports, was passed in 1789.
 - a. Hamilton also wanted to protect America's infant industries, though since the U.S. was still dominated by agricultural programs, little was done for that.
4. In 1791, Hamilton secured an excise tax on a few domestic items, notably whiskey (7 cents per gallon).

VI. Hamilton Battles Jefferson for a Bank

1. Hamilton proposed for a national treasury, to be a private institution modeled after the Bank of England, to have the federal government as a major stockholder, to circulate cash to stimulate businesses, to store excess money, and to print money that was worth something, and was opposed by Jefferson.
2. Hamilton's Views:
 - a. What was not forbidden in the Constitution was permitted.
 - b. A bank was "necessary and proper" (from Constitution).
 - c. He evolved the **Elastic Clause**.
3. Jefferson's Views:
 - a. What was not permitted was forbidden.
 - b. A bank should be a state controlled item (9th Amendment).
 - c. The Constitution should be interpreted literally and strictly.

4. End result: Hamilton won, and Washington reluctantly signed the bank measure into law; the **Bank of the United States** was created by Congress in **1791**, and was chartered for 20 years.
 - a. It was located in Philadelphia and was to have a capital of \$10 million.
 - b. Stock was thrown open to public sale, and surprisingly, a milling crowd oversubscribed in two hours.

VII. Mutinous Moonshiners in Pennsylvania

1. In **1794**, in western Pennsylvania, the **Whiskey Rebellion** flared up when fed up farmers revolted against Hamilton's excise tax.
 - a. Around those parts, liquor and alcohol was often used as money.
2. Washington cautiously sent an army of about 13,000 troops from various states to the revolt, but the soldiers found nothing upon arrival; the rebels had scattered.
3. Washington's new presidency now commanded new respect, but antifederalists criticized the government's use of a giant to crush a gnat.

VIII. The Emergence of Political Parties

1. Hamilton's policies (national bank, suppression of Whiskey Rebellion, excise tax) had seemed to encroach on states' rights.
2. As resentment grew, what was once a personal rivalry between Hamilton and Jefferson gradually evolved into two political parties.
3. The Founding Fathers had not envisioned various political parties (Whigs and Federalists and Tories, etc... had existed but they had been groups, not parties).
4. Since 1825, the two-party system has helped strengthen the U.S. government, helping balance power and ensuring no huge deviation from the norm.

IX. The Impact of the French Revolution

1. Near the end of Washington's first term, in 1793, two parties had evolved: the **Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans** and the **Hamiltonian Federalists**.
2. However, the **French Revolution** greatly affected America.
3. At first, people were overjoyed, since the first stages of the revolution were not unlike America's dethroning of Britain. Only a few ultraconservative Federalists were upset at this "mobocracy" and revolt.

4. When the French declared war on Austria, then threw back the Austrian armies and then proclaimed itself a republic people sang “The Marseillaise” and other French revolutionary songs, and renamed various streets and places.
5. After the revolution turned radical and bloody, the Federalists rapidly changed opinions and looked nervously at the Jeffersonians, who felt that no revolution could be carried out without a little bloodshed.
6. Still, neither group completely approved.
7. America was sucked into the revolution when France declared war on Great Britain and the battle for North American land began...**again**.

X. Washington’s Neutrality Proclamation

1. With war came the call by the JDR’s (Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans) to enter on the side of France, the recent friend, against Britain, the recent enemy.
2. However, Washington knew that war could mean disaster and disintegration, since the nation in 1793 was militarily and economically weak and politically disunited.
3. In 1793, he issued the **Neutrality Proclamation**, proclaiming the U.S.’s official neutrality and warning Americans to stay out of the issue and be impartial.
4. JDR’s were incensed, as this controversial statement irked both sides.
5. Soon afterwards, **Citizen Edmond Genêt**, landed at Charleston, South Carolina, as representative to the U.S.
 - a. On his trip to Philadelphia, he had been cheered rousing by **Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans**, who supported France, and he came to wrongly believe that Washington’s Neutrality Proclamation didn’t truly reflect the feelings of Americans.
 - b. Also, he equipped privateers to plunder British ships and to invade Spanish Florida and British Canada.
 - c. He even went as far as to threaten to appeal over the head of Washington to the sovereign voters, and afterwards, he was basically kicked out of the USA.
6. Actually, America’s neutrality helped France, since only in that way could France get needed American foodstuffs.
7. The U.S. didn’t have to honor its alliance from the **Treaty of 1778** because France didn’t call on it to do so.

XI. Embroilments with Britain

1. Britain still had many posts in the frontier, and supplied the Indians with weapons.

2. The **Treaty of Greenville, in 1795**, had the Indians cede their vast tract in the Ohio country to Americans after **General “Mad Anthony” Wayne** crushed them at the Battle of **Fallen Timbers on August 20, 1794**.
3. Ignoring America’s neutrality, British commanders of the Royal Navy seized about 300 American merchant ships and impressed scores of seamen into their army.
4. Many JDR’s cried for war with Britain, or at least an embargo, but Washington refused, knowing that such drastic action would destroy the Hamilton financial system.

XII. Jay’s Treaty and Washington’s Farewell

1. In a last-ditch attempt to avert war Washington sent John Jay to England to work something out.
2. However, his negotiations were sabotaged by Hamilton, who secretly gave the Brits the details of America’s bargaining strategy.
3. The results weren’t pretty:
 - a. Britain would repay the lost money from recent merchant ship seizures, but it said nothing about future seizures, impressments, and Indians arms supplying.
 - b. America would have to pay off its pre-Revolutionary War debts to Britain.
4. Result: the JDR’s from the South were INCENSED and pissed, as the southern farmers would have to pay while the northern merchants would be paid.
5. At this time, the **Pinckney Treaty of 1795** with Spain gave Americans free navigation of the Mississippi and the large disputed territory north of Florida.
6. After his second term, Washington stepped down, creating a strong two-term precedent that wasn’t broken until FDR was prez.
7. His **Farewell Address** warned against binding, permanent alliances, and talked about other stuff.
8. Washington had set the U.S. on its feet and had made it sturdy.

XIII. “Bonny Johnny” Adams Becomes President”

1. Hamilton was the logical choice to become the next president, but his financial plan had made him very unpopular.
2. **John Adams**, the ablest statesmen of his day, won, 71 to 68, against **Thomas Jefferson**, who became vice president.

3. Adams had a hated rival and opponent in Hamilton, who plotted with Adams' cabinet against the president, and a political rival in his vice president.
4. He also had a volatile situation with France that could explode into war.

XIV. Unofficial Fighting with France

1. France was incensed by **Jay's Treaty**, calling it a flagrant violation of the 1778 Franco-American treaty, and began seizing defenseless American merchant ships.
2. In the **XYZ Affair**, John Adams sent three envoys (including John Marshall) to France, where they were approached by three agents, "X," "Y," and "Z," who demanded a load of 32 million florins and a \$250,000 bribe just for talking to **Talleyrand**.
 - a. Even though bribes were routine in diplomacy, such a large sum for simply talking weren't worth it, and there was no guarantee of an agreement.
 - b. The envoys returned to America, cheered by incensed Americans as having done the right thing for America.
3. Irate Americans called for war with France, but Adams, knowing just as Washington did that war could spell disaster, remained neutral.
4. Thus, an undeclared war mostly confined to the seas raged for two and a half years, where American ships captured over 80 armed French ships.

XV. Adams Puts Patriotism Above Party

1. Talleyrand, knowing that war with the U.S. would add another enemy to France, declared that if another envoy was sent to France, that it would be received with respect.
2. In 1800, the three American envoys were met by **Napoleon**, who was eager to work with the U.S.
3. The treaty in 1800 signed in Paris ended the 1778 alliance in return for the American paying of the claims of its shippers as alimony.
4. In keeping the U.S. at peace, John Adams plunged his popularity and lost his chance at a possible second term, but he did the right thing, keeping the U.S. neutral while it was still weak.

XVI. The Federalist Witch Hunt

1. The Federalists scorned the poor people, who in turn were welcomed by the JDR's.

2. Federalists therefore raised the residence requirements for aliens who wanted to become citizens from five to fourteen years, a law that violated the traditional American policy of open-door hospitality and speedy assimilation.
3. Another law let the President deport dangerous aliens during peacetime and jail them during times of war.
4. The **Sedition Act** provided that anyone who impeded the policies of the government or falsely defamed its officials, including the president, would be liable to a heavy fine and imprisonment; it was aimed at newspaper editors and the JDR's.
 - a. While obviously unconstitutional, this act was passed by the Federalist majority in Congress and upheld in the court because of the majority of Federalists there too.
 - b. It was conveniently written to expire in 1801 to prevent use of it against them.
 - c. Matthew Lyon was one of those imprisoned when he was sentenced to four months in jail for writing ill things about President John Adams
5. Furthermore, in the elections of 1798-99, the Federalists won the most sweeping victory of their history.

XVII. The Virginia (Madison) and Kentucky (Jefferson) Resolutions

1. Resentful Jeffersonians would not take this down, and Jefferson feared that the Federalists, having wiped out freedom of speech and of the press, might wipe out more.
2. He wrote a series of legislation that Kentucky approved in 1798-99, and friend James Madison wrote another series of legislation (less extreme) that Virginia approved.
 - a. They stressed the compact theory, which meant that the 13 states, in creating the federal government, had entered into a contract regarding its jurisdiction, and the individual states were the final judges of the laws passed in Congress.
 - b. Their legislation nullified **the Sedition and Alien Laws**.
3. Only those two states did so.
4. Federalists, though, argued that the people, not the states, had made the contract, and it was up to the Supreme Court to nullify legislation, a procedure that it adopted in 1803.
5. While neither Madison nor Jefferson wanted secession, they did want an end to Federalist abuses.

XVIII. Federalists versus Democratic-Republicans

1. **The Federalists**
 - a. Most were federalists from before the Constitution.
 - b. They wanted a strong government ruled by the educated aristocrats, the “best people.”
 - c. Most were the merchants, manufacturers, and shippers along the Atlantic seaboard.
 - d. They were mostly pro-British and recognized that foreign trade was key in the U.S.
2. **The Democratic-Republicans**
 - a. Led by Thomas Jefferson, a bad speaker but a great leader and appealer to the common people, they desired rule by informed classes and a weaker central government that would preserve the sovereignty of the states, and were mostly pro-French.
 - b. Jefferson was rich and even owned slaves, but he sympathized for the common people.
 - c. The national debt had to be paid off.
 - d. They were mostly agrarians, and insisted no special privileges for the upper class.
 - e. Farming was ennobling: it kept people away from wicked cities, in the sun, and close to God.
 - f. He advocated rule of the people, but not all the people, just those who weren’t ignorant.
 - g. Slavery could help avoid a class of landless voters by providing the necessary labor.
 - h. He championed for free speech, but he was foully abused by editorial pens.
3. Thus, as 1800 rolled around, the disunity of America was making its existence very fragile.

Chapter 11: “The Triumphs and Travails of Jeffersonian Democracy”

- I. Federalist and Republican Mudslingers
 1. In the election of 1800, the Federalists had a host of enemies stemming from the **Alien and Sedition Acts**.
 2. The Federalists had been most damaged by John Adams’ **not** declaring war.
 - a. They had raised a bunch of taxes and built a good navy, and then had not gotten any reason to justify such spending, therefore making themselves seem like cheap, as they had also swelled the public debt.
 - b. John Adams became known as “the Father of the American Navy.”

3. Thus, they also launched attacks on Jefferson, saying that he had robbed a widow and her children of a trust fund, fathered numerous children with his slaves ('tis true too), calling him an atheist, and using other inflammatory remarks.

II. The Jeffersonian "Revolution of 1800"

1. **Jefferson** won the election of 1800 by a majority of 73 electoral votes to 65, and even though Adams got more popular votes, Jefferson got New York, but even though he triumphed, but a technicality, he and **Aaron Burr** tied for presidency.
 - a. The vote, according to the Constitution, would now go to the Federalist-dominated House of Representatives.
 - b. Hateful of Jefferson, many wanted to vote for Burr, and the vote was deadlocked for a long time until **Hamilton** and **John Adams** persuaded a few House members to change their votes, knowing that if the House voted for Burr, the public outcry would doom the Federalist Party.
 - c. Finally, a few changed their minds, and Jefferson was elected to presidency.
2. The revolution was that there was a peaceful transfer of power; Federalists stepped down from office after Jefferson won and did so peacefully, though not necessarily happily.

III. The Federalist Finale

1. It turns out that Adams was the last Federalist president, and the party sank away afterwards.
2. Still, the Federalists had been great diplomats, signing advantageous deals with the European nations, and their conservative views had given the U.S. balance.
 - a. Their only flaw was that they couldn't yield to the American public, and since they couldn't adapt and evolve, they died.

IV. Responsibility Breeds Moderation

1. On March 4, 1801, Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated president in the new capital of **Washington D.C.**
 - a. In his address, he declared that all Americans were Federalists, all were Republicans, and all were all, implying that Americans were a mixture, and he also pledged "honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none."
2. Jefferson was simple and frugal, and did not seat in regard to rank during his dinners; he also was unconventional, wearing sloppy attire, and he started the precedent of sending messages to Congress to be read by a clerk.
3. There were two Thomas Jeffersons: the scholarly private citizen who philosophized in his study, and the harassed public official who discovered that bookish theories worked out differently in practical politics.

4. Jefferson also dismissed few Federalist officials, and those who wanted the seats complained.
5. Jefferson also had to rely on his casual charm because his party was so disunited still.

V. Jeffersonian Restraint Helps to Further a “Revolution”

1. Jefferson pardoned those who were serving time under the Sedition Act, and in 1802, he enacted a new naturalization law that returned the years needed for an immigrant to become a citizen from fourteen to five.
2. He also kicked away the excise tax, but otherwise left the Hamiltonian system intact.
3. The new secretary of the treasury, **Albert Gallatin**, reduced the national debt substantially while balancing the budget.
4. By shrewdly absorbing the major Federalist programs, Jefferson showed that a change of regime need not be disastrous for the exiting group.

VI. The “Dead Clutch” of the Judiciary

1. The **Judiciary Act**, passed by the Federalists in their last days of Congress domination in 1801, packed newly created judgeships with Federalist-backing men, so as to prolong their legacy.
2. **Chief Justice John Marshall**, a cousin of Jefferson, had served at Valley Forge during the War, and he had been impressed with the drawbacks of no central authority, and thus, he became a lifelong Federalist, committed to strengthening the power of the federal government.
 - a. ***Marbury vs. Madison (1803)***: William Marbury had been one of the “midnight judges” appointed by John Adams in his last hours as president. He had been named justice of peace for D.C., but when Secretary of State James Madison decided to shelve the position, he sued for its delivery. Marshall dismissed the case, but he said that the Judiciary Act of 1789 was unconstitutional, thus suggesting that the Supreme Court could determine the constitutionality of laws (**judicial review**).
3. In 1804, Jefferson tried to impeach the tart-tongued Supreme Court justice, **Samuel Chase**, but when the vote got to the Senate, not enough votes were mustered, and to this day, no attempt to alter the Supreme Court has ever been tried through impeachment.

VII. The Pacifist Jefferson Turns Warrior

1. Jefferson reduced the militia to 2500 men, and navies were reduced a bit to peacetime footing.

2. However, the pirates of the **North African Barbary States** were still looting U.S. ships, and in 1801, the pasha of Tripoli indirectly declared war when he cut down the flagstaff of the American consulate.
 - a. Noninterventionalist Jefferson had a problem of whether to fight or not, and he reluctantly set the infant navy to the shores of Tripoli, where fighting continued for four years until Jefferson succeeded in extorting a treaty of peace from Tripoli in 1805 for \$60,000.
 - b. The small, mobile gunboats used in the **Tripolitan War** fascinated Jefferson, and he spent money to build about 200 of them (these boats might be zippy and fast, but they did little against large battleships). Result: bad decision.

VIII. The Louisiana Godsend

1. In 1800, Napoleon secretly induced the king of Spain to cede the Louisiana territory to France.
2. Then, in 1802, the Spaniards at New Orleans withdrew the right of deposit guaranteed by the **treaty of 1795**; deposit privileges were vital to the frontier farmers who floated their produce down the Mississippi River to its mouth to await oceangoing vessels.
 - a. These farmers talked of marching to New Orleans to violently get back what they deserved, an action that would have plunged the U.S. into war with Spain & France.
3. In 1803, Jefferson sent **James Monroe** to join regular minister **Robert R. Livingston** to buy New Orleans and as much land to the *east* for a total of \$10 million, tops.
4. Instead, Napoleon offered to sell New Orleans and the land *west* of it, Louisiana, for a bargain of \$15 million, thereby abandoning his dream of a French North American empire.
 - a. This was due to the rebellion in Haiti, led by Toussaint L'Ouverture, which had been unsuccessful but had killed lots of French troops due to yellow fever, and also because Napoleon needed cash to renew his war with Britain.
5. The Louisiana Purchase was finalized on April 30, 1803.
6. Jefferson had a dilemma, since this was not what he had authorized, but on the other hand, THIS DEAL WAS TOO GOOD TO PASS UP!!!
 - a. After considering an amendment, Jefferson finally decided to go through with the deal anyway, even though nothing in the Constitution talked about land purchases, and Jefferson *had* been a strict interpreter of the Constitution. Thus, he made a full 180° turnaround from his previous philosophical beliefs about the Constitution.

7. The Senate quickly approved the purchase soon afterwards, and the Louisiana Purchase doubled the size of the United States, and was the biggest bargain in history (average 3 cents per acre).

IX. Louisiana in the Long View

1. The purchase created a precedent of acquisition of foreign territory through purchase.
2. In spring of 1804, Jefferson sent **William Clark** and **Meriwether Lewis** to explore this new territory. Along with a Shoshoni woman named **Sacajawea**, the two spent 2½ years exploring the land, marveling at the expanses of buffalo, elk, deer, and antelope, and went all the way to Oregon and the Pacific before returning.
3. Other explorers, like Zebulon M. Pike trekked to the headwaters of the Mississippi River in 1805-06 and ventured to the southern portion of Louisiana and sighted Pike's Peak.
4. The Federalists now sank lower than ever, and tried to scheme with Aaron Burr to make New England and New York secede from the union; in the process Aaron Burr killed Hamilton in a duel.
5. In 1806, Burr was arrested for treason, but the two witnesses were nowhere to be found.
6. The Louisiana Purchase was also nurturing a deep sense of loyalty in the West to the federal government, and a new spirit of nationalism surged through it.

X. America: A Nutcrackered Neutral

1. In 1804, Jefferson won with a margin of 162 Electoral votes to 14 for his opponent, but this happiness was nonexistent because in 1803, Napoleon had deliberately provoked Britain into renewing its war with France.
 - a. As a result, American trade sank deep as England and France, unable to hurt each other (England owned the sea thanks to the **Battle of Trafalgar** while France owned the land thanks to the **Battle of Austerlitz**), resorted to indirect blows.
 - b. In 1806, London issued the **Orders in Council**, which closed ports under French continental control to foreign shipping, including American, unless they stopped at a British port first.
 - c. Napoleon ordered the seizure of all ships, including American, that entered British ports.
 - d. Impressment (illegal seizure of men and forcing of them to serve on ships) of American seamen also incensed the U.S.; some 6000 American were impressed from 1808-11 along, angering U.S. people.
 - e. In 1807, a royal frigate overhauled the U.S. frigate, the *Chesapeake*, about 10 miles off the coast of Virginia, and the British captain ordered

the seizure of four alleged deserters. When the American commander refused, the U.S. ship received three devastating broadsides that killed 3 Americans and wounded 18. In an incident in which England was clearly wrong, Jefferson still clung to peace.

XI. Jefferson's Backfiring Embargo

1. In order to try to stop the British and French seizure of American ships, Jefferson resorted to an embargo; after all, Britain and France depended on U.S. goods, didn't they?
 - a. Also, the U.S. still had a weak navy and a weaker army.
2. The **Embargo Act** of late 1807 forbade the export of all goods from the United States, whether in American or foreign ships.
 - a. The net result was deserted docks, rotting ships in the harbors, and empty soup kitchens, and Jefferson's embargo hurt the same New England merchants that it was trying to protect.
 - b. The commerce of New England was harmed more than that of France and Britain.
 - c. Farmers of the South and West were alarmed by the mounting piles of unexportable cotton, grain, and tobacco.
 - d. Illegal trade mushroomed in 1808, where people resorted to smuggling again.
3. Finally, coming to their senses and feeling the public's anger, Congress repealed the act on March 1, 1809, three days before Jefferson's retirement and replaced it with the **Non-Intercourse Act**, which reopened trade with all the nations of the world, except France and England.
 - a. Thus, economic coercion continued from 1809 to 1812, when war struck.
4. The embargo failed for two main reasons: (1) Jefferson underestimated the bulldog British and their dependence on American goods and (2) he didn't continue the embargo long enough or tightly enough to achieve success.
 - a. Even Jefferson himself admitted that the embargo was three times more costly than war, and he could have built a strong money with a fraction of the money lost.
5. During the time of the embargo, the Federalist Party regained some of its lost power.
6. However, during this embargo, resourceful Americans also opened and reopened factories, and thus, the embargo helped to promote industrialism—another irony, since Jefferson was committed to an agrarian country.
7. Also, the embargo did affect Britain, and had it been continued, it might have succeeded.

- a. In fact, two days before Congress declared war in June 1812, London ordered the Orders in Council to be suspended.

XII. Jefferson's Legacy

1. Jefferson, fearing setting a precedent for a dictatorship, didn't run for a third term, and since Washington didn't really want to while Jefferson purposely did not run again, it was he who truly set the two term precedent.
2. Jefferson and John Adams both died on July 4, 1826 (Jefferson a few hours earlier), but Thomas Jefferson still survives in the democratic ideals and liberal principles of the great nation that he risked his all to found and that he served so long and faithfully.

XIII. Madison: Dupe of Napoleon

1. Madison took the oath on March 4, 1809; he was short, bald, and not a great speaker.
2. In 1810, Congress adopted a bargaining measure called **Macon's Bill No. 2**, which while permitting American trade with the entire world, also promised American restoration of trade to France and/or England if either dropped their commercial restrictions.
 - a. Napoleon had his opportunity: in August of 1810, he announced that French commercial restrictions had been lifted, and Madison, desperate for recognition of the law, declared France available for American trade.
 - b. Of course, Napoleon lied, and never really lifted them, but meanwhile, America had been duped into entering European affairs against Great Britain.

XIV. War Whoops Arouse the War Hawks

1. In 1811, new young politicians swept away the older "submission men," and they appointed **Henry Clay of Kentucky**, then 34 years old, to Speaker of the House.
2. The western politicians also cried out against the Indian threat on the frontier.
3. Indians had watched with increasing apprehension as more and more Whites settled in Kentucky, a traditionally sacred area where settlement and extensive hunting was not allowed except in times of scarcity.
 - a. Thus, two Shawnee brothers, **Tecumseh** and the **Prophet**, decided that the time to act was now, and gathered followers, urging them to give up textile clothing for traditional buckskin garments, arguing eloquently for the Indian's to not acknowledge the White Man's "ownership" of land, and urging that no Indian should cede control of land to whites unless all Indians agreed.

- b. On November 7, 1811, American general William Henry Harrison advanced upon Tecumseh's headquarters at Tippecanoe and burned it to the ground.
 - c. Tecumseh was killed at the **Battle of the Thames in 1813**, and the Indian confederacy dream perished.
 - d. In the South, Andrew Jackson crushed the **Creek Indians** at the **Battle of Horseshoe Bend** on March 27, 1814, effectively breaking the Indian rebellion and leaving the entire area east of the Mississippi open for safe settlement.
- 4. The war hawks cried that the only way to get rid of the Indians was to wipe out their base: Canada, since the British had helped the Indians.
 - a. War was declared in 1812, with a House vote of 79 to 49 and a very close Senate vote of 19 to 13, showing America's disunity.

XV. Mr. Madison's War

- 1. Why war with Britain and not France? Because England's impressments stood out, France was allied more with the Republicans, and Canada was a very tempting prize that seemed easy to get, a "frontiersman's frolic."
- 2. New England, which was still making lots of money, damned the war for a free sea, and Federalists opposed the war because (1) they were more inclined toward Britain anyway and (2) if Canada was conquered, it would add more agrarian land and increase Republican supporters.
- 3. Thus, a disunited America had to fight both Old England and New England in the **War of 1812**, since Britain was the enemy while New England tried everything that they could do to frustrate American ambitions in the war.

Chapter 12: "The Second War for Independence and the Upsurge of Nationalism"

I. On to Canada over Land and Lakes

1. Due to widespread disunity, the **War of 1812** ranks as one of America's worst fought wars.
2. There was not burning national anger, like there was after the *Chesapeake* outrage; the regular army was very bad and scattered and had old, senile generals, and the offensive strategy against Canada was especially poorly conceived.
 - a. Had the Americans captured Montreal, everything west would have wilted like a tree after its trunk has been severed, but the Americans instead focused a three-pronged attack that set out from Detroit, Niagara, and Lake Champlain, all of which were beaten back.
 - b. In contrast, the British and Canadians displayed enthusiasm early on in the war and captured the American fort of Michilimackinac, which commanded the upper Great Lakes area (the battle was led by British General **Isaac Brock**).
3. After more land invasions were hurled back in 1813, the Americans, led by **Oliver Hazard Perry**, built a fleet of green-timbered ships manned by inexperienced men, but still managed to capture a British fleet; his victory, coupled with **General William H. Harrison's** defeat of the British during the **Battle of the Thames**, helped bring more enthusiasm and increased morale for the war.
4. In 1814, 10,000 British troops prepared for a crushing blow to the Americans along the Lake Champlain route, but on September 11, 1814, **Thomas Macdonough** challenged the British and snatched victory from the fangs of defeat and forced the British to retreat.

II. Washington Burned and New Orleans Defended.

1. In August 1814, British troops landed in the Chesapeake Bay area, dispersed 6000 panicked Americans at Bladensburg, and proceeded to enter Washington D.C. and burn most of the buildings there.
2. At Baltimore, another British fleet arrived but was beaten back by the privateer defenders of Fort McHenry, where Francis Scott Key wrote "The Star Spangled Banner."
3. Another British army menaced the entire Mississippi Valley and threatened New Orleans, and Andrew Jackson, fresh off his slaughter of the Creek Indians, led a hodgepodge force of 7000 sailors, regulars, pirates, and Frenchmen, entrenching them and helping them defeat 8000 overconfident British that had launched a frontal attack.
4. The news of this British defeat reached Washington early in February 1815, and two weeks later came news of peace from Britain.
 - a. Ignorant citizens simply assumed that the British, having been beaten by Jackson, finally wanted peace, lest they get beaten again by the "awesome" Americans.

5. During the war, the American navy had done much better than the army, since the sailors were angry at British impressments.
6. However, Britain responded with a naval blockade, raiding ships and ruining American economic life such as fishing.

III. The Treaty of Ghent

1. At first, the confident British made sweeping demands for a neutralized Indian buffer state in the Great Lakes region, control of the Great Lakes, and a substantial part of conquered Maine, but the Americans, led by **John Quincy Adams**, refused. As American victories piled up, though, the British reconsidered.
2. The **Treat of Ghent**, signed on December 24, 1814, was an armistice, acknowledging the draw in the war and ignoring any other demands of either side.

IV. Federalist Grievances and the Hartford Convention

1. As the capture of New Orleans seemed imminent, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Rhode Island secretly met in Hartford from December 15 1814 to January 5, 1815, to discuss their grievances and to seek redress for their wrongs.
 - a. While a few talked about secession, most wanted financial assistance from Washington to compensate for lost trade, and an amendment requiring $\frac{2}{3}$ majority for all declarations of embargos, except during invasion.
 - b. Three special envoys from Mass. went to D.C., where they were greeted with the news from New Orleans; their mission failed, they sank away in disgrace and into obscurity.
2. The **Hartford Convention** proved to be the death of the Federalist Party, as their last presidential nomination was trounced by James Monroe in 1816.

V. The Second War for American Independence

1. The War of 1812 was a small war involving some 6000 Americans killed or wounded, and when Napoleon invaded Russia in 1812 with 500,000 men, Madison tried to invade Canada with about 5000 men.
2. Yet, the Americans proved that they could stand up for what they felt was right, and naval officers like Perry and Macdonough gained new respect; American diplomats were treated with more respect than before.
3. The Federalist Party died out forever, and new war heroes, like Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison, emerged.
4. Manufacturing also prospered during the British blockade, since there was nothing else to do.
5. Incidents like the burning of Washington added fuel to the bitter conflict with Britain, and led to hatred of the nation years after the war, though few would have

guessed that the War of 1812 would be the last war America fought against Britain.

6. Many Canadians felt betrayed by the Treaty of Ghent, since not even an Indian buffer state had been achieved, and the Indians, left by the British, were forced to make treaties where they could.
7. In 1817, though, after a heated naval arms race in the Great Lakes, the **Rush-Bagot Treaty** between the U.S. and Britain provided the world's longest unfortified boundary (5527 mi.).
8. After Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo, Europe sank into an exhaustion of peace, and America looked west to further expand.

VI. Nascent Nationalism

1. After the war, American nationalism really took off, and authors like **Washington Irving** and **James Fenimore Cooper** gained international recognition.
2. The *North American Review* debuted in 1815, and American painters painted landscape of America on their canvases, while history books were now being written by Americans for Americans.
3. Washington D.C. rose from the ashes to be better than ever, and the navy and army strengthened themselves.
4. **Stephen Decatur**, naval hero of the War of 1812 and the Barbary Coast expeditions, was famous for his American toast after his return from the Mediterranean: "Out country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong!"

VII. "The American System"

1. After the war, British competitors dumped their goods onto America at cheap prices, so America responded with the **Tariff of 1816**, the first in U.S. history designed for protection, which put a 20-25% tariff on dutiable imports.
 - a. It was not high enough, but it was a great start, and in 1824, Henry Clay established a program called the **American System**.
 - b. The system began with a strong banking system, advocated a protective tariff behind which eastern manufacturing would flourish, and also included a network of roads and canals, especially in the burgeoning Ohio Valley, to be funded for by the tariffs, and through which would flow foodstuffs and raw materials from the South and West to the North and East.
2. Lack of effective transportation had been one of the problems of the War of 1812, especially in the West, and in 1817, Congress sought to distribute \$1.5 million to the states for internal improvements, but Madison vetoed it, saying it was unconstitutional, thus making the states look for their own money to build the badly needed roads.

VIII. The So-Called Era of Good Feelings

1. **James Monroe** defeated his Federalist opponent 183 to 34, and ushered in a short period of one-party rule.
2. He straddled the generations of the Founding Fathers and the new Age of Nationalism.
3. Early in 1817, Monroe took a goodwill tour venturing deep into New England, where he received heartwarming welcomes.
4. A Boston newspaper even went as far as to declare that an “Era of Good Feelings” had begun.

IX. The Panic of 1819 and the Curse of Hard Times

1. In 1819, a paralyzing economic panic (first since Washington’s times) engulfed the U.S., bringing deflation, depression, bankruptcies, bank failures, unemployment, soup kitchens, and overcrowded debtors’ prisons.
 - a. A major cause of the panic had been overspeculation in land prices, where the Bank of the United States fell heavily into debt.
 - b. The West was especially hard hit, and the Bank of the U.S. was soon viewed with anger.
 - c. There was also attention against the debtors, where, in a few overplayed cases, mothers owing a few dollars were torn away from their infants by the debtors.

X. Growing Pains of the West

1. Between 1791 and 1819, nine frontier states had joined the original 13.
2. This explosive expansion of the west was due in part to the cheap land, the elimination of the Indian menace, the “**Ohio Fever**,” and the need for land by the tobacco farmers, who exhausted their lands.
3. The **Cumberland Road**, begun in 1811 and running ultimately from western Maryland to Illinois, was noteworthy, and the first steamboat on western waters was in 1811.
4. The West, still not populous and politically weak, was forced to ally itself with other sections, and demanded cheap acreage.
 - a. The **Land Act of 1820** gave the West its wish by authorizing a buyer to purchase 80 acres of land at a minimum of \$1.25 an acre in cash; the West demanded and slowly got cheap transportation as well.

XI. Slavery and the Sectional Balance

1. Sectional tensions between the North and the South came to a boil when Missouri wanted to become a slave state.
2. Although it met all the requirements of becoming a state, House of Reps stymied the plans for its statehood when it proposed the **Tallmadge Amendment**, which provided that no more slaves be brought into Missouri and also provided for the

gradual emancipation of children born to slave parents already in Missouri (this was shot down in the Senate).

3. Angry Southerners saw this as a threat; if the Northerners could wipe out slavery in Missouri, they might try to do so in all of the rest of the slave states.
4. Plus, the North was starting to get more prosperous and populous than the South.

XII. The Uneasy Missouri Compromise

1. Finally, the deadlock was broken by a bundle of compromises known as the **Missouri Compromise**.
 - a. Missouri would be admitted as a slave state while Maine would be admitted as a free state, thus maintaining the balance.
 - b. All new states north of **36° 30'** line would be free.
 - c. Both the North and South gained something, and though neither was totally happy, the compromise worked for many years.
2. Monroe should have been doomed after the 1819 panic and the Missouri problem, but he was so popular and the Federalist Party so weak that he won in 1820 by all but one vote (unanimity was reserved for Washington).

XIII. John Marshall and Judicial Nationalism

1. **John Marshall** helped to bolster the power of the government at the expense of the states.
2. ***McCulloch vs. Maryland (1819)***: This case involved Maryland's trying to destroy the Bank of the U.S. by taxing its currency notes. Marshall invoked the Hamiltonian principle of implied powers and denied Maryland's right to tax the bank, and also gave the doctrine of "**loose construction**" its famous formulation. He implied that the Constitution was to last for many ages, and urged the end to be legitimate, and let it be within the scope of the Constitution.
3. ***Cohens vs. Virginia (1821)***: The Cohens had been found guilty by Virginia courts of illegally selling lottery tickets, had appealed to the Supreme Court, and had lost, but Marshall asserted the right of the Supreme Court to review the decisions of the state supreme courts in all questions involving powers of the federal government.
4. ***Gibbons vs. Ogden (1824)***: When New York tried to grant a private concern monopoly of waterborne commerce, Marshall struck it down by saying that only Congress can control interstate commerce, not the states themselves; it was another blow to states' rights.

XIV. Judicial Dikes Against Democratic Excesses

1. ***Fletcher vs. Peck (1810)***: After Georgia fraudulently granted 35 million acres in the Yazoo River County (Mississippi) to privateers, the legislature repealed it after public outcry, but Marshall ruled that it was a contract, and that states couldn't

impair a contract. It was one of the earliest clear assertions of the right of the Supreme Court to invalidate state laws that conflicted with the Constitution.

2. ***Dartmouth College vs. Woodward (1819)***: Dartmouth had been granted a charter by King George III, but New Hampshire had tried to change it. Dartmouth appealed, using alum **Daniel Webster** to work as lawyer, and Marshall ruled that the original charter must stand. It was a contract, and the Constitution protected those.
3. Marshall's rulings gave the Supreme Courts their powers and greatly strengthened the federal government, giving it power to overrule state governments sometimes.

XV. Sharing Oregon and Acquiring Florida

1. The **Treaty of 1818** put the northern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase at the 49th parallel and provided for a ten-year joint occupation of the Oregon Territory with Britain, without a surrender of rights and claims by neither Britain nor America.
2. When revolutions broke out in South and Central America, Spanish troops in Florida were withdrawn to put down the rebellions, and Indian attacks ravaged American land while the Indians would then retreat back to Spanish territory.
 - a. Andrew Jackson swept across the Florida border, hanged two Indian chiefs without ceremony, executed two British subjects for assisting Indians, and seized St. Marks and Pensacola.
3. Monroe consulted his cabinet as to what to do against Jackson; all wanted to punish him except for John Quincy Adams, who demanded huge concessions from Spain.
 - a. The **Florida Purchase Treaty** of 1819 had Spain cede Florida and shadowy claims to Oregon in exchange for Texas.

XVI. The Menace of Monarchy in America

1. Monarchs in Europe now were determined to protect the world against democracy, and crushed democratic rebellions in Italy (1821) and in Spain (1823), much to the alarm of Americans.
2. Also, Russia's claims to North American territory were intruding and making Americans nervous that Russia might claim territory that was "rightfully American."
3. Then, in August 1823, the British foreign secretary, **George Canning**, approached the American minister in London proposing that the U.S. and Britain combine in a joint declaration renouncing any interest in acquiring Latin American territory, and specifically warning the European despots to keep their hands off of Latin American politics.

XVII. Monroe and His Doctrine

1. Sly and careful John Q. Adams sensed a joker in the proposal, correctly assumed that the European powers weren't going to invade American anytime soon, and knew that a self-denouncing alliance with Britain would morally tie the hands of the U.S.
2. He knew that the British boats would need to protect South America to protect their merchant trade, and presumed it safe to blow a defiant, nationalistic blast at all Europe.
3. Late in 1823, the **Monroe Doctrine** was born, incorporating noncolonization and nonintervention.
 - a. Dedicated primarily to Russia in the West, Monroe said that no colonization in the Americas could happen anymore and also, European nations could not intervene in Latin American affairs.
 - b. In return, the U.S. would not interfere in the Greek democratic revolt against Turkey.

XVIII. Monroe's Doctrine Appraised

1. The monarchs of Europe were angered, but couldn't do anything about it, since the British navy would be there to stop them, further frustrating them.
2. Monroe's declaration made little splash in Latin America, since those who know of the message also recognized that it was the British navy and not America that was protecting them, and that the U.S. was doing this only to protect its own hide.
3. Not until 1845 did President Polk revive it.
4. In the **Russo-American Treaty** of 1824, the Russian tsar fixed the southern boundary of his Alaskan territory at 54°40' and stayed at that.
5. The Monroe Doctrine might better be called the Self-Defense Doctrine, since Monroe was concerned about the safety of his own country, not Latin America.
6. The doctrine has never been law, a pledge, or an agreement.
7. It was mostly an expression of post-1812 U.S. nationalism, gave a voice of patriotism, and added to the illusion of isolationism.
8. Many Americans falsely concluded that the Republic was in fact insulated from European dangers simply because it wanted to be and because, in a nationalistic outburst, Monroe had publicly warned the Old World powers to stay away.

Chapter 13: "The Rise of Jacksonian Democracy"

I. Politics for the People

1. When the Federalists had dominated, democracy was not respected, but by the 1820s, it was widely appealing.
 - a. Politicians now had to bend to appease and appeal to the masses, and the popular ones were the ones who claimed to be born in log cabins and had humble backgrounds.
 - b. Those who were aristocratic (too clean, too well dressed, too grammatical, to highly intellectual) were scorned.
2. Western Indian fighters and/or militia commanders, like **Andrew Jackson**, **Davy Crocket**, and **William Henry Harrison**, were quite popular.
3. Jacksonian Democracy said that whatever governing that was to be done should be done directly to the people.
4. Called the **New Democracy**, it was based on universal manhood suffrage.
 - a. In 1791, Vermont became the first state admitted to the union to allow all white males to vote in the elections.
5. While the old bigwigs who used to have power sneered at the “coonskin congressmen” and the “bipeds of the forest,” the new democrats argued that if they messed up, they messed up together and were not victims of aristocratic domination.

II. Nourishing the New Democracy

1. The flowering the political democracy was in part caused the logical outgrowth of the egalitarian ideas that had taken root in colonial times.
 - a. The steady growth of the market economy also nourished it.
 - b. More and more people understood how banks, tariffs, and internal improvements affected the quality of their lives.
 - c. The **panic of 1819** and the **Missouri Compromise of 1820** also helped it grow.
2. In the panic of 1819, overextended banks had called back their debts, and often, farmers unable to pay up lost their farms while the bankers didn't have to lose their property because they simply suspended their own payments, and the apparent favoritism caused outcry.
3. The problem with Missouri had aroused Southern awareness to how the North could try to crush their slavery once and for all.
4. During the Jacksonian era, voter turnout rose dramatically, as clear political parties developed and new styles of politicking emerged.
 - a. In 1824, only $\frac{1}{4}$ of all eligible voters voted, but that number doubled 4 years later.
 - b. Candidates increasingly used banners, badges, parades, barbecues, free drinks, and baby kissing in order to “get the vote.”
 - c. Now, more members of the Electoral College were being chosen directly by the people rather than by state legislatures.

- d. Since secret meetings now became unpopular, presidential nominations by congressional caucus emerged predominantly.
5. Briefly, nominations were made by some of the state legislatures, but by 1831, the first of the circuslike national nominating conventions were held.

III. The Adams-Clay “Corrupt” Bargaining.

1. In the election of 1824, there were four towering candidates: **Andrew Jackson** of Tennessee, **Henry Clay** of Kentucky, **William H. Crawford** of Georgia, and **John Q. Adams** of Mass.
 - a. All four called themselves Republicans.
2. In the results, Jackson got the most popular votes and the most electoral votes, but he failed to get the majority in the Electoral College. Adams came in second in both, while Crawford was fourth in the popular vote but third in the electoral votes. Clay was 4th in the electoral vote.
3. By the **12th Amendment**, the top three Electoral vote getters would be voted upon in the House of Reps. and the majority (over 50%) would be elected president.
4. Clay was eliminated, but he was the Speaker of the House, and since Crawford has recently suffered a paralytic stroke and Clay hated Jackson, he threw his support behind John Q. Adams, helping him become president.
 - a. When Clay was appointed **Secretary of the State**, traditional stepping-stone to the presidency, Jacksonians cried foul play.
 - b. **John Randolph** publicly assailed the alliance between Adams and Clay.
5. Evidence against any possible deal has never been found, but both men flawed their reputations.

IV. A Yankee Misfit in the White House

1. John Quincy Adams was a man of puritanical honor, and he had achieved high office by commanding respect rather than by boasting great popularity.
2. During his administration, he only removed 12 public servants from the federal payroll, thus refusing to kick out efficient officeholders in favor of his own, possibly less efficient, supporters.
3. In his first annual message, Adams urged Congress on the construction of roads and canals, proposed for a national university, and advocated support for an astronomical observatory.
 - a. Public reaction was mixed: roads were good, but observatories weren't important, and Southerners knew that if the government did anything, it would have to continue collecting tariffs.
4. With land, Adams tried to curb overspeculation on land, much to Westerners' anger, even though he was doing it for their own good, and with the **Cherokee Indians**, he tried to deal fairly with them and the state of Georgia successfully resisted federal attempts to help the Cherokees.

V. The Tricky “Tariff of Abominations”

1. In 1824, Congress had increased the general tariff from 23% to 37%, but wool manufactures still wanted higher tariffs.
2. In the **Tariff of 1828**, the Jacksonians schemed to drive up duties to as high as 45% while imposing heavy tariffs on raw materials like wool, so that even New England, where it was needed, would vote the bill down and give Adams another political black eye.
 - a. However, the New Englanders spoiled the plan and passed the law (amended).
 - b. **Daniel Webster** and **John C. Calhoun** reversed their positions from 1816, with Webster supporting the tariff and Calhoun being against it.
 - c. The Southerners immediately branded it as the “**Tariff of Abominations.**”
3. In 1822, **Denmark Vesey**, a free Black, had led an ominous slave rebellion in Charleston.
4. The South mostly complained because it was now the least expanding of the sections.
 - a. Cotton prices were falling and land was growing scarce.

VI. The Tariff Yoke in the South

1. Southerners sold their cotton and other products without tariffs, while the products that they bought were heavily tariffed.
2. Tariffs led the U.S. to buy less British products and vice versa, but it did help the Northeast prosper so that it could be *more* of the South’s products.
3. John C. Calhoun secretly wrote “**The South Carolina Exposition**” in 1828, boldly denouncing the recent tariff and calling for nullification of the tariff by all states.
4. However, South Carolina was alone in this nullification threat, since Andrew Jackson had been elected two weeks earlier, and was expected to sympathize with the South.

VII. Going “Whole Hog” for Jackson in 1828”

1. Jacksonians argued, “Should the people rule?” and said that the Adams-Clay bargaining four years before had cheated the people out of the rightful victor.
 - a. They successfully turned public opinion against an honest and honorable prez.
2. However, Adams’ supporters also hit below the belt, even though Adams himself wouldn’t stoop to that level.

- a. The called his mom a prostitute, called him an adulterer (he had married his wife thinking that her divorce had been granted, only to discover two years later that it hadn't been), and after he got elected, his wife died, and Jackson blamed Adams' men who had slandered Andrew Jackson on Rachel Jackson's death; he never forgave them.
- 3. John Q. Adams had purchased, with his own money and for his own use, a billiard table and a set of chessmen, but the Jacksonians had seized, criticizing Adams' incessant spending.

VIII. The Jacksonian "Revolution of 1828"

- 1. Jackson got 647,286 popular votes to Adams' 508,064 and he also beat John in the Electoral College, 178 to 83.
 - a. Jackson had support from the West and South, while New England liked Adams.
- 2. The political center of gravity was shifting west, as Jackson had won because of his support by the West (well, they played a large part in it anyway).
- 3. Jackson sped up the process of transferring national power from the countinghouse to the farmhouse, and became the "People's President," not the aristocrat.
- 4. Adams still had a distinguished political career after presidency, getting elected to the House of Reps. of Massachusetts, and when he died in 1848, his funeral was the greatest pageant Washington D.C. had ever seen, and his popularity was greater near then end of his political career than during its zenith.

IX. The Advent of "Old Hickory" Jackson

- 1. When he became president, Andrew Jackson had already battled dysentery, malaria, tuberculosis, and lead poisoning from two bullets lodged somewhere in his body.
- 2. He personified the new West: rough, jack-of-all-trades, a genuine folk hero.
- 3. Jackson had been early orphaned, was interested in cockfighting as a kid, and wasn't really good with reading and writing, sometimes misspelling the same word twice in one letter.
- 4. He went to Tennessee, where he became a judge and a Congressman, and his passions were so profound that he could choke up on the floor.
- 5. A man with a violent temper, he got into many duels, fights, stabbings, etc...
- 6. He was a Western aristocrat, having owned many slaves, and lived in a fine mansion, the Hermitage, and he shared many of the prejudices of the masses.
- 7. He was called "**Old Hickory**" by his troops because of his toughness.

8. He was anti-federalist, believing that it was for the privileged only, but maintained the sacredness of the Union and the federal power over the states, but he welcomed the western democracy.
9. Jackson commanded fear and respect from his subordinates, and ignored the Supreme Court on several occasions; he also used the veto 12 times (compared to a combined 10 times by his predecessors) and on his inauguration, he let commoners come into the White House.
 - a. They wrecked the china and caused chaos until they heard that there was spiked punch on the White House front lawn; thus was the “inaugural bowl.”
 - b. Conservatives condemned Jackson as “King Mob” and berated him greatly.

X. Jackson Nationalizes the Spoils System

1. The **spoils system**: rewarding supporters with good positions in office.
2. Jackson believed that experience counted, but that young blood and sharp eyes counted more, and thus, he went to work on overhauling positions and erasing the old.
3. Not since the election of 1800 had a new party been voted into the presidency, and even then, many positions had stayed and not changed.

XI. More Victors than Spoils

1. Though he wanted to “wipe the slate clean,” only 1/5 of the men were sent home, and clean sweeps would come later, but there was always people hounding Jackson for positions, and those who were discharged often went mad, killed themselves, or had a tough time with it.
2. The spoils system denied many able people a chance to contribute.
3. Samuel Swartwout was awarded the lucrative post of collector of the customs of the port of New York, and nearly nine years later, he fled for England, leaving his accounts more than a million dollars short, becoming the first person to steal a million dollars from the government.
4. The spoils system was built up by gifts from expectant party members, and the system secured such a tenacious hold that it took more than 50 years before its grip was even loosened.

XII. Cabinet Crises and Nationalistic Setbacks

1. Jackson had a mediocre cabinet, except for secretary of state **Martin Van Buren**, who was called “Matty” by Jackson and the “Little Magician” by his enemies.
2. He often consulted with newspaper editors who kept him up to date with his critics and the public opinion, though enemies criticized this perfectly okay thing.

3. In 1831, the “Eaton Malaria” struck as a scandal: Secretary of War John H. Eaton had married **Peggy O’Neale**, a woman with whom scandal was linked, who was then scorned upon by the ladies of Jackson’s official family.
 - a. Jackson tried to intervene on Peggy’s behalf, but had to accept defeat.
 - b. Van Buren then began to pay special attention to pretty Peggy O’Neale, and in the subsequent scandal, Jackson turned increasingly against Calhoun, breaking with him completely eventually when Calhoun resigned as VP in 1832, one year after his followers were purged from the cabinet.
 - c. Calhoun turned increasingly sectionalist.
4. Jackson was hostile to roads and canals; he let interstate roads be constructed, but roads inside states only were vetoed.
 - a. In 1830, when he vetoed a bill for improving the Maysville Road, it was a signal victory for eastern and southern states’ rightism in its struggle with Jackson’s own west.

XIII. The Webster-Hayne Forensic Duel

1. Concerned at the power and population draining out of it and into the West, in 1829, New England proposed a resolution designed to curb the sale of public lands.
2. The South, siding with the West against rival Northeast, had **Robert Y. Hayne**, a South Carolinian, who noted New England’s disloyalty in the War of 1812, the “Tariff of Abominations,” and New England’s inconsistent tariffs, and also called for nullification.
3. Daniel Webster, for New England, insisted that the people and not the states had framed the Constitution, and decried nullification; he awesomely pleaded for the Union, ending with “Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.”

XIV. Websterian Cement for the Union

1. Both men were great for their sections, and both were correct on things as they were at the time, though not necessarily on how they were in the past.
2. Webster’s speech was reprinted and its ideas seared into countless northerners like 21 year-old Abraham Lincoln, and helped win the Civil War years before it occurred by implanting the idea for the Union to fight for: preservation of it.
3. Jackson, who had been silent for a while, was to be coaxed through some toasts in his honor so that he’d speak up for the states’ rights.
4. Forewarned, he declared “Our Union: It must be preserved!” and dealt a huge blow to the scheme of the states’ rights advocates.

Chapter 14: “Jacksonian Democracy at Flood Tide”

I. “Nullies” in South Carolina

1. South Carolinians, still scornful toward the **Tariff of 1828**, attempted to garner the necessary two-thirds majority to nullify it in the S.C. legislature, but determined Unionists blocked them.
2. In response to the anger at the “Tariff of Abominations,” Congress passed the **Tariff of 1832**, which did away with the worst parts of the Tariff of 1828, such as lowering the tariff down to 35%, a reduction of 10%, but many southerners still hated it.
3. In the elections of 1832, the **Nullies** came out with a two-thirds majority over the **Unionists**, met in the state legislature, and declared the Tariff of 1832 to be void within S.C. boundaries.
 - a. They also threatened with secession against the Union, causing a huge problem.
 - b. **President Jackson** issued a ringing proclamation against S.C., to which Governor Hayne issued a counter-proclamation, and civil war loomed dangerously.
 - c. To compromise and prevent Jackson from crushing S.C. and becoming more popular, the president’s rival, **Henry Clay**, proposed a compromise bill that would gradually reduce the Tariff of 1832 by about 10% over a period of eight years, so that by 1842 the rates would be down to 20% to 25%.
 - a. The **Tariff of 1833** narrowly squeezed through Congress.
 - b. However, to save face, Congress also passed the **Force Bill** (aka the “Bloody Bill”) that authorized the president to use the army and navy, if necessary, to collect tariffs.
4. No other states had supported South Carolina’s stance of possible secession, though Georgia and Virginia toyed with the idea.
5. Finally, S.C. repealed the nullification ordinance.

II. A Victory for Both Union and Nullification

1. The Unionists felt that they had won, since Jackson had appeased the South Carolinians and avoided civil war and an armed clash.
2. The Nullists felt that they had won too, since they had succeeded in lowering the tariff without losing principle; the people of Charleston, the “Cradle of Secession,” threw a gala for its volunteer troops, though they now ominously considered secession more than nullification.

3. Generations later, many people felt that if S.C. had been crushed, there would have been no Civil War, since it would not have been so brazen and arrogant and haughty.

III. The Bank as a Political Football

1. Jackson and his followers distrusted monopolistic banking and oversized businesses.
 - a. He was especially wary of the **Bank of the United States** (BUS).
2. In 1832, Henry Clay, in a strategy to bring Jackson's popularity down so that he could defeat him for presidency, rammed a bill for the rechartering of the BUS—four years early.
 - a. He felt that if Jackson signed it, he'd alienate his followers, and if he vetoed it, he'd lose the supports of the “best people” of the East.
 - b. He failed to realize that the West held more power now, not the East.
3. The recharter bill passed through Congress easily, but Jackson demolished in a scorching veto that condemned the BUS as unconstitutional (despite political foe **John Marshall's** ruling that it was okay), and anti-American.
4. The veto amplified the power of the president by ignoring the Supreme Court and aligned the West against the East.

IV. Brickbats and Bouquets for the Bank

1. The BUS, led by **Nicholas Biddle**, was harsh on the volatile western “wildcat” banks that churned out unstable money, and seemed pretty autocratic and out of touch with America during its **New Democracy** era, and it was corrupt.
 - a. Nicholas Biddle cleverly lent U.S. funds to friends, and often used the money of the BUS to bribe people, like the press.
2. However, the bank was financially sound, reduced bank failures, issued sound notes, promoted economic expansion by making abundant credit, and was a safe depository for the funds of the Washington government.
3. It was highly important and useful, though sometimes not necessarily pure and wholesome.

V. “Old Hickory” Wallops Clay in 1832

1. Jackson's supporters again raised the hickory pole while Clay's men detracted Jackson's dueling, gambling, cockfighting, and fast living.
2. However, a new third party, the **Anti-Masonic Party**, made its entrance for the first time.

- a. Opposed to the fearsome secrecy of the Masonic order, it was energized by the mysterious murder of someone who threatened to expose the Freemason's secrets.
 - b. While sharing Jacksonian ideals, they were against Jackson, a Mason.
 - c. Also, they were supported by churches hoping to pass religious reform.
- 3. Also for the first time, national conventions were held to nominate candidates.
- 4. Clay had the money and the "support" of the press, but the poor people voted too, and Jackson won handily, handing Clay his third loss in three tries.

VI. Badgering Biddle's Bank

- 1. Hoping to kill the BUS, Jackson now began to withdraw federal funds from the bank, so as to drain it of its wealth; in reaction, Biddle began to call for unnecessary loans, personally causing a mini panic.
- 2. Jackson won, and in 1836, the BUS breathed its last breaths, but because it had been the only source of sure credit in the United States, hard times fell upon the West once the BUS died, since the wildcat banks were very unreliable.

VII. Transplanting the Tribes

- 1. By 1830, the U.S. population stood at 13 million, and as states emerged, the Indians were stranded.
- 2. Federal policy officially was to acquire land from the Indians through formal treaties, but too many times, they were tricked.
- 3. Many people respected the Indians, though, and tried to Christianize them.
 - a. i.e. the **Society for Propagating the Gospel Among Indians** (est. 1787).
- 4. Some Indians violently resisted, but the Cherokees were among the few that tried to adopt the Americans ways, adopting a system of settled agriculture, devising an alphabet, legislating legal code in 1808, and adopting a written constitution in 1827.
- 5. The **Cherokees**, the **Creeks**, **Choctaws**, **Chickasaws**, and the **Seminole**s were known as the "Five Civilized Tribes."
- 6. However, in 1828, Congress declared the Cherokee tribal council illegal, and asserted its own jurisdiction over Indian lands and affairs, and even though the Cherokees appealed to and won in the Supreme Court, Jackson refused to recognize the decision.
- 7. Jackson, though, still harbored some sentiment of Indians, and proposed that they be bodily transferred west of the Mississippi, where they could preserve the culture, and in 1830, Congress passed the **Indian Removal Act**, in which Indians were moved to Oklahoma.
 - a. Thousands of Indians died on the "**Trail of Tears**" after being uprooted from their sacred lands that had been theirs for centuries.

- b. Also, the **Bureau of Indian Affairs** was established in 1836 deal with Indians.
- 8. In 1832, in Illinois and Wisconsin, the Sauk and Fox tribes revolted but were crushed.
- 9. From 1835 to 1842, the Seminoles waged guerrilla warfare against the U.S., but were broken after their leader, **Osceola**, was seized; some fled deeper in Florida; others moved to Okla.

VIII. The Lone Star of Texas Flickers

- 1. Americans continued to covet **Texas**, and in 1823, after Mexico had gained independence from Spain, **Stephen Austin** had made an understanding agreement with the Mexican government to bring about 300 families into a huge tract of granted land to settle and eventually become Mexicanized; these stipulations were largely ignored.
- 2. The Texans (among them **Davy Crockett** and **James Bowie**) resented the “foreign” government, but they were led by **Sam Houston**, a man whose wife had left him.
- 3. In 1830, Mexico freed its slaves and prohibited them in Texas, much to the anger of citizens.
- 4. In 1833, Stephen Austin went to Mexico City to clear up differences and was jailed for 8 mo.
- 5. In 1835, Dictator **Santa Anna** started to raise an army to suppress the Texans; the next year, they declared their independence.
- 6. After armed conflict and slaughters at the **Alamo** and at **Goliad**, Texan war cries rallied citizens, volunteers, and soldiers, and the turning point came after Sam Houston led his army for 37 days eastward, then turned on the Mexicans, taking advantage of their siesta hour, wiping them out, and capturing Santa Anna.
 - a. The treaty he was forced to sign was later negated by him on grounds that the treaty was extorted under duress.

IX. Texas: An International Conflict.

- 1. Texas was supported in their war by the United States, but Jackson was hesitant to formally recognize Texas as an independent nation until he had secured Martin Van Buren as his successor, but after he succeeded, Jackson did indeed recognize Texas on his last day before he left office, in 1837.
- 2. Many Texans wanted to become part of the Union, but the slavery issue blocked this.
- 3. The end was an unsettled predicament in which Texans feared the return of Santa Anna.

X. The Birth of the Whigs and the Election of 1836

1. The Jacksonians were beginning to drop the “Republican” out of their party name and were now going by the name of **Democrats**.
2. Their opposition coalesced into the **Whigs**, a group united only by their opposition to Jackson and, at first, led by Clay and **John C. Calhoun**.
3. As the election of 1836 neared, the Whigs planned to put so many candidates (favorite sons) that no one would get a full majority; the leading “favorite son” was William H. Harrison.
4. Jackson rigged the election, and his favorite, **Martin Van Buren**, was elected president despite promising to follow in Jackson’s footsteps.
 - a. The Jacksonians supported him half-heartedly.
5. Jackson’s legacy: he bolstered the power of the presidency and the executive branch; united the Democratic party; proved that the people could be trusted with the vote; and showed the courage that won votes, but he also inflicted massive damage on the nation’s financial system by killing the BUS.

XI. Big Woes for the “Little Magician”

1. Van Buren was the first president to have been born in America, but he lacked the support of many Democrats and Jackson’s popularity.
2. A rebellion in Canada in 1837 threatened to plunge America into war, and Van Buren also inherited the depression caused by Jackson’s BUS killing.

XII. Depression Doldrums and the Independent Treasury

1. The panic of 1837 was caused by the “wildcat banks” loans, the overspeculation, the “Bank War,” and the **Specie Circular**.
2. Failures of wheat crops caused by the Hessian fly also worsened the situation, and the failure of two large British Banks in 1836 had already started the panic going.
3. Hundreds of banks fell, including some of Jackson’s “**pet banks**,” banks that had received the money that Jackson had withdrawn from the BUS to kill it.
4. The Whigs proposed expansion of bank credit, higher tariffs, and subsidies for internal improvements, but Van Buren spurned such ideas.
5. Instead, he proposed the “**Divorce Bill**” (separating the bank from the government and storing money in some of the vaults of the larger American cities, thus keeping the money safe but also unavailable) that advocated the **independent treasury**, and in 1840, it was passed.
 - a. The next year, the victorious Whigs repealed it, but in 1846, it was brought back; it finally merged with the **Federal Reserve System** in the next century.

XIII. “Tippecanoe” Versus “Little Van”

1. In 1840, William Harrison was nominated due to his being issueless and enemyless, with **John Tyler** as his running mate.

2. He had only been popular from **Tippecanoe** (1811) and the **Battle of the Thames** (1813).
3. A stupid Democratic editor also helped Harrison's cause when he called the candidate a poor old farmer with hard cider and inadvertently made him look like many poor Westerners.

XIV. The Log Cabins and Hard Cider of 1840

1. With slogans of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," the Whigs advocated this "poor man's president" idea and replied, to such questions of the bank, internal improvements, and the tariff, with answers of "log cabin," "hard cider," and "Harrison is a poor man."
2. The popular election was close, but Harrison blew Van Buren away in the Electoral College.
3. Basically, the election was a protest against the hard times of the era.

XV. The Two-Party System Emerges

1. The Democrats had so successfully absorbed the Federalist ideas before that a true two party system had never emerged—until now.
2. The Democrats
 - a. Glorified the liberty of the individual.
 - b. Clung to states' rights and federal restraint in social and economic affairs.
 - c. Mostly more humble, poorer folk.
3. The Whigs
 - a. Trumpeted the natural harmony of society and the value of community.
 - b. Berated leaders whose appeals and self-interest fostered conflict among individuals.
 - c. Favored a renewed national bank, protective tariffs, internal improvements, public schools, and moral reforms.
 - d. Mostly more aristocratic and wealthier.
4. Things in Common
 - a. Based on the people, with "catchall" phrases for popularity.
 - b. Both also commanded loyalties from all kinds of people.

Chapter 15: Forging the National Economy

I. The Westward Movement

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

II. Shaping the Western Landscape

1. Would trade **beaver pelts** for **manufactured goods** from the East.
2. George Caitlin- painter and student of Native American life who was among the first Americans to advocate the preservation of nature; proposed the idea of a **national park**.

III. The March of Millions

1. By the **mid-1800s**, the population was **doubling every 25 years**.
 - a. By **1860**, there were **33** states and the U.S. was the 4th most populous country in the western world.
2. The new population and larger cities brought about disease and decreased living standards.
3. In the 1840s and 1850s, more European immigrants came to the Americas because Europe seemed to be **running out of room**.

IV. The Emerald Isle Moves West

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

V. The German Forty-Eighters

1. Between **1830 and 1860**, many **Germans** came to America because of crop failures and other hardships.
2. Unlike the Irish, the Germans possessed a modest amount of material goods.
3. The Germans were more educated than the Americans and were opposed to slavery.

VI. Flare-ups of Anti-foreignism

1. The massive immigration of the Europeans to America inflamed the **prejudices** of American **nativists**.
2. The **Roman Catholics** created an entirely separate Catholic educational system to avoid the **American Protestant** educational system.
 - a. Many people died in riots and attacks between the two religions.

VII. The March of Mechanization

1. In **1750**, steam was used a major way to take the place of human labor.
 - a. With it came the **Industrial Revolution in England**.
2. It took **a while for America to embrace the machine** because virgin soil in America was cheap and peasants preferred to grow crops as opposed to working in factories.
 - a. Because of this, labor was scarce and hard to find until the immigrants came to America in the 1840s.
 - b. There was also not a lot of money for investment in America and consumers were scarce.
 - c. The large British factories also had a monopoly on the textile industry.

VIII. Whitney Ends the Fiber Famine

1. Samuel Slater- "Father of the Factory System" in America
 - a. Escaped Britain with the memorized plans for the textile machinery; put into operation the first spinning cotton thread in 1791.
2. Eli Whitney- built the first **cotton gin** in **1793**.
 - a. The **cotton gin** was much more effective at separating the cotton seed from the cotton fiber than using slaves.
 - b. It affected not only America, but the rest of the world.
 - c. Because of the cotton gin, the South's production of cotton greatly increased and the demand for cotton revived the demand for slavery.
3. **New England** was favored as the **industrial center**.
 - a. had poor soil for farming
 - b. it had a dense population for labor
 - c. shipping brought in capital
 - d. Seaports made the import of raw materials and the export of the finished products easy.

IX. Marvels in Manufacturing

1. The **War of 1812** prompted a **boom of American factories** and the use of American products as opposed to British imports.
2. The surplus in **American manufacturing dropped** following the **Treaty of Ghent in 1815**.
 - a. The British manufacturers sold their products to Americans at very low prices.
 - b. Congress passed the **Tariff of 1816** in order to protect the American manufacturers.
3. In 1798, Eli Whitney came up with the idea of machines making each part of the musket so that every part of the musket would be the same.
 - a. The principle of **interchangeable parts** caught on by **1850** and it became the basis for **mass-production**.
4. Elias Howe- invented the **sewing machine** in **1846**.
 - a. The **sewing machine** gave a boost to northern industrialization.
 - b. It became the foundation of the ready-made clothing industry.
5. **Laws of "free incorporation"**- first passed in New York in **1848**.
 - a. Meant that businessmen could create corporations without applying for individual charters from the legislature.
6. Samuel F. B. Morse- invented the **telegraph**.

X. Workers and "Wage Slaves"

1. Impersonal relationships replaced the personal relationships that were once held between workers.
2. Factory workers were **forbidden by law to form labor unions to raise wages**.
 - a. In the **1820s**, many **children** were used as **laborers** in factories.
 - b. With Jacksonian democracy came the rights of the laboring man to vote.
3. President Van Buren established the **ten-hour work day** in **1840**.

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

XI. Women and the Economy

1. Farm **women and girls** had an important place in the pre-industrial economy, spinning yarn, weaving cloth, and making candles, soap, butter, and cheese.
2. **Women were forbidden to form unions** and they had few opportunities to share dissatisfactions over their harsh working conditions.
3. Catharine Beecher- urged women to enter the teaching profession.
4. The vast majority of working women were single.
5. During the **Industrial Revolution**, **families** were small, affectionate, and child-centered, which provided a special place for women.

XII. Western Farmers Reap a Revolution in the Fields

1. The trans-Allegheny region became the nation's **breadbasket**.
2. **Liquor and hogs** became the early western farmer's **staple market items**.
3. John Deere- produced a **steel plow** in **1837** which broke through the thick soil of the West.

XIII. Highways and Steamboats

1. **Lancaster Turnpike**- hard-surfaced highway that ran from Philadelphia to Lancaster; drivers had to pay a toll to use it.
2. In **1811**, the federal government began to construct the **National Road**, or **Cumberland Road**.
 - a. It went from Cumberland, in western Maryland, to Illinois.
 - b. Its construction was halted during the War of 1812, but the road was completed in **1852**.
3. Robert Fulton- installed a steam engine and created the first **steamboat**.
 - a. The steamboat played a vital role in the opening and binding of the West and South.

XIV. "Clinton's Big Ditch" in New York

1. 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.

XV. The Iron Horse

1. The most significant contribution to the development of such an economy was the **railroad**.
 - a. The first one appeared in 1828.
2. Railroads were at first opposed because of safety flaws and they took away money from the Erie Canal investors.

XVI. Cables (Telegraphs), Clippers, and Pony Riders

1. In the 1840s and 1850s, Yankee navel yards began to produce new crafts called **clipper ships**.

- a. These ships sacrificed cargo room for speed and were able to transport small amounts of goods in short amounts of time.
 - b. Faded away after steam boats were made better and able to carry more goods and, hence, become more profitable.
- 2. The **Pony Express** was established in **1860** to carry mail from St. Joseph, Missouri to Sacramento, California.
 - a. Collapsed after 18 months due to lack of profit.

XVII. The Transport Web Binds the Union

- 1. The desire of the East to move west stimulated the "**transportation revolution**."
- 2. The South raised cotton for export to New England and Britain.
- 3. 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.
- 4. All of these products were transported using the railroad; the railroad **linked** America.

Chapter 16: The Ferment of Reform and Culture (1790-1860)

I. Reviving Religion

- 1. Church attendance were regular in 1850(3/4 pop)
- 2. Many relied on Deism (reason rather revelation); rejected original sin, denied Christ's divinity but believed in supreme being that created universe
- 3. Puritans of the past now-Unitarian faith (New Eng.)
 - a. God existed in only 1 person not in orthodox trinity; stressed goodness of human nature
 - b. Belief n free will & salvation through good work; pictured God as loving father
 - c. Appealed to intellectuals w/ rationalism & optimism
- 4. liberalism in religion started in 1800
 - a. Tidal wave of spiritual fervor that result prison, church reform, temperance cause, women's movement, abolish slavery
 - b. Spread to mass through huge "camp meetings"
 - c. East went to West to Christianize Indians
 - d. Methodists & Baptist stressed personal conversion, demo in church affairs, emotionalism
 - i. Peter Cartwright-best known of "circuit riders"
 - e. Charles Grandison Finney were greatest of revival preachers
 - i. -led massive revivals in Rochester & New York

II. Denominational Diversity

- 1. revival furthered fragmentation of religious faith
 - a. New York w/ Puritans preaching "hellfire" known as "Burned-out District"
 - i. Millerites(Adventists) – Christ return to earth on Oct 22, 1844 (didn't come)
- 2. widen lines between classes & region(like 1st)
 - a. conservatives, propertied-Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregationalists, Unitarians

- b. less learned of S & E-Methodists, Baptists
- 3. Religious further split w/ issue on slavery (Methodist, Presbyterians split)

III. A Desert Zion in Utah

1. Joseph Smith(1830) came up(NY) w. Mormon & Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints
 - a. antagonism toward Mormons for polygamy, drilling militia, voting as a unit
 - b. Smith died but succeeded by Brigham Young who led followers to Utah
 - i. grew quickly by 1850s by birth & immigration from Euro
 - c. federal gov. marched to Utah when Young became govnr. But no bloodshed
 - i. polygamy prevented Utah entrance to US till 1896

IV. Free School for a Free People

1. Tax-supported primary school was opposed bec, relate to pauperism & used by poor
2. Gradually support bec. "brats" might grow up to be rabble w. voting rights
3. Free pub edu, triumphed in 1825 w/ vote power in Jackson elect
 - a. ill taught & ill trained teachers
 - i. Horace Mann fought for better school
 - b. too expensive for many community; blacks exempt from edu.
4. important people -Noah Webster(dictionary); (Ohioan William H. McGuffey-McGuffey's readers)

V. Higher Goals for Higher Learning

1. 2nd great awakening led to building of small schools in S & W (mainly for pride)
 - a. mainly on Latin, Greek, Math, moral philosophy (boredom)
2. 1st state supported uni. in N. Carolina by Jefferson (dedication freedom from religion, politics)
3. women thought to be bad if too educated
4. Emma Willard-estab Tory Female Seminary (1821) &(Mount Holyoke Seminary (1837)
5. Libraries, public lectures, magazines flourished

VI. An Age of Reform

1. reformers vs. tobacco, alcohol, profanity, transit of mail on Sabbath, women's rights, polygamy, medicines
2. optimistic for a perfect society (women imp. in reforms)
 - a. naïve & ignored problems of factory
 - b. fought for no imprison for debt (poor lock in jail for less than \$1)-gradually abolished
 - c. criminal codes soften & reformatories added
 - d. mentally insane treated badly (ex. Dorothea Dix fought-classic petition of 1843)
 - e. agitation for peace(American Peace Society-1828)-William Ladd (had some impact till civil & Crimean war)

VII. Demon Rum-The "Old Deluder"

1. drunkenness were widely spread

2. American Temperance Society formed at Boston (1826)-“Cold Water Army”(children), sign pledges, pamphlets (anti-alcohol tract-*10 nights in a Barroom and What I Saw There-Arthur*)
3. Vs. Demon Drink adopt 2 major line attack
 - a. stressed temperance(individual will to resist)
 - b. legislature-removed temptation-Neal S Dow “Father of Prohibition”
 - i. sponsored Maine Law of 1851-prohibited make, sale liquor(follow by others)

VIII. Women in Revolt

1. women stayed home, w/o voting rights, (19th century)-better than Euro
2. many women avoided marriage all together
3. gender diff sharply w/ raising eco role
 - a. women weak physically & emotionally but fined for teaching
 - b. men strong but crude if not guided by women
4. home center of women(even in reformer Catharine Beecher) but many felt not enough
5. joined abolishing of slavery, touched by reform
6. women’s movement led by Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony(Suzy Bs), Elizabeth Candy Staton, Elizabeth Blackwell (1st female medical graduate), Margaret Fuller, Grimke sisters (anti-slavery), Amelia bloomer (semi-short skirts)
7. Women’s Rights Convention (1848)-Seneca Falls-NY
 - a. Declaration of Sentiments-spirit of Decla of Inde- “all Men & Women are created equal”
 - b. demanded ballot for women
 - c. launched modern women’s rights movement
8. temperately eclipsed by slavery but conditions improved

IX. Wilderness Utopias

1. Robert Owen founded New Harmony (1825)→ confusion
2. Brook Farm-Massa(1841)-20 intellectuals committed to Transcendentalism (lasted till 46)
3. Oneida Community-practiced free love, birth control, eugenic selection of parents to produce superior offspring
4. Shakers-communistic community (led by Mother Ann Lee)-1770 (can’t marry so extinct)

X. The Dawn of Scientific Achievement

1. early American interested in practical science than pure
 - a. Jefferson & the plow
 - b. Nathaniel bowditch-practical navigation & oceanographer
 - c. Matthew maury-ocean winds, currents
2. writers concerned basic science
3. most influential US scientists
 - a. Benjamin Silliman(1779-1864)-pioneer in chemist, geologist (taught in Yale)
 - b. Louis Agassiz(1807-1873)-served at Harvard, insist on original research

- c. Asa Gray (1810-1888) Harvard-Columbus of botany
- d. John Audubon (1785-1851) painted birds
- 4. medicine in US primitive, bleeding used for cure; smallpox, yellow fever kill many
- 5. life expectancy low
- 6. self-prescribed patent medicine common (often harmful)
- 7. surgery tied people down

XI. Artistic Achievement

- 1. US imitated Euro on styles
- 2. 1820-50 was Greek revival (inde from turk) → later gothic forms
- 3. Thomas Jefferson most ablest architect of generation (Montecello & Uni of Virginia)
- 4. Artists view bec. no leisure time; suffered from Puritan prejudice of art as sinful waste
- 5. Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828) painted Washington & competed w/ Eng artists
Wilson Peale (1741-1827) painted 60 portraits of Washington
John Trumbull (1756-1843) captured rev. war in paint
- 6. During nationalism upsurge after war of 1812-US painters portrayed human landscapes & romanticism
- 7. Music shaking off bec. puritans frowned on non-relig singing
 - a. “darky” tunes popular-Stephen Foster-“Old Folk at Home”(most famous)

XII. The Blossoming of a National Literature

- 1. reading plagiarized from Eng
- 2. poured literature to practical outlet (ex. *Federalist*, *Common Sense* (Paine), Ben Franklin's *autobiography*)
- 3. literature revived after war of inde & esp after war of 1812
- 4. Knickerbocker group in NY
 - a. Washington Irving (1783-1859)-1st USn int'l recog- *The Sketch Book*
 - b. James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851)-1st USn novelist-*leatherstocking tales* (pop in Euro)
 - c. William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878)-*Thanatopsis* (1st highly quality poems in US)

XIII. Trumpeters of Transcendentalism

- 1. literature dawn in 2nd quarter of 19th century w/ transcendentalist movement (1830)
 - a. vs. Locke (knowledge from reason); truth not by observation alone but w/ inner light
 - b. individualism, black or white
 - c. Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882)-popular bec. ideal reflected US
 - i. lectured Phi Beta Kappa Address “The American Scholar”
 - ii. urged US writers throw off Euro tradition
 - iii. most influential as practical philosopher (stressed self-gov, reliance, etc.)
 - d. Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862)-condemned slavery : *Walden: Or life in the Woods*
 - i. *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience*-further idealistic thought
 - e. Walth Whitman (1819-1892)-*Leaves of Grass* (poems) “Poet Laureate of Demo”

XIV. Glowing Literary Lights(not associated w/ transcendentalism)

1. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow(1807-1882)-wrote poems popular in Euro
“Evangeline”
2. John Greenleaf Whittier(1807-1892)-poem cried vs. injustice, intolerance, inhumanity
(social influence)
3. James Russell Lowell (1819-1891)-political satirist-*Biglow Papers*
4. Oliver Wendell Holmes(1809-1894)-The last Leaf
5. Women writers
 - a. Louisa May Alcott(1832-1888)-massa(w/ transcendentalism)-Little Women
 - b. Emily Dickinson-theme of nature in poems
6. Southern literary figure-William Gillmore Simms (1806-1870)-“the cooper of the south”(many books-life in frontier, south in rev war)

XV. Literary Individualists and Dissenters

1. Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849)-“The Raven”
 - a. invented modern detective novel
 - b. fascinated by ghosts-reflect morbid sensibility (more prized by Euro)
2. reflection Calvinist obsession on original sin & struggle bet. good & evil
 - a. Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864)-The Scarlet Letter (psychological effect on sin)
 - b. Herman Melville (1819-1891)-Moby Dick-bet. good & evil told in whale captain

XVI. Portrayers of the Past(historians)

1. George Bancroft(1800-1891)-found naval academy-published US history book
 - a. “Father of American History”
2. Wiliam H. Prescott-pub conquest of Mexico, Peru
3. Francis Parkman-pub struggle bet. France & Eng in colonial of N. America
4. Historians All from New Eng bec. had most books (anti-south bias; antipathy w. slavery)

Chapter 17: “The South and the Slavery Controversy”

I. “Cotton Is King!”

1. Before the 1793 invention of **Eli Whitney’s cotton gin**, slavery was a dying business, since the South was burdened with depressed prices, unmarketable goods, and over-cropped lands.
 - a. After the gin was invented, growing cotton became wildly profitable and easier, and more slaves were needed.
2. The North also transported the cotton to England and the rest of Europe, so they were in part responsible for the slave trade as well.
3. The South produced more than half the world’s supply of cotton, and held and advantage over countries like England, an industrial giant, which needed cotton to make cloth, etc...

4. The South believed that since England was so dependent on them that, if civil war was to ever break out, England would support the South that it so heavily depended on.
- II. The Planter “Aristocracy”
1. In 1850, only 1733 families owned more than 100 slaves each, and they were the wealthy aristocracy of the South, with big houses and huge plantations.
 2. The Southern aristocrats widened the gap between the rich and the poor and hampered public-funded education by sending their children to private schools.
 - a. Also, a favorite author among them was **Sir Walter Scott**, author of *Ivanhoe*, who helped them idealize a feudal society with them as the kings and queens and the slaves as their subjects.
 3. The plantation system shaped the lives of southern women.
 - a. Mistresses of the house commanded a sizable household of mostly female slaves who cooked, sewed, cared for the children, and washed things.
 - b. Mistresses could be kind or cruel, but all of them did at one point or another abuse their slaves to some degree; there was no “perfect mistress.”
- III. Slaves of the Slave System
1. Cotton production spoiled the earth, and even though profits were quick and high, land was ruined, and cotton producers were always in need of new land.
 2. The economic structure of the South became increasingly monopolistic because as land ran out, smaller farmers sold their land to the large estate owners.
 3. Also, the temptation to overspeculate in land and in slaves caused many planters to plunge deep into debt.
 - a. Slaves were valuable, but they were also a gamble, since they might run away or be killed by disease.
 4. The dominance of King Cotton likewise led to a one-crop economy whose price level was at the mercy of world conditions.
 5. Southerners resented the Northerners growing fat (getting rich) at their expense while they were dependent on the North for clothing, other food, and manufactured goods.
 6. The South repelled immigrants from Europe, who went to the North, making it richer.
- IV. The White Majority
1. Beneath the aristocracy were the whites that owned one or two or a small family of slaves; they worked hard on the fields with their slaves and the only difference between them and their northern neighbors was that there were slaves living with them.
 2. Beneath these people were the slaveless whites that raised corn and hogs, sneered at the rich cotton “snobocracy” and lived simply and poorly.
 - a. Some of the poorest were known as “poor white trash” and “hillbillies” and were described as listless, shiftless, and misshapen.
 - b. It is now known that these people weren’t lazy, just sick, suffering from malnutrition and parasites like hookworm.

3. Even the slaveless whites defended the slavery system because they all hoped to own a slave or two some day, and they could take perverse pleasure in knowing that, no matter how bad they were, they always “outranked” Blacks.
4. Mountain whites, those who lived isolated in the wilderness under Spartan frontier conditions, hated white aristocrats and Blacks, and they were key in crippling the Southern secessionists during the Civil War.

V. Free Blacks: Slaves Without Masters

1. By 1860, free Blacks in the South numbered about 250,000.
2. In the upper South, these Blacks were descended from those freed by the idealism of the Revolutionary War (“**all** men were created equal”).
3. In the deep South, they were usually mulattoes (Black mother, White father who was usually a master) freed when their masters died.
4. Many owned property; a few owned slaves themselves.
5. Free Blacks were prohibited from working in certain occupations and forbidden from testifying against whites in court; and as examples of what slaves could be, Whites resented them.
6. In the North, free Blacks were also unpopular, as several states denied their entrance, most denied them the right to vote and most barred them from public schools.
7. Northern Blacks were especially hated by the Irish, with whom they competed for jobs.
8. Antiblack feeling was stronger in the North, where people liked the race but not the individual, than in the South, where people liked the individual but not the race.

VI. Plantation Slavery

1. Although slave importation was banned in 1808, smuggling of them continued due to their high demand and despite death sentences to smugglers
2. However, the slave increase (4 million by 1860) was mostly due to their natural reproduction.
3. Slaves were an investment, and thus were treated better and more kindly and were spared the most dangerous jobs, like putting a roof on a house, draining a swamp, or blasting caves.
 - a. Usually, Irishmen were used to do that sort of work.
4. Slavery also created majorities or near-ones in the Deep South, and the states of South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana accounted for half of all slaves in the South.
5. Breeding slaves was not encouraged, but thousands of slaves were “sold down the river” to toil as field-gang workers, and women who gave birth to many children were prized.
 - a. Some were promised freedom after ten children born.
6. Slave auctions were brutal, with slaves being inspected like animals and families often mercilessly separated; **Harriet Beecher Stowe** seized the emotional power of his scene in her *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.

VII. Life Under the Lash

1. Slave life varied from place to place, but for slaves everywhere, life meant hard work, no civil or political rights, and whipping if orders weren't followed.
2. Laws that tried to protect slaves were difficult to enforce.
3. Lash beatings weren't *that* common, since a master could lower the value of his slave if he whipped him too much.
4. Forced separation of spouses, parents and children seem to have been more common in the upper South, among smaller plantations.
5. Still, most slaves were raised in stable two-parent households and continuity of family identity across generations was evidenced in the widespread practice of naming children for grandparents or adopting the surname of a forebear's master.
6. In contrast to the White planters, Africans avoided marriage of first cousins.
7. African also mixed Christian religion with their own native religion, and often, they sang Christian hymns as signals and codes for news of possible freedom; many of them sang songs that emphasize bondage (*"Let my people go."*)

VIII. The Burdens of Bondage

1. Slaves had no dignity, were illiterate, and had no chance of achieving the "American dream."
2. They also devised countless ways to make trouble without getting punished to badly.
 - a. They worked as slowly as they could without getting lashed.
 - b. They stole food and sabotaged expensive equipment.
 - c. Occasionally, they poisoned their masters' food.
3. Rebellions, such as the 1800 insurrection by a slave named **Gabriel** in Richmond, Virginia, and the 1822 Charleston rebellion led by **Denmark Vesey**, and the 1831 revolt semiliterate preacher **Nat Turner**, were never successful.
4. Whites became paranoid of Black revolts, and they had to degrade themselves, along with their victims, as noted by distinguished Black leader **Booker T. Washington**.

IX. Early Abolitionism

1. In 1817, the **American Colonization Society** was founded for the purpose of transporting Blacks back to Africa, and in 1822, the **Republic of Liberia** was founded for Blacks to live.
2. Most Blacks had no wish to be transplanted into a strange civilization after having been partially Americanized.
3. By 1860, virtually all slaves were not Africans, but native-born African-Americans.
4. In the 1830s, abolitionism really took off, with the **Second Great Awakening** and other things providing support.
5. **Theodore Dwight Weld** was among those who were inflamed against slavery.
6. Inspired by **Charles Grandison Finney**, Weld preached against slavery and even wrote a pamphlet, *American Slavery As It Is*.

X. Radical Abolitionism

1. On January 1st, 1831, **William Lloyd Garrison** published the first edition of *The Liberator* triggering a 30-year war of words and in a sense firing one of the first shots of the Civil War.
2. Other dedicated abolitionists rallied around Garrison, such as **Wendell Phillips**, a Boston patrician known as “abolition’s golden trumpet” who refused to eat cane sugar or wear cotton cloth, since both were made by slaves.
3. **David Walker**, a Black abolitionist, wrote *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* in 1829 and advocated a bloody end to white supremacy.
4. **Sojourner Truth**, a freed Black woman who fought for black emancipation and women’s rights, and **Martin Delaney**, one of the few people who seriously reconsidered Black relocation to Africa, also fought for Black rights.
5. The greatest Black abolitionist was an escaped black, **Frederick Douglass**, who was a great speaker and fought for the Black cause despite being beaten and harassed.
 - a. His autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, depicted his remarkable struggle and his origins, as well as (duh) his life.
 - b. While Garrison seemed more concerned with his own righteousness, Douglass increasingly looked to politics to solve the slavery problem.
 - c. He and others backed the Liberty Party in 1840, the Free Soil Party in 1848, and the Republican Party in the 1850s.
6. In the end, many abolitionists supported war as the price for emancipation.

XI. The South Lashes Back

1. In the South, abolitionist efforts increasingly came under attack and fire.
2. Southerners began to organize a campaign talking about slavery’s positive good, conveniently forgetting about how their previous doubts about “**peculiar institution**’s” morality.
3. Southern slave supporters pointed out how masters taught their slaves religion, made them civilized, treated them well, and gave them “happy” lives.
4. They also noted the lot of northern free Blacks, now were persecuted and harassed, as opposed to southern Black slaves, who were treated well, given meals, and cared for in old age.
5. In 1836, Southern House members passed a “gag resolution” requiring all antislavery appeals to be tabled without debate, arousing the ire of northerners like **John Quincy Adams**.
6. Southerners also resented the flood of propaganda in the form of pamphlets, drawings, etc...

XII. The Abolitionist Impact in the North

1. For a long time, abolitionists like the extreme Garrisonians were unpopular, since many had been raised to believe the values of the slavery compromises in the Constitution.
 - a. Also, his secessionist talks contrasted against Webster’s cries for union.
2. The South owed the North \$300 million by the late 1850s, and northern factories depended on southern cotton to make goods.

3. Many abolitionists' speeches provoked violence and mob outbursts in the North, such as the 1834 trashing of **Lewis Tappan's** New York House.
4. In 1835, Garrison miraculously escaped a mob that dragged him around the streets of Boston.
5. Reverend **Elijah P. Lovejoy** of Alton, Illinois, who impugned the chastity of Catholic women, had his printing press destroyed four times and was killed by a mob in 1837; he became an abolitionist martyr.
6. Yet by the 1850s, abolitionist outcries had been an impact on northern minds and were beginning to sway more and more toward their side.

Chapter 18: "Manifest Destiny and Its Legacy"

I. The Accession of "Tyler Too"

1. The Whig leaders, namely **Henry Clay** and **Daniel Webster**, had planned to control newly elected President **William H. Harrison**, but their plans hit a snag when he contracted pneumonia and died—only four weeks after he came to the White House.
2. The new president was **John Tyler**, a Virginian gentleman who was a lone wolf.
 - a. He did not agree with the Whig party, since they were pro-bank and pro-protective tariff and pro-internal improvements, but he was not.

II. John Tyler: A President Without a Party

1. After their victory, the Whigs unveiled their platform for America:
 - a. Financial reform would come in the form of a law ending the independent treasury system; Tyler agreeably signed it.
 - b. A new bill for a new U.S. Bank was on the table, but Clay didn't try hard enough to conciliate with Tyler and get it passed, and it was vetoed.
2. Whig extremists now started to call Tyler "his accidency."
 - a. His entire cabinet resigned, except for Webster.
3. Also, Tyler vetoed a proposed Whig tariff.
4. The Whigs redrafted and revised the tariff, taking out the dollar-distribution scheme and pushing down the rates to about the moderately protective level of 1832 (32%), and Tyler, realizing that a tariff was needed, reluctantly signed it.

III. A War of Words with England.

1. At this time, anti-British sentiment was high because the pro-British Federalists had died out, there had been two wars with Britain, and the British travelers in America scoffed at the "uncivilized" Americans.
2. American and British magazines ripped each other's countries, but fortunately, this war was only of words and not of blood.
3. In the 1800s, America with its expensive canals and railroads was a borrowing nation while Britain was the one that lent money, but when the Panic of 1837

broke out, the Englishmen who lost money assailed their rash American borrowers.

4. In 1837, a small rebellion in Canada broke out, and American furnished arms and supplies.
5. Also in 1837, an American steamer, the *Caroline*, was attacked in New York and set on fire by a British force
6. Tensions were high afterwards, but later calmed; then in 1841, British officials in the Bahamas offered asylum to some 130 revolting slaves who had captured the ship *Creole*.

IV. Manipulating the Maine Maps

1. Maine had claimed territory on its northern and eastern border that was also claimed by England, and there were actually small skirmishes in the area, but luckily, in 1842 Britain sent **Lord Ashburton** to negotiate with Daniel Webster, and after talks, the two agreed to what is now called the **Ashburton-Webster Treaty**, which gave Britain their desired Halifax-Quebec route for a road while America got more land north of Maine as well as a readjustment of the U.S.-Canadian border which later yielded the priceless **Mesabi iron ore** of Minnesota.

V. The Lone Star of Texas Shines Alone

1. Ever since it had declared independence in 1836, Texas had built up reinforcements because it had no idea if or when Mexico would attack again to reclaim her “province in revolt,” so it made treaties with France, Holland, and Belgium.
2. America could not just boldly annex Texas without a war, and overseas, Britain wanted an independent Texas to check American expansionism—plus, Texas could be good for cotton.

VI. The Belated Texas Nuptials

1. **James K. Polk** and his expansionist ideas won the election of 1844, and the following year, Texas was formally invited to become the 28th state of the Union.
2. Mexico complained that Americans had despoiled it of Texas, which was partly true, but as it turned out, Mexico would not have been able to reconquer their lost province anyway.

VII. Oregon Fever Populates Oregon

1. Oregon was a great place, stretching from the northern tip of California to the 54° 40' line.
2. Once claimed by Russia, Spain, England, and the U.S., now, only the latter two claimed it; England had good reasons for its claims north of the **Columbia River**, since it was populated by British and by the Hudson's Bay Company.
3. However, Americans had strong claims south of the Columbia River (named after his ship by **Robert Gray** when he discovered the river), since they populated it much more.
4. The **Oregon Trail**, an over 2000-mile trail across America, was a common route to Oregon during the early 1840s.

VIII. A Mandate (?) for Manifest Destiny

1. In 1844, the two candidates for presidency were Henry Clay, the popular Whig who had been defeated twice before, and a dark-horse candidate, James K. Polk, who had been picked because the Democrats couldn't agree on anyone else.
2. Polk, having been Speaker of the House for four years and governor of Tennessee for two terms, was not stranger to politics, was called "Young Hickory," and was sponsored by former president Andrew Jackson.
3. He and the Democrats advocated "**Manifest Destiny**," a concept that stated that the U.S. was destined to expand across the continent and get as much land as possible.
4. On the issue of Texas, Clay tried to say two things at once, and thus, it cost him, since he lost the election (170 to 105 in the Electoral; 1,338,464 to 1,300,097 in the popular) by 5000 votes in New York.

IX. Polk the Purposeful

1. One of Polk's acts was to lower the tariff, and his secretary of the treasury, **Robert J. Walker**, did so, lowering the tariff from 32% to 25% despite complaints by the industrialists.
 - a. Despite warnings of doom, the new tariff was followed by good times.
2. He also restored the independent treasury in 1846 and wanted to acquire California and settle the Oregon dispute.
3. While the Democrats had promoted acquiring all of Oregon during their campaign, after the annexation of Texas, the Southern Democrats didn't much care anymore.
4. Luckily, the British proposed a treaty that would separate British and American claims at the **49th parallel** (excluding **Vancouver**), a proposal that Polk threw to the Senate, which accepted.
5. Those angry with the deal cried, "Why all of Texas but not all of Oregon?"

X. Misunderstandings with Mexico

1. Polk wanted California, but this was difficult due to strained U.S.-Mexican relations.
 - a. After the annexation of Texas, Mexico had recalled its foreign minister, and before, it had been forced to default on its payments of \$3 million to the U.S.
 - b. Also, when Texas claimed its southern boundary to be the **Rio Grande** and not the **Nueces River**, Polk felt that he had to defend Texas and did so.
2. The U.S. then sent **John Slidell** to Mexico City as an envoy instructed to buy California for \$25 million, however, once he arrived, the Mexican government, pressured by its angry people, refused to see him, thus "snubbing" him.

XI. American Blood on American (?) Soil

1. A frustrated Polk now forced a showdown, and on Jan. 13, 1846, he ordered 4000 men under Zachary Taylor to march from the Nueces River to the Rio Grande, provocatively near Mexican troops.
2. As events would have it, on April 25, 1846, news of Mexican troops crossing the Rio Grande and killing or wounding 16 Americans came to Washington, and Polk pushed for a declaration of war
 - a. A group of politicians, though, wanted to know where exactly was the spot of the fighting; among them was Abraham “Spotty” Lincoln.
3. Pushed by Polk, Congress declared war, and so began the Mexican-American War.

XII. The Mastering of Mexico

1. Polk hoped that once American had beaten Mexico enough, he could get California and end the war, and the recently dethroned **Santa Anna** told the U.S. that if he could return to Mexico, he would take over the government, end the war, and give California to the U.S. He lied.
2. In the Southwest, U.S. operations led by **Stephen W. Kearny** (led 1700 troops from Leavenworth to Santa Fe) and **John C. Fremont** (leader of the **Bear Flag Revolt** in California) were successful.
3. “Old Rough and Ready” Zachary Taylor, a general, he fought into Mexico, reaching Buena Vista, and repelled 20,000 Mexicans with only 5000 men, instantly becoming a hero.
4. **General Winfield Scott** led American troops into Mexico City.

XIII. Fighting Mexico for Peace

1. Polk sent **Nicholas Trist** to negotiate an armistice with Mexico at a cost of \$10,000 (Santa Anna took the bribe and then used it for his defenses, haha).
2. Afterwards, Trist was recalled, but he refused to leave and negotiated the **Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo** on February 2nd, 1848, which gave to America all Mexican territory from Texas to California that was north of the Rio Grande, and the U.S. only had to pay \$15 million to Mexico for it.
3. In America, there were people clamoring an end to the war (the Whigs) and those who wanted all of Mexico (but the leaders of the South like **John C. Calhoun** realized the political nightmare that would cause and decided not to be so greedy), so Polk speedily passed the bill to the Senate, which approved it, 38 to 14.
4. Polk had originally planned to pay \$25 million just for California, but he only paid \$18,250,000; some people say that American paid even that much because it felt guilty for having bullied Mexico into a war it couldn’t win.

XIV. Profit and Loss in Mexico

1. In the war, America only had 13,000 dead soldiers, most taken by disease, and the war was a great practice for the Civil War, giving men like **Robert E. Lee** and **Ulysses S. Grant** invaluable battle experience.
2. Outside countries now respected America more, since it had made no major blunders during the war and had proven its fighting prowess.

3. However, it also paved the way to the Civil War by attaining more land that could be disputed over slavery.
4. **David Wilmot** of Pennsylvania introduced his **Wilmot Proviso** (and amendment), which stated that slavery should never exist in any of the territories that would be taken from Mexico; the amendment was passed twice by the House but never got passed the Senate.
5. Bitter Mexicans, resentful of the land that was taken from them, land that halved their country's size, took small satisfaction when the same land caused disputes that led to the Civil War, a fate called Santa Anna's revenge.

Chapter 19: "Renewing the Sectional Struggle"

I. The Popular Sovereignty Panacea

1. The **Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo** ended the **Mexican-American War**, but it started a whole new debate about the extension of slavery, with Northerners rallying around the **Wilmot Proviso**; however, the Southerners shot it down.
2. Before, the two national parties, the **Democrats** and the **Whigs** had strong support from all over the nation; now, that was in jeopardy.
3. In 1848, Polk, due to tremendous overworking and chronic diarrhea, did not seek a second term, and the Democrats nominated **General Lewis Cass**, a veteran of the **War of 1812**, a senator and diplomat of wide experience and considerable ability, and the originator of **popular sovereignty**, the idea that issues should be decided upon by the people (specifically, it applied to slavery, stating that the people in the territories should decide to legalize it or not.
 - i. It was good because it was a compromise between the extremes of the North and the South, and it stuck with the idea of self-determination, but it could spread slavery.

II. Political Triumphs for General Taylor

1. The Whigs nominated **General Zachary Taylor**, the hero of Buena Vista, a man with no political experience, but a popular man, and they avoided all picky issues in his campaign.
2. Disgusted antislavery Northerners organized the **Free Soil Party**, a party committed against the extension of slavery in the territories and one that also advocated federal aid for internal improvements and urged free government homesteads for settlers.
 - i. This party appealed to people angry over the half-acquisition of Oregon, people who didn't like Blacks in the new territory, as well as "conscience Whigs" who condemned slavery on moral grounds.
 - ii. The Free Soilers nominated Martin Van Buren
3. Neither major party talked about the slavery issue, but Taylor won narrowly.

III. "Californy Gold"

1. In 1848, gold was discovered in **California**, and thousands of men flooded into the state, thus blowing the lid off of the slavery issue.
2. Most people didn't "strike it rich," but there were many lawless men and women.
3. As a result, California (privately encouraged by the president) drafted a constitution and then applied for statehood, thus bypassing the usual territorial stage and avoiding becoming a slave state.

IV. Sectional Balance and the Underground Railroad.

1. In 1850, the South was very well off, with a Southerner as president (Taylor), a majority in the cabinet and on the Supreme Court, and equality in the Senate; plus, its 15 states could veto any proposed amendment that would outlaw slavery, yet it was worried.
2. The balance of 15 free states and 15 slave states was in danger with the admission of free California (which would indeed destroy the equilibrium forever) and other states might follow California as free states.
3. The South was also agitated about Texas' claims on disputed territory and the prospect of no slavery in Washington D.C., thus putting a piece of non-slavery land right in the middle of slave-holding Virginia and Maryland.
4. Finally the **Underground Railroad**, a secret organization that took runaway states north to Canada, was taking more and more slaves from the South.
 - i. **Harriet Tubman** freed more than 300 slaves during 19 trips to the South.
5. The South was also demanded a stricter fugitive slave law.

V. Twilight of the Senatorial Giants

1. In 1850, Congress was confronted with catastrophe in 1850, with California demanding admission as a free state.
2. Thus, the three giants met together for the last time to engineer a compromise.
 - i. **Henry Clay**, now 73 years old, urged concession from both the North and the South (the North for a fugitive slave law, the South for others) and was seconded by **Stephen Douglas**, the "Little Giant" and a fine senator.
 - ii. **John C. Calhoun**, dying of tuberculosis, pleaded for slavery to be left alone, for the return of runaway slaves, the restoration of the rights of the South as a minority, and the return for political balance.
 - iii. **Daniel Webster** proclaimed that the new land could not hold slaves anyway, since it couldn't cultivate cotton, etc... and his **Seventh of March** speech helped the North into compromise.
3. As a result of the popular speech, though, Webster was also proclaimed a traitor to the North, since he had called for the ignorance of the slavery subject.

VI. Deadlock and Danger on Capitol Hill

1. A new group of politicians, the **Young Guard**, seemed more interested in purifying the Union rather than patching it up.

2. **William H. Seward**, a young senator from New York, was flatly against concession and hated slavery, but he didn't seem to realize that the Union was built on compromise, and he said that Christian legislators must adhere to a "higher law" and not allow slavery to exist; this might have cost him the 1860 presidential election.
3. President Taylor also appeared to have fallen under the influence of the "higher law," vetoing every compromise sent to him by Congress.

VII. Breaking the Congressional Logjam

1. Then, in 1850, Zachary Taylor suddenly died of an acute intestinal disorder, and portly **Millard Fillmore** took over the reigns.
 - i. Impressed by arguments of conciliation, he signed a series of agreements that came to be known as the **Compromise of 1850**.
 - ii. Clay, Webster, and Douglas orated on behalf of the compromise for the North, but the South hated it; fortunately, they finally accepted it after much debate.

VIII. Balancing the Compromise Scales

1. The North got the better deal in the Compromise of 1850:
 - i. California was admitted as a free state, permanently tipping the balance.
 - ii. The Utah and New Mexico Territories could decide, with popular sovereignty, over slavery.
 - iii. Texas lost its disputed territory to New Mexico and (now) Oklahoma but was paid \$10 million.
 - iv. The District of Columbia could not have slave trade, but slavery was still legal.
 - v. A new **Fugitive Slave Law of 1850** was drastic, and it stated that (1) fleeing slaves couldn't testify on their own behalf, (2) the federal commissioner who handled the case got \$5 if the slave was free and \$10 if not, and (3) people who were ordered to help catch slaves had to do so, even if they didn't want to.
2. Inflamed Northerners pledged not to follow the new law, and the Underground Railroad stepped up its timetable.
3. It turns out that the new Fugitive Slave Law was a blunder on behalf of the South, since it inflamed both sides, but a civil war didn't occur, and this was better for the North, since with each moment, it was growing ahead of the South in population and wealth—in crops, factories, foundries, ships, and railroads.

IX. Defeat and Doom for the Whigs

1. In 1852, the Democrats, unable to agree, finally nominated dark horse **Franklin Pierce**, a man who was unknown and enemyless.
2. The Whigs nominated "Old Fuss and Feathers" **Winfield Scott**, the old veteran of the War of 1812 and the Mexican-American War.
3. Both parties boasted about the Compromise of 1850, though the Democrats did more.

4. The Whigs were hopelessly split, and thus, Pierce won in a landslide; the death of the Whigs ended the *national* political arguments and gave rise to *sectional* political alignments.
- X. President Pierce the Expansionist
1. Pierce tried to be another Polk, and he impressed followers by reciting his inaugural address from memory, but his cabinet was filled with Southerners like **Jefferson Davis** and he was prepared to be a Southerner's tool
 2. In July of 1856, a brazen American adventurer, **William Walker**, grabbed control in Nicaragua and proclaimed himself president, then legalized slavery, but a coalition of Latin American states overthrew him.
 3. Over on the Pacific, America was ready to open up Asia, and it opened up Japan when **Commodore Matthew C. Perry** steamed into the harbor of Tokyo in 1854.
- XI. Coveted Cuba: Pearl of the Antilles
1. America wanted Cuba, but Spain wouldn't sell it to the U.S. at any price, so after two bad attempts to take Cuba failed and after Spain captured the American steamer *Black Warrior* on a technicality, three U.S. foreign ministers met in Ostend, Belgium and drew up the **Ostend Manifesto** which stated that the U.S. was to offer \$120 million to Spain for Cuba, and if it refused and Spain's ownership of Cuba continued to endanger the U.S., then America would be justified in seizing the island.
 2. Northerners were outraged once this "secret" document was leaked, and the South could not get Cuba (and obtain another slave state).
 3. Also, since the North wanted Canada and the South did not, the North failed in obtaining Canada (sectional interests cancelled each other out).
- XII. Pacific Railroad Promoters and the Gadsden Purchase
1. Though the U.S. owned California and Oregon, getting was very difficult, since the sea routes were too long and the wagon route over land was dangerous, so the only real feasible solution lay in a transcontinental railroad.
 2. The Southerners wanted a route through the South, but best one would go through Mexico, so Secretary of War Jefferson Davis arranged to have **James Gadsden** appointed minister to Mexico.
 - i. Finding Santa Anna in power again, he bought the **Gadsden Purchase** for \$10 million, and despite clamor about the "rip-off," Congress passed the sale.
 3. The South now appeared to have control of the location of the transcontinental railroad, but the North said that if organization of territories was the problem, then Nebraska should be organized.
- XIII. Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Scheme
1. To do this, Senator Stephen Douglas proposed (now called) the **Kansas-Nebraska Act**, which would let slavery in Kansas and Nebraska be decided upon by popular sovereignty.

- i. The problem was that the Missouri Compromise had banned this, so the act would have to repeal it.
- ii. Southerners had not thought of Kansas as a possible slave state, and thus backed the bill, but Northerners rallied against it.
- iii. Nevertheless, Douglass rammed the bill through Congress, and it was passed.

XIV. Congress Legislates a Civil War

- 1. The Kansas-Nebraska Act directly wrecked the Compromise of 1820 and indirectly wrecked the Compromise of 1850.
- 2. Northerners no longer enforced the Fugitive Slave Law at all, and Southerners were still angry.
- 3. The Democratic Party was hopelessly split into two, and after 1856, it would not have a president elected for 28 years.

Chapter 20: “Drifting Toward Disunion”

I. Stowe and Helper: Literary Incendiaries

- 1. In 1852, **Harriet Beecher Stow** published *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, a popular book that awakened the passions of the North toward the evils of slavery.
- 2. The book sold millions of copies, and overseas, British people were charmed by it.
 - i. The book helped Britain stay out of the Civil War because its people, who had read the book and had now denounced slavery, wouldn’t allow intervention on behalf of the South.
- 3. Another book, *The Impending Crisis of the South*, was written by **Hinton R. Helper**, a non-aristocratic white North Carolinian who tried to prove, by an array of stats, that the non-slave-holding Southern whites were really the ones most hurt by slavery.
 - i. Published in the North, this book and *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* were both banned in the South but widely read in the North.

II. The North-South Contest for Kansas

- 1. Northerners began to pour into Kansas, and Southerners were outraged, since they had supported the **Compromise of 1850** under the impression that Kansas would become slave.
- 2. Thus, on election day in 1855, hordes of Southerners from Missouri flooded the polls and elected Kansas to be a slave state; free soilers unable to stomach this set up their own government in Topeka.
 - i. Thus, confused Kansans had to choose between two governments: one illegal (in Topeka) and the other fraudulent (in Shawnee).
- 3. In 1856, a group of proslavery raiders shot up and burned part of Lawrence, thus starting violence.

III. Kansas in Convulsion

1. **John Brown**, a crazy man (literally), led a band of followers to Pottawatomie Creek in May of 1856 and hacked to death five presumable proslaveryites.
 - i. This brutal violence surprised even the most ardent abolitionists and brought swift retaliation from proslaveryites.
2. By 1857, Kansas had enough people to apply for statehood, and those for slavery devised the **Lecompton Constitution**, which provided that the people were only allowed to vote for the constitution “with slavery” or “without slavery.”
 - i. If the constitution was passed “without slavery,” then those slaveholders already in the state would still be protected.
 - ii. Angry free soilers boycotted the polls and Kansas approved the constitution with slavery.
3. In Washington, **James Buchanan** had succeeded Franklin Pierce, but like the former prez, Buchanan was more towards the South, and firmly supported the Lecompton Constitution.
4. Senator **Stephen Douglas**, refusing to have this fraudulency, threw away his Southern support when he fought for a fair election, and the result was the Lecompton Constitution voted on *as a whole*.
5. Thus, the Democratic Party was hopelessly divided, ending the last remaining national party for years to come (the **Whigs** were dead and the **Republicans** were sectional).

IV. “Bully” Brooks and His Bludgeon

1. “Bleeding Kansas” was an issue that spilled into Congress: **Senator Charles Sumner** was a vocal antislaveryite, and his blistering speeches condemned all slavery supporters.
2. Congressman **Preston S. Brooks** decided that since he couldn’t challenge Sumner to a duel, he’d beat the senator with a cane like a dog, which is just what he did until his cane broke; nearby senators did nothing but watched, and Brooks was cheered on by the South.
3. However, the incident touched off fireworks, as Sumner’s “The Crime Against Kansas” speech was reprinted by the thousands, and it put Brooks and the South in the wrong.

V. “Old Buck” versus “The Pathfinder”

1. In 1856, the Democrats had chosen James Buchanan, someone untainted by the Kansas-Nebraska Act and a person with lots of political experience, to be their nomination for presidency against Republican **John C. Fremont**, a fighter in the Mexican-American War.
2. Another party, the **American Party**, also called the “Know-Nothing Party” because of its secrecy, was organized by “nativists,” old-stock Protestants, who nominated Millard Fillmore.
 - i. These people were anti-Catholic and anti-foreign and also included old Whigs.
3. The campaign was full of mudslinging, which allegations of scandal and conspiracy.
4. Fremont was hurt by the rumor that he was a Roman-Catholic.

VI. The Electoral Fruits of 1856

1. Buchanan won because there were doubts about Fremont's honesty, capacity, and sound judgment.
2. Perhaps it was better that Buchanan won, since Fremont was not as strong as Lincoln, and in 1856, many people were still apathetic about slavery, and the South could have seceded more easily.

VII. The Dred Scot Bombshell

1. On March 6, 1857, the Dred Scot decision was handed down by the Supreme Court.
 - i. **Dred Scot** had been a slave whose master had taken him north into free territory, where he had lived for many years. After his master's death, he sued for his freedom from his new master, claiming that he had been in free territory. The Missouri Supreme Court agreed, freeing him, but his new master appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which overruled the decision.
2. Chief Justice **Taney** said that no slave could be a citizen of the U.S. in his justification
3. The case inflamed millions of abolitionists against slavery and even though who didn't care against it.
 - i. In effect, he ruled that the Missouri Compromise had been unconstitutional: Congress had no right to ban slavery from the territories.
4. Northerners complained; Southerners were inflamed by northern defiance, and more tension built.

VIII. The Financial Crash of 1857

1. Psychologically, the **Panic of 1857** was the worst of the 19th century, though it really wasn't as bad as the **Panic of 1837**.
2. The panic was caused by inflation and overgrowth of grain and nowhere to export it.
3. The North was especially hard hit, but the South rode it out with flying colors, seemingly proving that cotton was king and raising their egos.
4. Also, in 1860, Congress passed a homestead act that would provide 160 acres of land at a cheap price for those who were less fortunate, but it was vetoed by Buchanan.
 - i. This plan, though, was opposed by the northeast, which had long been unfriendly to extension of land and had feared that it would drain its population even more, and the south, which knew that it would provide an easy way for more free soilers to fill the territories.
5. The panic also brought calls for a higher tariff rate, which had been lowered to about 20% only months before.

IX. An Illinois Rail-Splitter Emerges

1. In 1858, Senator Stephen Douglas' term was about to expire, and against him was Republican **Abraham Lincoln**, an ugly fellow who had risen up the political ladder slowly but was a good lawyer and a pretty decent debater.
- X. The Great Debate: Lincoln versus Douglas
1. Lincoln rashly challenged Douglas, the nation's most devastating debater, to a series of seven debates, which the senator accepted, and despite expectations of failure, Lincoln held his own.
 2. The most famous debate came at Freeport, Illinois, where Lincoln brought this scenario: if the people had a territory voted slavery down, would they be right, despite the Supreme Court saying that they could not do so?
 - i. Douglas replied with his "**Freeport Doctrine**," which said that no matter how the Supreme Court ruled, slavery would stay down if the people voted it down; the people had the power.
 3. Douglas won, but more people voted for Abe, so he won the moral victory.
- XI. John Brown: Murderer or Martyr?
1. John Brown now had a plan to invade the South, seize its arms, call up on the slaves to rise up and revolt, and take over the South and free it of slaves, but in his raid of Harper's Ferry, Virginia, the slaves didn't revolt, and he was captured and convicted of treason and sentenced to death.
 2. Brown, though insane, was not stupid, and he portrayed himself as a martyr against slavery, and when he was hung, he instantly became a martyr for abolitionists; northerners rallied around his memory.
 3. The South was happy, but abolitionists were infuriated by his execution (they conveniently forgot about his violent past)
- XII. The Disruption of the Democrats
1. After failing to nominate a candidate in Charleston, South Carolina, the Democrats split into North and South, and at Baltimore, the Northern Democrats nominated Stephen Douglas for president while the Southern Democrats chose **John C. Breckinridge**.
 2. Meanwhile, the "Know-Nothings" chose **John Bell** of Tennessee.
- XIII. A Rail-Splitter Splits the Union
1. The Republicans, sensing victory against their split opponents, nominating Abraham Lincoln, not William Seward.
 2. Their platform had an appeal to every important non-southern group: for free soilers it proposed non-extension of slavery; for northern manufacturers, a protective tariff; for the immigrants, no abridgement of rights; for the West, internal improvements at federal expense; and for the farmers, free homesteads.
 3. Southerners threatened that Lincoln's election would result in Southern secession.
 4. Lincoln wasn't an outright abolitionist, since as late as February 1865, he had still favored cash compensation for free slaves.
 5. Abe Lincoln won despite not even being on the ballot in the South.

XIV. The Electoral Upheaval of 1860

1. Lincoln won with only 40% of the popular vote, and had the Democratic Party been more organized and energetic, they might have won.
2. The Republicans did not control the House or the Senate, and the South still had a five to four majority in the Supreme Court, but the South still decided to secede.

XV. The Secessionist Exodus

1. **South Carolina** had threatened to secede if Lincoln was elected president, and now it went good on its word, seceding in December of 1860.
 - i. **Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas** followed in the next six weeks.
2. The seven seceders met in Montgomery, Alabama in February of 1861 and created the **Confederate States of America**, and they chose Jefferson Davis as president.
3. President Buchanan did nothing to force the confederacy back into the Union, partly because the Union troops were needed in the West and because the North was still apathetic toward secession; they felt that it was better that the South had seceded.

XVI. The Collapse of Compromise

1. In an attempt at compromise (again), **James Henry Crittenden** of Kentucky proposed the **Crittenden amendments**, which would ban slavery north of the 36°30' line and would leave the issue in territories south of the line up to the people; also, existing slavery south of the line would be protected.
2. Lincoln opposed the compromise, which might have worked, because his party had preached against the extension of slavery, and he had to stick to principle.
3. It also seems that Buchanan couldn't have saved the Union no matter what he could have done.

XVII. Farewell to Union

1. The seceding states did so because they feared that their rights as a slaveholding minority were being threatened, and were alarmed at the growing power of the Republicans, plus, they believed that they would be unopposed despite what the Northerners claimed.
2. The South also hoped to develop its own banking and shipping, and to prosper.
3. Besides, in 1776, the 13 colonies had seceded from Britain and had won; now the South could do the same thing.

Chapter 21: "Girding for War: The North and South"

I. President of the Disunited States of America

1. On March 4, 1861, **Abraham Lincoln** was inaugurated president, having slipped into Washington D.C. to thwart assassins, and in his inaugural address, he stated that there would be no conflict unless the South provoked it.

- i. He stated that geographically, the United States could not be split (true).
2. A split U.S. brought up questions about the sharing of the national debt and the allocation of federal territories.
3. A split U.S. also pleased the European countries, since the U.S. was the only major display of democracy in the Western Hemisphere, and with a split U.S. the **Monroe Doctrine** could be broken as well.

II. South Carolina Assails Fort Sumter

1. Most of the forts in the South had relinquished their power to the Confederacy, but **Fort Sumter** was among the few that didn't, and since its supplies were running out against a besieging South Carolinian army, Lincoln had a problem of how to deal with the situation.
2. Lincoln intelligently chose to send supplies to the fort, and he told the South Carolinian governor that the ship to the fort only held provisions, not reinforcements.
3. However, to the South, provisions *were* reinforcements, and on April 12, 1861, cannons were fired onto the fort; after 34 hours of non-lethal firing, the fort surrendered.
4. Northerners were inflamed by the South's actions, and Lincoln now called on 75,000 volunteers; so many came that they had to be turned away.
5. On April 19 and 27, Lincoln also called a blockade that was leaky at first but soon clamped down tight.
6. The South, feeling that Lincoln was now waging an aggressive war, was joined by four of the **Border States: Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina**.
7. The capital of the Confederacy was moved from Montgomery to Richmond.

III. Brother's Blood and Border Blood

1. The remaining Border States were crucial for both sides, as they would have almost doubled the manufacturing capacity of the South and increased its supply of horses and mules by half.
2. Thus, to retain them, Lincoln used moral persuasion...and methods of dubious legality:
 - i. In Maryland, he declared martial law in order to retain a state that would isolate Washington D.C. within Confederacy territory if it went to the South and also sent troops to western Virginia and Missouri.
3. At the beginning, in order to hold the remaining Border States, Lincoln repeated said that the war was to save the Union, not free the slaves, since a war for the slaves would have lost the Border States
4. Most of the **Five Civilized Tribes** (Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole) sided with the South, although parts of the Cherokee and most of the Plains Indians were pro-North.
5. The war was one of brother vs. brother, with the mountain men of (now) West Virginia sending some 50,000 men to the Union.

IV. The Balance of Forces

1. The South, at the beginning of the war, did have many advantages:

- i. It only had to fight to a draw to win, since all it had to do was keep the North from invading and taking over all of its territory.
 - ii. It had the most talented officers, including **Robert E. Lee** and **Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson**, and most of the Southerners had been trained to fight in the harsh South since they were children, as opposed to the tame Northerners.
- 2. However, the South was handicapped by a shortage of factories and manufacturing plants, but during the war, those developed in the South.
- 3. Still, as the war dragged on, the South found itself with a shortage of shoes, uniforms, blankets, clothing, and food, which didn’t reach soldiers due to supply problems.
- 4. However, the North had a huge economy, much more men available to fight, and it controlled the sea, though its officers weren’t as well trained as some in the South.
- 5. As the war dragged on, Northern strengths beat Southern advantages.

V. Dethroning King Cotton

- 1. The South was depending on foreign intervention to win the war, but didn’t get it.
- 2. While the European countries wanted the Union to be split, their people had been pro-North and anti-slavery, and sensing that this could eliminate slavery once and for all, they would not allow any intervention by their nations on behalf of the South.
- 3. Still, the war would produce a shortage of cotton, which would draw England et al into the war, right? Wrong.
 - i. In the pre-war years, cotton production had been immense, and thus, England and France had huge surpluses of cotton.
 - ii. As the North won Southern territory, it sent cotton and food over to Europe.
 - iii. India and Egypt upped their cotton production to offset the hike in the price of cotton.
- 4. So, King Wheat and King Corn (of the North) beat King Cotton, since Europe needed the food much more than it needed the cotton.

VI. The Decisiveness of Diplomacy

- 1. The South still hoped for foreign intervention, and it almost got it on a few occasions.
- 2. Late in 1861, a Union warship stopped the British mail steamer the *Trent* and forcibly removed two Confederate diplomats bound for Europe.
 - i. Britain was outraged at the upstart Americans and threatened war, but luckily, Lincoln released the prisoners and tensions cooled. “One war at a time,” he said.
 - ii. British-built sea vessels that went to the Confederacy were also a problem.
 - a. In 1862, the *Alabama* escaped to the Portuguese Azores, took on weapons and crew from Britain, but never sailed

into a Confederate base, thus using a loophole to help the South.

3. **Charles Francis Adams** persuaded Britain not to build any more ships for the Confederacy, since they might someday be used against England.

VII. Foreign Flare-Ups

1. Britain also had two Laird rams—two Confederate warships that could destroy wooden Union ships and wreck havoc on the North, but after the threat of war by the U.S., Britain backed down and used those ships for its Royal Navy.
2. Near Canada, Confederate agents plotted (and sometimes succeeded) to burn down American cities, and as a result, there were several mini-armies (raised mostly by British-hating Irish-Americans) sent to Canada.
3. **Napoleon III** of France also installed a puppet government in Mexico City, putting in the **Austrian Archduke Maximilian** as emperor of Mexico, but after the war, the U.S. threatened violence, and Napoleon left Maximilian to doom at the hands of the Mexican firing squad.

VIII. President Davis versus President Lincoln

1. The Problem with the South was that it gave states the ability to secede in the future, and getting Southern states to send troops to help other states was always difficult to do.
2. Jefferson Davis was never really popular and overworked himself.
3. Lincoln, though with his problems, had the benefit of leading an established government and grew patient and relaxed as the war dragged on.

IX. Limitations on Wartime Liberties

1. Abe Lincoln did do some tyrannical acts during his term as president, such as illegally proclaiming a blockade, proclaiming acts without Congressional consent, and sending in troops to the Border States, but he justified his actions by saying that such acts weren't permanent, and he had to do those things in order to preserve the Union.
2. Such actions included the advancement of \$2 million to three private citizens for war purposes, the suspension of **habeas corpus** so that anti-Unionists could be arrested, and the intimidation of voters in the Border States.
3. The Confederacy's states' refusal to sacrifice some states' rights led to the handicapping of the South, and perhaps to its ultimate downfall.

X. Volunteers and Draftees: North and South

1. At first, there were a lot of volunteers, but after enthusiasm slacked off, Congress passed its first conscription law ever (the draft), one that angered the poor because rich men could hire a substitute instead of entering the war just by paying \$300 to Congress.
 - i. As a result, many riots broke out, such as one in New York City.

2. Volunteers manned more than 90% of the Union army, and as volunteers became scarce, money was offered to them in return for service; still, there were many deserters.
3. The South had to resort to a draft nearly a year before the North, and it also had its privileges for the rich, since those who owned or oversaw 20 slaves or more were exempt from the draft.

XI. The Economic Stresses of War

1. The North passed the **Morril Tariff Act**, increasing tariff rates by about 5 to 10%, but war soon drove those rates even higher.
2. The Washington Treasury also issued green-backed paper money totaling nearly \$450 million, but this money was very unstable and sank to as low as 39 cents per gold dollar.
3. The federal Treasury also netted \$2,621,916,786 in the sale of bonds.
4. The **National Banking System** was a landmark of the war, created to establish a standard bank-note currency, and banks that joined the National Banking System could buy government bonds and issue sound paper money.
 - i. The **National Banking Act** was the first step toward a unified national banking network since 1836, when the **Bank of the United States (BUS)** was killed by Andrew Jackson.
5. In the South, runaway inflation plagued the Confederates, and overall, in the South inflation went up to 9000%, as opposed to just 80% in the North.

XII. The North's Economic Boom

1. The North actually emerged from the Civil War more prosperous than before, since new factories had been formed; a millionaire class was born for the first time in history.
2. However, many Union suppliers used shoddy equipment in their supplies, such as using cardboard as the soles of shoes, etc...
3. Sizes for clothing were invented, and the reaper helped feed millions.
4. In 1859, a discovery of petroleum oil sent people to Pennsylvania.
5. Women gained new advances in the war, taking the jobs left behind by men going off to battle, and other women posed as men and became soldiers with their husbands.
6. **Clara Burton** and **Dorothea Dix** helped transform nursing from a lowly service to a respected profession, and in the South, **Sally Tompkins** ran a Richmond infirmary for wounded Confederate soldiers and was awarded the rank of Captain by Jefferson Davis.

XIII. A Crushed Cotton Kingdom

1. The South was ruined by the war, as transportation collapsed and supplies of everything became scarce, and by the end of the war, the South claimed only 12% of the national wealth as opposed to 30% before the war, and its per capita income was now 2/5 that of Northerners, as opposed to 2/3 of Northerners before the war.
2. Still, many women were resourceful and spirited, but the South just couldn't win.

Chapter 22: “The Furnace of the Civil War”

- I. Bull Run Ends the “Ninety-Day War”
 1. When President **Abraham Lincoln** called for 75,000 militiamen on April 15, 1861, he and just about everyone else in the North expected a swift war lasting about 90 days, with a quick suppression of the South to prove the North’s superiority and end this foolishness.
 2. On July 21, 1861, ill-trained Yankee recruits swaggered out toward **Bull Run** to engage a smaller Confederate unit.
 - i. The atmosphere was like that of a sporting event, as Congressmen gathered in picnics.
 - ii. However, after initial success by the Union, Confederate reinforcements arrived and, coupled with **Stonewall Jackson**’s line holding, sent the Union soldiers into disarray.
 3. The **Battle of Bull Run** showed both sides that this would not be a short, easy war.
- II. “Tardy George” McClellan and the Peninsula Campaign
 1. Later in 1861, command of the **Army of the Potomac** (name of the Union army) was given to 34 year old General **George B. McClellan**, an excellent drillmaster and organizer of troops but also a perfectionist who constantly believed that he was outnumbered, never took risks, and held the army without moving for months before finally ordered by Lincoln to advance.
 2. Finally, he decided upon a water-borne approach to Richmond, called the **Peninsula Campaign**, taking about a month to capture **Yorktown** before coming to the Richmond.
 - i. At this moment, President Lincoln took McClellan’s expected reinforcements and sent them chasing Stonewall Jackson, and after “**Jeb**” **Stuart**’s Confederate cavalry rode completely *around* McClellan’s army, Southern General **Robert E. Lee** launched a devastating counterattack—the **Seven Days’ Battles**—on June 26 to July 2 of 1862.
 - ii. The victory at Bull Run ensured that the South, if it lost, would lose slavery as well, and it was after this battle that Lincoln began to draft an emancipation proclamation.
 3. The Union strategy now turned to total war:
 - i. Suffocate the South through an oceanic blockade.
 - ii. Free the slaves to undermine the South’s very economic foundations.
 - iii. Cut the Confederacy in half by seizing control of the Mississippi River.
 - iv. Chop the Confederacy to pieces by marching through Georgia and the Carolinas.
 - v. Capture its capital, **Richmond**, Virginia.
 - vi. Try everywhere to engage the enemy’s main strength and grind it to submission.

III. The War at Sea

1. The Union blockade started leakily at first, but it clamped down later.
2. Britain, who would ordinarily protest such interference in the seas that she “owned,” recognized the blockade as binding, since Britain herself often used blockades in her wars.
3. **Blockade-running**, or the process of smuggling materials through the blockade, was a risky but profitable business, but the Union navy also seized British freighters on the high seas, citing “ultimate destination” [to the South] as their reasons; the British relented, since they might have to do the same thing in later wars (as they did in World War I).
4. The biggest Confederate threat to the Union came in the form of an old U.S. warship reconditioned and plated with iron railroad rails: the *Virginia* (formerly called the *Merrimack*), which threatened to break the Union blockade, but fortunately, the *Monitor* arrived just in time to fight the *Merrimack* to a standstill, and the Confederate ship was destroyed later by the South to save it from the North.

IV. The Pivotal Point: Antietam

1. In the **Second Battle of Bull Run**, Robert E. Lee crushed the arrogant General **John Pope**.]
2. After this battle, Lee hoped to thrust into the North and win, hopefully persuading the Border States to join the South and foreign countries to intervene on behalf of the South.
 - i. At this time, Lincoln reinstated General McClellan.
3. McClellan’s men found a copy of Lee’s plans and were able to stop the Southerners at **Antietam** on September 17, 1862 in one of the bloodiest days of the Civil War.
 - i. Jefferson Davis was never so close to victory as he was that day, since European powers were very close to helping the South, but after the Union army displayed unexpected power at Antietam, that help faded.
 - ii. Antietam was also the Union display of power that Lincoln needed to announce his **Emancipation Proclamation**, which didn’t actually free the slaves, but gave the general idea; it was announced on January 1, 1863.
 - iii. Now, the war wasn’t just to save the Union, it was to save the slaves a well.

V. A Proclamation without Emancipation

1. The Emancipation Proclamation freed the slaves in not-yet-conquered Southern territories, but slaves in the Border States and the conquered territories were not liberated; Lincoln freed the slaves where he couldn’t and wouldn’t free the slaves where he could.
2. The proclamation was very controversial, as many soldiers refused to fight for abolition and deserted.

3. However, since many slaves, upon hearing the proclamation, left their plantations, the Emancipation Proclamation did succeed in one of its purposes: the undermine the labor of the South.
 4. Angry Southerners cried that Lincoln was stirring up trouble and trying to have a slave insurrection.
- VI. Blacks Battle Bondage
1. At first, Blacks weren't enlisted in the army, but as men ran low, these men were eventually allowed in; by war's end, Black's accounted for about 10% of the Union army.
 2. Until 1864, Southerners refused to recognize Black soldiers as prisoners of war, and often executed them as runaways and rebels, and in one case at **Fort Pillow**, Tennessee, Blacks who had surrendered were massacred.
 - i. Afterwards, vengeful Black units swore to take no prisoners, crying, "Remember Fort Pillow!"
 3. Many Blacks, whether through fear, loyalty, lack of leadership, or strict policing, didn't cast off their chains when they heard the Emancipation Proclamation, but many others walked off of their jobs when Union armies conquered territory that included the plantations that they worked on.
- VII. Lee's Last Lunge at Gettysburg
1. After Antietam, **A. E. Burnside** (known for sideburns) took over the Union army, but he lost badly after launching a rash frontal attack at **Fredericksburg**, Virginia, on Dec. 13, 1862.
 2. "**Fighting Joe**" **Hooker** (known for his girls, aka prostitutes) was badly beaten at **Chancellorsville**, Virginia, when Lee divided his outnumbered army into two and sent "Stonewall" Jackson to attack the Union flank, but later in that battle, Jackson's own men mistakenly shot him during dusk, and he died.
 3. Lee now prepared to invade the North for the second and final time, at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, but he was met by new General **George G. Meade**, who by accident took a stand atop a low ridge flanking a shallow valley and the Union and Confederate armies fought a bloody and brutal battle in which the North "won."
 - i. In the **Battle of Gettysburg** (July 1-3, 1863), General **George Pickett** led a hopeless, bloody, and pitiful charge up a hill that ended in the pig-slaughter of Confederates.
 - ii. A few months later, Lincoln delivered his **Gettysburg Address**.
- VIII. The War in the West
1. Lincoln finally found a good general in **Ulysses S. Grant**, a mediocre West Point graduate who drank a lot and also fought under the ideal of "immediate and unconditional surrender."
 2. Grant won at **Fort Henry** and **Fort Donelson**, but then lost a hard battle at **Shiloh** (April 6-7, 1862), just over the Tennessee border.

3. In the spring of 1862, a flotilla commanded by **David G. Farragut** joined with a Northern army to seize New Orleans.
4. At **Vicksburg**, Mississippi, U.S. Grant besieged the city and captured it on July 4, 1863, thus securing the important Mississippi River.
5. The Union victory at the **Battle of Vicksburg** came the day after the Union victory at Gettysburg, and afterwards, the Confederate hope for foreign intervention was lost.

IX. Sherman Scorches Georgia

1. After Grant cleared out Tennessee, General **William Tecumseh Sherman** was given command to march through Georgia, and he delivered, capturing and burning down Atlanta before completing his famous “**march to the sea**” at Savannah.
 - i. His men cut a trail of destruction one-mile wide, waging “**total war**” by cutting up railroad tracks, burning fields, and destroying everything.

X. The Politics of War

1. The **Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War** was created in 1861 was dominated by “radical” Republicans and gave Lincoln much trouble.
2. The Northern Democrats split after the death of **Stephen Douglas**, as “**War Democrats**” supported Lincoln while “**Peace Democrats**” did not.
 - i. **Copperheads** were those who totally against the war, and denounced the president (the “Illinois Ape”) and his “nigger war.”
 - ii. The most famous of the copperheads was **Clement L. Valandigham**, who harshly denounced the war but was imprisoned, then banished to the South, then came back to Ohio illegally but was not further punished, and also inspired the story “The Man without a Country.”

XI. The Election of 1864

1. In 1864, the Republicans joined the War Democrats to form the Union Party and renominated Abe Lincoln despite a bit of opposition, while the Copperheads and Peace Democrats ran George McClellan.
 - i. The Union Party chose Democrat **Andrew Johnson** to ensure that the War Democrats would vote for Lincoln, and the campaign was once again full of mudslinging, etc...
 - ii. Near Election Day, the victories at New Orleans and Atlanta occurred, and the Northern soldiers were pushed to vote, and Lincoln killed his opponent in the Electoral College, 212-21.
 - a. The popular vote was closer: 2,206,938-1,803,787.

XII. Grant Outlasts Lee

1. Grant was a man who could send thousands of men out to die just so that the Confederates would lose, because he knew that he could afford to lose many men while Lee could not.
 - i. In a series of wilderness encounters, Grant fought Lee, with Grant losing about 50,000 men.

- ii. At Cold Harbor, Union soldiers with papers pinned on their backs showing their names and addresses rushed the fort, and over 7000 died in a few minutes.
 - iii. The public was outraged and shocked over this kind of gore and death, and demanded the relief of General Grant, but Ulysses stayed.
 - 2. Finally, Grant and his men captured Richmond, burning it, and cornered Lee at **Appomattox Courthouse** at Virginia in April of 1865, where Lee formally surrendered; the war was over.
- XIII. The Martyrdom of Lincoln
- 1. On April 14, 1865, Abraham Lincoln was shot in the head by **John Wilkes Booth** and died shortly.
 - 2. Before his death, few people had suspected his greatness, but his sudden and dramatic death erased his shortcomings and made people remember him for his good things.
 - 3. The South cheered Lincoln's death at first, but later, his death proved to be worse than if he had lived, because he would have almost certainly treated the South much better than they were actually treated during Reconstruction.
- XIV. The Aftermath of the Nightmare.
- 1. The Civil War cost 600,000 men, \$15 billion, and wasted the cream of the American crop.
 - 2. However it gave America a supreme test of its existence, and the U.S. survived, proving its strength and further increasing its growing power and reputation; plus, slavery was also destroyed, which was great.
 - 3. It paved the way for the United States' fulfillment of its destiny as the dominant republic of the Western Hemisphere—and later, the world.

Chapter 23: “The Ordeal of Reconstruction”

- I. The Problems of Peace
 - 1. After the war, there were many questions over what to do with the free Blacks, how to reintegrate the Southern states into the Union, what to do with **Jefferson Davis**, and who would be in charge of **Reconstruction**.
 - 2. The Southern way of life was ruined, as crops and farms were destroyed, the slaves were now free, and the cities were bombed out, but still, some Southerners remained defiant.
- II. Freedmen Define Freedom
 - 1. At first, the freed Blacks faced a confusing situation, as many slave owners re-enslaved their slaves over and over again after Union troops left.
 - i. Other planters resisted emancipation through legal means, citing that emancipation wasn't valid until local or state courts declared it.

- ii. Some slaves loyally stuck to their owners while others let out their pen-up bitterness in their freedom, pillaging their former masters' land, property, and even whipping them.
 - 2. Eventually, even resisting plantation owners had to give up their slaves, and afterwards tens of thousands of Blacks took to the roads to find new work or look for lost loved ones.
 - 3. The church became to the focus of the Black community life in the years following the war.
 - 4. Emancipation also meant education for Blacks, but despite all the gains Blacks made, they still faced severe discrimination and would have to wait a century before attaining their rights.
- III. The Freedman's Bureau
- 1. In order to train the unskilled and unlettered freed Blacks, the **Freedman's Bureau** was set up on March 3, 1865; Union General **Oliver O. Howard** headed it.
 - 2. The bureau taught about 200,000 Blacks how to read, since most former slaves wanted to narrow the literary gap between them and Whites and also read the word of God.
 - 3. However, it wasn't as effective as it could have been, as evidenced by the further discrimination of Blacks, and it expired in 1872 after much criticism by racist Whites.
- IV. Johnson: The Tailor President
- 1. **Andrew Johnson** came from very poor and humble beginnings, and he served in Congress for many years (he was the only Confederate Congressman not to leave Congress when the rest of the South seceded).
 - 2. Feared for his reputation of having a short temper and being a great fighter, but he was a dogmatic champion of states' rights and the Constitution, and he was a Tennessean who never earned the trust of the North and never regained the confidence of the South.
- V. Presidential Reconstruction
- 1. Since **Abraham Lincoln** believed that the South had never legally withdrawn from the Union, restoration was to be relatively simple: the southern states could be reintegrated into the Union if and when they had 10% of its voters pledge an oath to the Union and also acknowledge the emancipation of the slaves; it was called the **Ten Percent Plan**.
 - 2. The **Radical Republicans** feared that such a lenient plan would allow the Southerners to re-enslave the newly freed Blacks again, so they rammed the **Wade-Davis Bill**, a bill that required 50% of the states' voters to take oaths of allegiance and demanded stronger safeguards for emancipation than the 10% Plan, through Congress.
 - i. However, Lincoln pocket-vetoed the bill by letting it expire, and the 10% Plan stayed.

3. It became clear that there were now two types of Republicans: the moderates, who shared the same views as Lincoln and the radicals, who believed the South should be harshly punished.
4. When Andrew Johnson took power, the radicals thought that he would do what they wanted, but he soon proved them wrong by basically taking Lincoln's policy and issuing his own Reconstruction proclamation: certain leading Confederates were disfranchised, the Confederate debt was repudiated, and states had to ratify the 13th Amendment.

VI. The Baleful Black Codes

1. In order to control the freed Blacks, many Southern states passed **Black Codes**, laws aimed at keeping the Black population in submission; some were harsh, others were not as harsh.
 - i. Blacks who "jumped" their labor contracts, or walked off their jobs, were subject to penalties and fines, and their wages were generally kept very low.
 - ii. The codes forbade Blacks from serving on a jury and some even barred Blacks from renting or leasing land, and Blacks could be punished for "idleness" by being subjected to working on a chain gang.
2. Making a mockery out of the newly won freedom of the Blacks, the Black Codes made many abolitionists wonder if the price of the Civil War was worth it, since Blacks were hardly better after the war than before the war.

VII. Congressional Reconstruction

1. In December, 1865, when many of the Southern states came to be reintegrated into the Union, among them were former Confederates and Democrats, and most Republicans were disgusted to see their former enemies on hand to reclaim seats in Congress.
2. During the war, without the Democrats, the Republicans had passed legislation that had favored the North, such as the **Morrill Tariff**, the **Pacific Railroad Act**, and the **Homestead Act**, so now, many Republicans didn't want to give the power that they had gained in the war.
3. Northerners now realized that the South would be stronger politically than before, since now, Blacks counted for a whole person instead of just 3/5 of one, and Republicans also feared that the Northern and Southern Democrats would join and take over Congress and the White House and institute their Black Codes over the nation, defeating all that the Civil War gained.
4. On December 6, 1865, President Johnson declared that the South had satisfied all of the conditions needed, and that the Union was now restored.

VIII. Johnson Clashes with Congress

1. Johnson repeatedly vetoed Republican-passed bills, such as a bill extending the life of the Freedman's Bureau, and he also vetoed the **Civil Rights Bill**, which conferred on blacks the privilege of American citizenship and struck at the Black Codes.

2. As Republicans gained control of Congress, they overrode Johnson's vetoes by passing the bills over his veto through a 2/3 majority.
 3. In the **14th Amendment**, the Republicans sought to instill the same ideas of the Civil Rights Bill: (1) All Blacks were American citizens, (2) If a state denied citizenship to Blacks, then it's representatives in the Electoral College were lowered, (3) Former Confederates could not hold federal or state office, and (4) The federal debt was guaranteed while the Confederate one was repudiated.
 4. The radicals were disappointed that Blacks weren't given the right to vote, but all Republicans agreed that states wouldn't be accepted back into the Union unless they ratified the 14th Amendment.
- IX. Swinging 'Round the Circle with Johnson
1. In 1866, Republicans would not allow Reconstruction to be carried on without the 14th Amendment, and as election time approached, Johnson wanted to lower the amount of Republicans in Congress, so he began a series of 'Round the Circle speeches.
 2. However, as he was heckled by the audience, he hurled back insults, gave "give 'em hell" speeches, and generally denounced the radicals, and in the process, he gave Republicans more men in Congress than they had before—the opposite of his original intention.
- X. Republican Principles and Programs
1. Now, the Republicans had a veto-proof Congress and nearly unlimited control over Reconstruction, but moderates and radicals still couldn't agree.
 - i. In the Senate, the leader of the radicals was **Charles Sumner**, long since recovered from his caning, and in the House, the radical leader was **Thaddeus Stevens**, an old, sour man who was an unswerving friend of the Blacks.
 2. The radicals wanted to keep the South out of the Union as long as possible and totally change its economy, and the moderates a quicker Reconstruction, and what happened was a compromise between the two extremes.
- XI. Reconstruction by Sword
1. The **Reconstruction Act** of March 2, 1867 divided the South into five military zones, temporarily disfranchised tens of thousands of former Confederates, and laid down new guidelines for the readmission of states (Johnson had announced the Union restored, but Congress had not yet formally agreed on this).
 - i. All states had to approve the 14th Amendment, making all Blacks citizens.
 - ii. All states had to guarantee full suffrage of all male former slaves.
 2. The **15th Amendment**, passed by Congress in 1869, gave Blacks their right to vote.
 3. In the case *Ex parte Milligan* (1866), the Supreme Court ruled that military tribunals could not try civilians, even during wartime, if there were civil courts available.

4. By 1870, all of the states had complied with the standards of Reconstruction, and in 1877, the last of the states were given their home rule back, and Reconstruction ended.
- XII. No Women Voters
1. Women suffrage advocates were disappointed by the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, since they didn't give women full suffrage.
 - i. After all, women had gathered petitions and had helped Blacks gain their rights.
 - ii. Frederick Douglass believed in the women's movement but believed that it was now "the Negro's hour."
 2. As a result, women advocates like **Elizabeth Cady Stanton** and **Susan B. Anthony** campaigned against the 14th and 15th Amendments—Amendments that inserted the word *male* into the Constitution for the first time ever.
- XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in the South
1. Blacks began to organize politically, and their main vehicle was the **Union League**.
 - i. It became a network of political clubs that educated members in their civic duties and campaigned for Republican candidates, and later even built Black churches and schools, represented Black grievances, and recruited militias to protect Blacks.
 2. Black women attended the parades and rallies of Black communities.
 3. Black men also began to hold political offices, as men like **Hiram Revels** and **Blanche K. Bruce** served in Congress (they represented Mississippi).
 4. Southern Whites hated seeing their former slaves now ranking above them, and they also hated "**scalawags**," Southerners who were accused of plundering Southern treasuries and selling out the Southerners, and "**carpetbaggers**," Northerners accused of sleazily seeking power and profit in a now-desolate South.
 5. Note that Southern governments were somewhat corrupted during these times.
- XIV. The Ku Klux Klan
1. Extremely racist Whites who hated the Blacks founded the "Invisible Empire of the South," or **Ku Klux Klan**, in Tennessee in 1866—an organization that scared Blacks into not voting or not seeking jobs, etc... and often resorted to violence against the Blacks in addition to terror.
 2. This illegal group undermined much of what abolitionists sought to do.
- XV. Johnson Walks the Impeachment Plank
1. Radicals were angry with President Johnson, and they decided to try to get rid of him.
 2. In 1867, Congress passed the **Tenure of Office Act**, which provided that the president had to secure the consent of the Senate before removing his appointees once they had been approved by the Senate (one reason was to keep **Edwin M. Stanton**, a Republican spy, in office).

3. However, when Johnson dismissed Stanton early in 1868, the Republicans impeached him.

XVI. A Not-Guilty Verdict for Johnson

1. Johnson was not allowed to testify by his lawyers, who argued that the Tenure of Office Act was unconstitutional and Johnson was acting under the Constitution, not the law.
2. On May 16, 1868, Johnson was acquitted of all charges by a single vote, as seven Republican senators with consciences voted “not-guilty” (interestingly, those seven never secured a political office against afterwards).
3. Die-hard radicals were infuriated by the acquittal, but many politicians feared establishing a precedence of removing the president through impeachment.

XVII. The Purchase of Alaska

1. In 1867, Secretary of State **William H. Seward** bought Alaska from Russia to the United States for \$7.2 million, but most of the public jeered his act as “Seward’s Folly.”
 - i. Only later, when oil and gold were discovered, did Alaska prove to be a huge bargain.

XVIII. The Heritage of Reconstruction

1. Many Southerners regarded Reconstruction as worse than the war itself, as they resented the upending of their social and racial system.
2. The Republicans, though with good intentions, failed to improve the South, and the fate of Blacks would remain bad for almost another century before the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s secured Black privileges.

Chapter 24: “Politics in the Gilded Age”

I. The “Bloody Shirt” Elects Grant

1. The Republicans nominated Civil War General **Ulysses S. Grant**, who was a great soldier but had no political experience.
 - i. The Democrats could only denounce military Reconstruction but couldn’t agree on anything else, and thus, were unorganized.
2. The Republicans got Grant elected (barely) by “**waving the bloody shirt**,” or reliving his war victories, and used his popularity to elect him, though his popular vote was only ahead of rival **Horatio Seymour**, the Democratic candidate who didn’t accept a redemption-of-greenbacks-for-maximum-value platform, and thus doomed his party.
3. However, due to the still-close nature of the election, Republicans could not take future victories for granted.

II. The Era of Good Stealings

1. Despite the Civil War, population still mushroomed, due to incoming immigration, but during this time, politics became very corrupted.
 - i. Railroad promoters cheated gullible customers.

- ii. Stock-market investors were a cinder in the public eye.
 - iii. Too many judges and legislators put their power up for hire.
- 2. Two notorious millionaires were **Jim Fisk** and **Jay Gould**.
 - i. In 1869, the pair concocted a plot to corner the gold market that would only work if the treasury stopped selling gold, so they worked on President Grant directly and through his brother-in-law, but their plan failed when the treasury sold gold.
- 3. The infamous Tweed ring of NYC, headed by “**Boss**” **Tweed**, employed bribery, graft, and fake elections to cheat the city of as much as \$200 million.
 - i. Tweed was finally caught when *The New York Times* secured evidence of his misdeeds, and Tweed, despite being defended by future presidential candidate **Samuel J. Tilden**, was convicted and imprisoned.

III. A Carnival of Corruption

- 1. Grant, an easy-going fellow, apparently failed to see the corruption going on, even though many of his friends wanted offices and his cabinet was totally corrupt (except for Secretary of State **Hamilton Fish**), and his in-laws, the **Dent** family, were especially terrible.
- 2. The **Credit Mobilier**, a railroad construction company that paid itself huge sums of money for small railroad construction, tarred Grant.
 - i. A New York newspaper finally busted it, and two members of Congress were formally censured (the company had given some of its stock to Congressmen) and the Vice President himself was shown to have accepted 20 shares of stock.
- 3. In 1875, the public learned that the **Whiskey Ring** had robbed the Treasury of millions of dollars, and when Grant’s own private secretary was shown to be one of the criminals, Grant retracted his earlier statement of “Let no guilty man escape.”
 - i. Later, in 1876, Secretary of War **William Belknap** was shown to have pocketed some \$24,000 by selling junk to Indians.

IV. The Liberal Republican Revolt of 1872

- 1. By 1872, a power wave of disgust at Grant’s administration was building, despite the worst of the scandals not having been revealed yet, and reformers organized the **Liberal Republican Party** and nominated the dogmatic **Horace Greeley**.
 - i. The Democratic Party also supported Greeley, even though he had blasted them repeatedly in his newspaper (the *New York Tribune*), but he pleased them because he called for a clasping of hands between the North and South and an end to Reconstruction.
- 2. The campaign was filled with more mudslinging (as usual), as Greeley was called an atheist, a communist, a vegetarian, and a signer of **Jefferson Davis**’s bail bond (that part was true) while Grant was called an ignoramus, a drunkard, and a swindler.

- i. Still, Grant crushed Greeley in the Electoral and in the popular vote was well.
- 3. In 1872, the Republican Congress passed a general amnesty act that removed political disabilities from all but some five hundred former Confederate leaders.

V. Depression and Demands for Inflation

- 1. In 1873, a paralyzing panic broke out, caused by too many railroads and factories being formed than existing markets could bear and the over-loaning of banks to those projects.
 - i. It first started with the failure of the New York banking firm **Jay Cooke & Company**, which was headed by the rich **Jay Cooke** (duh), a financier of the Civil War.
- 2. Before, the greenbacks that had been issued in the Civil War were being recalled, but now, during the panic, the “cheap-money” supporters wanted it back.
- 3. However, supporters of hard-money (actually gold and silver) persuaded Grant to veto a bill that would print more paper money, and the **Resumption Act** of 1875 pledged the government to further withdraw greenbacks and made all further redemption of paper money in gold at face value, starting in 1879.
- 4. Debtors now cried that silver was under-valued (another call for inflation), but Grant refused coin more silver dollars, which had been stopped in 1873, and besides, new silver discoveries in the later 1870s shot the price of silver way down.
 - i. Grant’s name remained fused to sound money, though not sound government.
 - ii. As greenbacks regained their value, few greenback holders bothered to exchange their more convenient bills for gold when Redemption Day came in 1879.
- 5. In 1878, the **Bland-Allison Act** instructed the Treasury to buy and coin between \$2 million and \$4 million worth of silver bullion each month.
- 6. The Republican hard-money policy, unfortunately for it, led to the election of a Democratic House of Representatives in 1874 and spawned the **Greenback Labor Party** in 1878.

VI. Pallid Politics in the Gilded Age

- 1. The **Gilded Age**, a term coined by **Mark Twain**, was filled with corruption and presidential election squeakers, and even though Democrats and Republicans had similar ideas on economic issues, they disagreed.
 - i. Republicans traced their lineage to Puritanism.
 - ii. Democrats were more like Lutherans and Roman Catholics.
- 2. Democrats had strong support in the South.
- 3. Republicans had strong votes in the North and the West, and from the **Grand Army of the Republic**, an organization made up of former Union veterans.
- 4. In the 1870s and the 1880s, Republican infighting was led by rivals **Roscoe Conkling** and **James G. Blaine**, who bickered and deadlocked their party.

VII. The Hayes-Tilden Standoff, 1876

1. Grant almost ran for a third term before the House derailed that proposal, so the Republicans nominated **Rutherford B. Hayes**, dubbed the “Great Unknown” because no one knew much about him, while the Democrats ran Samuel Tilden.
 - i. The election was very close, with Tilden getting 184 votes out of a needed 185 in the Electoral College, but votes in four states, Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida, and part of Oregon, were unsure and disputed.
 - ii. The disputed states had sent in two sets of returns, one Democrat, one Republican.

VIII. The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction

1. The **Electoral Count Act**, passed in 1877, set up an electoral commission that consisted of 15 men selected from the Senate the House, and the Supreme Court, which would count the votes (the 15th man was to be an independent, **David Davis**, but at the last moment, he resigned).
2. In February of 1877, the Senate and the House met to settle the dispute, and eventually, Hayes became president as a part of the rest of the **Compromise of 1877**: he could become president if he agreed to remove troops from the remaining two Southern states where Union troops remained (Louisiana and South Carolina), and also, a bill would subsidize the Texas and Pacific Rail-line.
 - i. Not all of the promises were kept, but the deal held on long enough to get Hayes elected as president.
3. The Compromise of 1877 abandoned the Blacks in the South by withdrawing troops, and their last attempt at protection of Black rights was the **Civil Rights Act** of 1875, which was mostly declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in the 1883 case *Civil Rights Cases*.
4. As Reconstruction ended, Whites once again discriminated against Blacks, forcing them into low-wage labor and restricting their rights.
5. In 1896, the Supreme Court ruled, in the case of *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, that “separate but equal” facilities were constitutional.

IX. Class Conflicts and Ethnic Clashes

1. In 1877, the presidents of the nation’s four largest railroads decided to cut wages by 10%, and workers struck back, stopping work, and when President Hayes sent troops to stop this, violence erupted, and more than 100 people died in the several weeks of chaos.
2. The failure of the railroad strike showed the weakness of the labor movement, but this was partly caused by friction between races, especially between the Irish and the Chinese.
3. In San Francisco, Irish-born **Denis Kearney** incited his followers to terrorize the Chinese.
4. In 1879, Congress passed a bill severely restricting the influx of Chinese immigrants (most of whom were males who had come to California to work on the railroads), but Hayes vetoed the bill on grounds that it violated an existing treaty with China.

- i. After Hayes left office, the **Chinese Exclusion Act**, passed in 1882, was passed, barring any Chinese from entering the United States.

X. “Cold Water” Gets Cold Shoulder

- 1. Hayes entering office accused of securing the presidency through fraud, and his declaration of being a single-termer probably saved his reputation, since he wouldn’t have been renominated.

XI. The Garfield Interlude

- 1. In 1880, the Republicans nominated **James A. Garfield**, a man from Ohio who had risen the rank of major general in the Civil War, and as his running mate, a notorious **Stalwart** (supporter of Roscoe Conkling) was chosen: **Chester A. Arthur** of New York.
- 2. The Democrats chose **Winfield S. Hancock**, a Civil War general who appealed to the South due to his fair treatment of it during Reconstruction and a veteran who had been wounded at Gettysburg, and thus appealed to veterans.
- 3. The campaign once again avoided touchy issues, and Garfield squeaked by in the popular vote (the Electoral count was better: 214 to 155).
 - i. Garfield was a good person, but he hated to hurt people’s feelings and say “no.”
- 4. Garfield named James G. Blaine to the position of Secretary of the State, and he did other anti-Stalwart acts, but on September 19, 1881, Garfield died after having been shot in the head by a crazy but disappointed office seeker, **Charles J. Guiteau**, who, after being capture, used an early version of the “insanity defense” to avoid conviction (he was hung anyway).

XII. Chester Arthur Takes Command

- 1. Chester Arthur didn’t seem to be fit for the presidency, but he surprised many by giving the cold shoulder to Stalwarts, his chief supporters, and by calling for reform, a call heeded by the Republican party as it began to show newly found enthusiasm for reform.
- 2. The **Pendleton Act** of 1883, the so-called Magna Cart of civil-service reform, prohibited financial assessments on jobholders, including lowly scrubwomen, and established a merit system of making appointments to office on the basis of aptitude rather than “pull.”
 - i. It also set up a **Civil Service Commission**, charged with administering open competitive serve, and offices not “classified” by the president remained the fought-over footballs of politics.
 - ii. Luckily, Arthur cooperated, and by 1884, he had classified nearly 10% of all federal offices, or nearly 14,000 of them.
- 3. The Pendleton Act partially divided politics from patronage, but it drove politicians into “marriages of convenience” with business leaders.

XIII. The Blaine-Cleveland Mudslingers of 1884

1. James G. Blaine became the Republican candidate, but some Republican reformers, unable to stomach this, switched to the Democratic Party and were called *Mugwumps*.
2. The Democrats chose **Grover Cleveland** as their candidate but received a shock when it was revealed that he might have been the father of an illegitimate child.
 - i. The campaign of 1884 was filled with perhaps the lowest mudslinging in history.
 - ii. The contest depended on how New York chose, but unfortunately, one idiotic Republican insulted the race, faith, and patriotism of New York's heavy Irish population, and as a result, New York voted for Cleveland; that was the difference.

XIV. "Old Grover" Takes Over

1. Portly Grover Cleveland was the first Democratic president since James Buchanan, and as a supporter of *laissez-faire*, he delighted business owners and bankers.
2. Cleveland named two former Confederates to his cabinet, and at first tried to adhere to the merit system (but eventually gave in to his party and fired almost 2/3 of the 120,000 federal employees), but he had his problems.
 - i. Military pensions plagued Cleveland; these bills were given to Civil War veterans to help them, but they were used fraudulently to give money to all sorts of people.
 - ii. However, Cleveland showed that he was ready to take on the corrupt distributors of military pensions when he vetoed a bill that would add several hundred thousand new people on the pension list.

XV. Cleveland Battles for a Lower Tariff

1. By 1881, the Treasury had a surplus of \$145 million, most of it having come from the high tariff, and there was lots of clamor for lowering the tariff, though big industrialists opposed it.
2. Cleveland wasn't really interested in the subject at first, but as he researched it, he became inclined towards lowering the tariff, so in late 1887, Cleveland openly tossed the appeal for lower tariffs into the lap of Congress.
 - i. Democrats were upset at the obstinacy of their chief while Republicans gloated at his apparently reckless act.

XVI. Harrison Ousts Cleveland in 1888

1. With no other choice, the Democrats renominated Cleveland, and Republicans chose Benjamin Harrison, the grandson of William H. Harrison, as their candidate.
2. More "waving the bloody shirt" occurred, and more of Cleveland's private life was revealed, but what caused Cleveland to lose was when a British diplomat announced that a vote for Cleveland was like a vote for England; this ired the Irish voters, and it helped Harrison win.
3. Cleveland wasn't a great president, but compared to those around him, he was excellent.

4. One reason to why the best men were no longer in politics is because by that time, politics was full of corruption, and no one in his right mind wanted to associate with such filth and dirt.
5. Cleveland also passed the **Dawes Act** (to control the Indians) and the **Interstate Commerce Act** (designed to curb railroads), both of which were passed in 1887.

Chapter 26: “America Moves to the City”

I. The Urban Frontier

1. From 1870 to 1900, the American population doubled, and the population in the cities tripled.
2. Cities grew up and out, with such famed architects as **Louis Sullivan** working on and perfecting skyscrapers (first appearing in Chicago in 1885).
 - i. The city grew from a small compact one that people could walk through to get around to a huge metropolis that required commuting in **electric trolleys**.
 - ii. Electricity, indoor plumbing, and telephones made city life more alluring.
3. Department stores like **Macy’s** (in New York) and **Marshall Field’s** (in Chicago) provided urban working-class jobs and also attracted urban middle-class shoppers.
 - i. **Theodore Dreiser’s** *Sister Carrie* told of a woman’s escapades in the big city and made cities dazzling and attractive.
 - ii. However, the move to city produced lots of trash, because while farmers always reused everything or fed “trash” to animals, city dwellers, with their mail-order houses like **Sears** and **Montgomery Ward**, which made things cheap and easy to buy, could simply throw away the things that they didn’t like anymore.
4. In cities, criminals flourished, and impure water, uncollected garbage, unwashed bodies, and droppings made cities smelly and unsanitary.
 - i. Worst of all were the **slums**, which were crammed with people.
 - ii. The so-called “**dumbbell tenements**” were the worst since they were dark, cramped, had little sanitation or ventilation, and were terrible.
5. To escape, the wealthy of the city-dwellers fled to suburbs.

II. The New Immigration

1. Until the 1880s, most of the immigrants had come from the British Isles and western Europe (Germany and Scandinavia) and were quite literate and accustomed to *some* type of representative government, but afterwards, this shifted to the Baltic and Slavic people of southeastern Europe, who were basically the opposite.
 - i. While the southeastern Europeans accounted for only 19% of immigrants to the U.S. in 1880, by the early 1900s, they were over 60%!

III. Southern Europe Uprooted

1. Many Europeans came to America because there was no room in Europe, nor was there much employment, since industrialization had eliminated many jobs.

- i. America was also often praised to Europeans, as people boasted of eating everyday and having freedom and much opportunity.
 - ii. Profit-seeking Americans also perhaps exaggerated the benefits of America to Europeans, so that they could get cheap labor and more money.
- 2. However, it should be noted that many immigrants to America stayed for a short period of time and then returned to America, and even those that remained (including persecuted Jews, who propagated in New York) tried very hard to retain their own culture and customs.
 - i. However, the children of the immigrants sometimes rejected this Old World culture and plunged completely into American life.

IV. Reactions to the New Immigration

- 1. The federal government did little to help immigrants assimilate into American society, so immigrants were often controlled by powerful “bosses” (such as New York’s Boss Tweed) who provided jobs and shelter in return for political support at the polls (= corruption).
- 2. Gradually, though, the nation’s conscience awoke to the plight of the slums, and people like **Walter Rauschenbusch** and **Washington Gladden** began preaching the “social gospel,” insisting that churches tackle the burning social issues of the day.
- 3. Among the people who were deeply dedicated to uplifting the urban masses was **Jane Addams**, who founded **Hull House** in 1889 to teach children and adults the skills and knowledge that they would need to survive and succeed in America.
 - i. She eventually won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931, but her pacifism was looked down upon by groups such as the **Daughters of the American Revolution**, who revoked her membership.
 - ii. Other such settlement houses like Hull House included **Lillian Wald’s Henry Street Settlement** in New York, which opened its doors in 1893.
 - iii. Settlement houses became centers for women’s activism and reform, as females such as **Florence Kelley** fought for protection of women workers and against child labor.
- 4. The new cities also gave women (mostly single women, since working mothers and wives was considered bad) opportunities to earn money and support themselves better.

V. Narrowing the Welcome Mat

- 1. The “nativism” and anteforeignism of the 1840s and 50s came back in the 1880s, as the Germans and western Europeans looked down upon the new Slavs and Baltics, fearing that mixing of blood would ruin the fairer Anglo-Saxon races and create inferior offspring.
 - i. The “native” Americans blamed immigrants for the degradation of the urban government; these new bigots had forgotten how they had been scorned when they had arrived in America a few decades before.

- ii. Trade unionists hated them for their willingness to work for super low wages and for bringing in dangerous doctrines like socialism and communism to the U.S.
- 2. Anti-foreign organizations like the **American Protective Association** (APA) arose to go against new immigrants, and labor leaders were quick to try to stop new immigration, since immigrants were frequently used as strikebreakers.
- 3. Finally, in 1882, Congress passed the first restrictive law against immigration, which banned paupers, criminals, and convicts from coming here.
- 4. In 1885, another law was passed banning the importation of foreign workers under usually substandard contracts.
- 5. Literacy tests for immigrants were proposed, but were resisted until they finally passed in 1917, but the 1882 immigration law also barred the Chinese from coming.
- 6. In 1886, the **Statue of Liberty** arrived from France—a gift from the French to America.

VI. Churches Confront the Urban Challenge

- 1. Since churches had mostly failed to take any stands and rally against the urban poverty, plight, and suffering, many people began to question the ambition of the churches, and began to worry that Satan was winning the battle of good and evil.
 - i. The emphasis on material gains worried many.
- 2. A new generation of urban revivalists stepped in, including people like **Dwight Lyman Moody**, a man who proclaimed the gospel of kindness and forgiveness and adapted the old-time religion to the facts of city life.
 - i. The **Moody Bible Institute** was founded in Chicago in 1889 and continued working well after his 1899 death.
- 3. Roman Catholic and Jewish faiths were also gaining much by the new immigration.
 - i. **Cardinal Gibbons** was popular with Roman Catholics and Protestants, as he preached American unity.
 - ii. By 1890, Americans could choose from 150 religions, including the new **Salvation Army**, which tried to help the poor and unfortunate.
- 4. The **Church of Christ, Scientist** (Christian Science), founded by **Mary Baker Eddy**, preached that Christianity heals sickness.
- 5. **YMCA's** and **YWCA's** also sprouted.

VII. Darwin Disrupts the Churches

- 1. In 1859, **Charles Darwin** published his ***On the Origin of Species***, which set forth the new doctrine of evolutionism and attracted the ire and fury of fundamentalists.
 - i. “**Modernists**” took a step from the fundamentalists and refused to believe that the Bible was completely accurate and factual.
- 2. Colonel **Robert G. Ingersoll** was one who denounced creationism, as he had been widely persuaded by the theory of evolution, even though other people put together their own interpretations and basically combined the two theories.

VIII. The Lust for Learning

1. A new trend began in the creation of more public schools and the provision of free textbooks funded by taxpayers.
 - i. By 1900, there were 6,000 high schools in America; kindergartens also multiplied.
 2. Catholic schools also grew in popularity and in number.
 3. To partially help adults who couldn't go to school, the **Chautauqua movement**, a successor to the **lyceums**, was launched in 1874, and it included public lectures to many people by famous writers and extensive at-home studies.
 4. Americans began to develop a faith in formal education as a solution to poverty.
- IX. Booker T. Washington and Education for Black People
1. The South, war-torn and super poor, lagged far behind in education, especially for Blacks, so **Booker T. Washington**, an ex-slave came to help, starting by heading a black normal and industrial school in Tuskegee, Alabama, and teaching the students their useful skills and trades.
 - i. However, he avoided the issue of *social* equality; he believed in Blacks helping themselves first before gaining more rights.
 2. One of Washington's students was **George Washington Carver**, who later discovered hundreds of new uses for peanuts, sweet potatoes, and soybeans.
 3. However, **W.E.B. Du Bois**, the first Black to get a Ph.D. from Harvard University, demanded complete equality for Blacks and action now, and he also founded the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP) in 1910.
 - i. Many of Du Bois's differences with Washington reflected the contrasting life experiences of southern and northern Blacks.
- X. The Hallowed Halls of Ivy
1. Colleges and universities sprouted after the **Civil War**, and colleges for women, such as **Vassar**, were gaining ground.
 - i. Also, colleges to both genders also grew, especially in the Midwest, and Black colleges also were established, such as **Howard University** in Washington D.C., **Atlanta University**, and **Hampton Institute in Virginia**.
 2. The **Morrill Act** of 1862 had provided a generous grant of the public lands to the states for support of education and was extended by the **Hatch Act** of 1887, which provided federal funds for the establishment of agricultural experiment stations in connection with the land-grant colleges.
 3. Private donations also went toward the establishment of colleges, including **Cornell**, **Leland Stanford Junior**, and the **University of Chicago**, which was funded by **John D. Rockefeller**.
 4. **John Hopkins University** maintained the nation's first high-grade graduate school.
- XI. The March of the Mind
1. The elective system of college was gaining popularity, and it took off especially after **Dr. Charles W. Eliot** became president of Harvard.

2. Medical schools and science were prospering after the Civil War.
 - i. Discoveries by **Louis Pasteur** and **Joseph Lister** improved medical science and health.
 - ii. The brilliant but sickly **William James** helped establish the discipline of behavioral psychology, and his books *Principles of Psychology* (1890), *The Will to Believe* (1897), and *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902).
 - a. His greatest work was *Pragmatism* (1907), which preached what he believed in: pragmatism (everything has a purpose).
- XII. The Appeal of the Press
1. Libraries such as the **Library of Congress** also opened across America, bringing literature into people's homes.
 2. With the invention of the **Linotype** in 1885, the press more than kept pace, but competition sparked a new brand of journalism called "**yellow journalism**," in which newspapers reported on wild and fantastic stories that often were false or quite exaggerated: sex, scandal, and other human-interest stories.
 3. Two new journalistic tycoons emerged: **Joseph Pulitzer** (New York World) and **William Randolph Hearst** (San Francisco *Examiner*, et al.).
 4. Luckily, the strengthening of the **Associated Press**, which had been established in the 1840s, helped to offset some of the bad journalism.
- XIII. Apostles of Reform
1. Magazines like *Harper's*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, and *Scribner's Monthly* partially satisfied the public appetite for good reading, but perhaps the most influential of all was the **New York Nation**, launched in 1865 by **Edwin L. Godkin**, a merciless critic.
 2. Another enduring journalist-author was **Henry George**, who wrote *Progress and Poverty*, which undertook to solve the association of poverty with progress.
 - i. It was he who came up with the idea of the **graduated income tax**.
 3. **Edward Bellamy** published *Looking Backward* in 1888, in which he criticized the social injustices of the day and pictured a utopian government that had nationalized big business to serve the public good.
- XIV. Postwar Writing
1. After the war, Americans devoured "dime-novels" which depicted the wild West and other romantic adventure settings.
 - i. The king of dime novelists was **Harland F. Halsey**, who made 650 of these novels.
 - ii. General **Lewis Wallace** wrote *Ben Hur: A Tale of the Christ*, which combated the ideas and beliefs of Darwinism and Darwinists.
 2. **Horatio Alger** was even more popular, since his books told that virtue, honesty, and industry were rewarded by success, wealth, and honor.
 3. **Walt Whitman** was one of the old writers who still remained active, publishing revisions of his hardy perennial: *Leaves of Grass*.

4. **Emily Dickinson** was a famed hermit of a poet whose poems were published after her death.
5. Other lesser poets included **Sidney Lanier**, who was oppressed by poverty and ill health.

XV. Literary Landmarks

1. Other famous writers:
 - i. **Kate Chopin**, who wrote about adultery, suicide, and women's ambitions in *The Awakening*.
 - ii. **Mark Twain** (Samuel Clemens) wrote many books, including *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (controversial due to its language and subjects), *The Gilded Age* (hence the term given to the era of corruption after the Civil War) and *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County*.
 - iii. **Bret Harte** wrote California gold rush stories.
 - iv. **William Dean Howells** became editor in chief of the *Atlantic Monthly* and wrote about ordinary people and sometimes-controversial social themes.
 - v. **Stephen Crane** wrote about the seamy underside of life in urban, industrial America (prostitutes, etc...) in such books like *Maggie: Girl of the Street*.
 - a. He also wrote *The Red Bad of Courage*, a tale about a Civil War soldier.
 - vi. **Henry James** wrote *Daisy Miller* and *Portrait of a Lady*, often making women his central characters in his novels and exploring their personalities.
 - vii. **Jack London** wrote about the wild unexplored regions of wilderness in *The Call of the Wild* and *The Iron Heel*.
 - viii. **Frank Norris's** *The Octopus* exposed the corruption of the railroads.
 - ix. **Paul Laurence Dunbar** and **Charles W. Chesnutt**, two Black writers, used Black dialect and folklore in their poems and stores, respectively.

XVI. The New Morality

1. **Victoria Woodhull** proclaimed free love, and together with her sister, **Tennessee Claflin**, she wrote *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, which shocked readers with exposés of affairs, etc...
2. **Anthony Comstock** waged a lifelong war on the "immoral."
3. The "new morality" reflected sexual freedom in the increase of birth control, divorces, and frank discussion of sexual topics.

XVII. Families and Women in the City

1. Urban life was stressful on families, who often were separated, and everyone had to work—even children as young as ten years old.

- i. While on farms, more children meant more people to harvest and help, in the cities, more children meant more mouths to feed and a greater chance of poverty.
2. In 1898, **Charlotte Perkins Gilman** published *Women and Economics*, a classic of feminist literature, in which she called for women to abandon their dependent status and contribute to the larger life of the community through productive involvement in the economy.
 - i. She also advocated day-care centers and centralized nurseries and kitchens.
3. Feminists also rallied toward suffrage, forming the **National American Woman Suffrage Association** in 1890, an organization led by **Elizabeth Cady Stanton**, the woman who organized the first women's rights convention in 1848, and **Susan B. Anthony**.
4. By 1900, a new generation of women activists were present, led by **Carrie Chapman Catt**, who stressed the desirability of giving women the vote if they were to continue to discharge their traditional duties and homemakers in the increasingly public world of the city.
 - i. The Wyoming Territory was the first to offer women unrestricted suffrage in 1869.
 - ii. The **General Federation of Women's Clubs** also encouraged women's suffrage.
5. **Ida B. Wells** rallied toward better treatment for Blacks as well and formed the **National Association of Colored Women** in 1896.

XVIII. Prohibition of Alcohol and Social Progress

1. Concern over the popularity (and dangers) of alcohol was also present, marked by the formation of the **National Prohibition Party** in 1869.
 - i. Other organizations like the **Women's Christian Temperance Union** also rallied against alcohol, calling for a national prohibition of the beverage.
 - a. Leaders included **Frances E. Willard** and **Carrie A. Nation**.
 - ii. The **Anti-Saloon League** was formed in 1893.
2. The **American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals** was formed in 1866 to discourage the mistreatment of livestock, and the **American Red Cross**, formed by **Clara Burton**, a Civil War nurse, was formed in 1881.

XIX. Artistic Triumphs

1. Art was suppressed during the early and mid 1800s and failed to really take flight in America, forcing such men as **James Whistler** and **John Singer Sargent** to go to Europe to learn art.
2. **Mary Cassatt** painted sensitive portraits of women and children, while **George Inness** became America's leading landscapist.
3. **Thomas Eakins** was a great realist painter, while **Winslow Homer** was perhaps the most famous and the greatest of all.
4. Great sculptors included **Augustus Saint-Gaudens**, who made the **Robert Gould Saw memorial**, located in Boston, in 1897.

5. Music reached new heights with the erection of opera houses and the emergence of jazz.
6. **Thomas Edison** invented the phonograph, which allowed the reproduction of sounds that could be heard by listeners.
7. **Henry H. Richardson** was another fine architect whose “Richardsonian” architecture was famed around the country.
 - i. The **Columbian Exposition** in 1893 displayed many architectural triumphs.

XX. The Business of Amusement

1. In entertainment, **Phineas T. Barnum** and **James A. Bailey** teamed in 1881 to stage the “Greatest Show on Earth” (now the Ringling Bros. and Barnum and Bailey Circus).
2. “Wild West” shows, like those of “**Buffalo Bill**” **Cody** (and the markswoman **Annie Oakley**) were ever-popular, and baseball and football became popular as well.
3. Wrestling gained popularity and respectability.
4. In 1891, **James Naismith** invented basketball.

Chapter 27: “The Great West and the Agricultural Revolution”

I. Indians Embattled in the West

1. After the Civil War, the Great West was still relatively untamed, wild, full of Indians, bison, and wildlife, and sparsely populated by a few **Mormons** and Mexicans.
2. As the White settlers began to populate the Great West, the Indians, caught in the middle, were increasingly turned against each other, infected with White man’s diseases, and stuck battling to hunt the few remaining bison that were still around.
 - i. The **Sioux**, displaced by **Chippewas** from their ancestral lands at the headwaters of the Mississippi in the late 1700s, expanded at the expense of the **Crows**, **Kiowas**, and **Pawnees**, and justified their actions through the excuse that White men had done the same thing to them.
 - a. The Indians had become great riders and fighters ever since the Spanish introduced the horse to them.
3. The federal government tried to pacify the Indians by signing treaties at **Fort Laramie** in 1851 and **Fort Atkinson** in 1853 with the chiefs of the tribes, but the U.S. failed to understand that such “tribes” and “chiefs” didn’t exist in Indian culture, and that in most cases, Native Americans didn’t recognize authorities outside of their families.
4. In the 1860s, the U.S. government intensified its effort into herding Indians into still smaller and smaller reservations (like the **Dakota Territory**).
 - i. Indians were often promised that they wouldn’t be bothered further after moving out of their ancestral lands, and often, Indian agents were corrupt and pawned off shoddy food and products to their own fellow Indians.
 - ii. White men often disregarded treaties, though, and they often “ripped off” Indians.

5. In frustration, many Native American tribes attack Whites, and slew of skirmishes from 1868 to 1890 called the “**Indian Wars**” made up the bitterness of the Indians.
 - i. Many times, though, the Indians were better equipped than the federal troops sent to quell their revolts.
 - ii. Generals **Sherman**, **Sheridan**, and **Custer** all battled Indians.

II. Receding Native Population

1. Violence reigned supreme in Indian-White Man relations.
 - i. In 1864, at **Sand Creek**, Colorado, Colonel **J.M. Chivington**’s militia massacred some four hundred Indians in cold blood—Indians who had thought they had been promised immunity and Indians who were peaceful and harmless.
 - ii. In 1866, a Sioux war party ambushed Captain **William J. Fetterman**’s command of 81 soldiers and civilians who were constructing the Bozeman Trail to the Montana goldfields, leaving no survivors.
 - a. This massacre was one of the few Indian victories, as another treaty at Fort Laramie was signed two years later.
2. Colonel Custer found gold in the **Black Hills** of South Dakota, and hordes of gold-seekers invaded the Sioux reservation in search for gold, causing the Sioux to go on the warpath, completely decimating Custer’s Seventh Cavalry at **Little Big Horn** in the process.
 - i. The reinforcements that arrived later brutally hunted down the Indians who had attacked, including their leader, **Sitting Bull** (he escaped).
3. The **Nez Percé** Indians also revolted when gold seekers made the government shrink their reservation by 90%, and after a long tortuous battle, **Chief Joseph** finally surrendered his band after a long trek across the **Continental Divide** toward **Canada**.
4. The most difficult to subdue were the **Apache** tribes of Arizona and New Mexico, led by **Geronimo**, but even they finally surrendered after being pushed to Mexico, and afterwards, they became successful farmers.
5. The Indians were so easily tamed due to the railroad, which shot through the heart of the West, the White man’s diseases, and the extermination of the buffalo.

III. Bellowing Herds of Bison

1. In the early days, tens of millions of Bison dotted the American prairie, and by the end of the Civil War, there were still 15 million buffalo grazing, but it was the eruption of the railroad that really started the buffalo massacre.
 - i. Many people killed buffalo for their meat, their skins, or their tongues, but many people either killed the bison for sport or killed them, took one small part of their bodies (like the tongue) and just left the rest of the carcass to rot (what a waste!).
2. By 1885, fewer than 1000 buffalo were left, and the species was in danger of extinction, mostly in **Yellowstone National Park**.

IV. The End of the Trail

1. Sympathy for the Indians finally materialized in the 1880s, helped in part by **Helen Hunt Jackson**’s novels, ***A Century of Dishonor*** and ***Ramona***.
 - i. Humanitarians wanted to kindly help Indians “walk the White man’s road” while the hard-liners stuck to their “kill ‘em all” beliefs, and no one cared much for the traditional Indian heritage and culture.

2. Often, zealous White missionaries would force Indians to convert, and in 1884, they helped urge the government to outlaw the sacred **Sun Dance**.
 - i. At the **Battle of Wounded Knee**, the “**Ghost Dance**,” as it was called by the Whites, as brutally stamped out by U.S. troops, who killed women and kids too.
 3. The **Dawes Severalty Act** of 1887 dissolved the legal entities of all tribes, but if the Indians behaved the way Whites wanted them to behave, they could receive full U.S. citizenship in 25 years (full citizenship to all Indians was granted in 1924).
 - i. Reservation land not allotted to Indians under the act was sold to railroads,
 - ii. In 1879, the **Carlisle Indian School** in Pennsylvania was founded to teach Native American children how to behave like White man, completely erasing their culture.
 - iii. The Dawes Act struck forcefully at the Indians, and by 1900 they had lost half the land than they had held 20 years before, but under this plan, which would outline U.S. policy toward Indians until the 1934 **Indian Reorganization Act**, helped the Indian population rebound and grow.
- V. Mining: From Dishpan to Ore Breaker
1. Gold was discovered in California in the late 1840s, and in 1858, the same happened at Pike’s Peak in Colorado, but within a month or two, it was all out.
 2. The Comstock Lode in Nevada was discovered in 1859, and a fantastic amount of gold and silver worth more than \$340 million was mined.
 3. Smaller “lucky strikes” also drew money-lovers to Montana, Idaho, and other western states, and anarchy seemed to rule, but in the end, what was left were usually ghost towns.
 4. After the surface gold was found, ore-breaking machinery was brought in to break the gold-bearing quartz (very expensive to do).
 5. Women found new rights in the new lands, gaining suffrage in Wyoming (1869), Utah (1870), Colorado (1893) and Idaho (1896).
 6. Mining also added to the folklore and American literature (**Bret Harte & Mark Twain**).
- VI. Beef Bonanzas and the Long Drive
1. The problem of marketing meat profitably to the public market was solved by the new transcontinental railroads, where cattle could now be shipped bodily to the stockyards, and under “beef barons” like the **Swifts and Armours**.
 - i. The meat-packaging industry thus sprang up.
 2. The “**Long Drive**” now emerged to become a spectacular feeder of the slaughterhouses, as Texas cowboys herded cattle across desolate land to railroad terminals.
 - i. **Dodge City, Abilene, Ogallala, and Cheyenne** became favorite stopovers.
 - a. At Abilene, Marshal **James B. Hickok** maintained order.
 3. The railroads made the cattle herding business prosper, but it also destroyed it, for the railroads also brought sheepherders and homesteaders who built barbed-wire fences that were too numerous to be cut through by the cowboys.
 - i. Also, blizzards in the winter of 1886-87 left dazed cattle starving and freezing.

4. Breeders learned to fence their ranches and organize (i.e. the **Wyoming Stock-Growers' Association**).
 - i. The legends of the cowboys were made here at this time but were soon forgotten.
- VII. Free Land for Free Families
1. The **Homestead Act** of 1862 allowed folks to get as much as 160 acres of land in return for living on it for five years, improving it, and paying a nominal fee of about \$30.00, or allowed folks to get land after only six month's residence for \$1.25 an acre.
 - i. Before, the U.S. government had sold land for revenue, but now, it was giving it away!!!
 - ii. This act led half a million families to buy land and settle out West, but it often turned out to be a cruel hoax because in the dry Great Plains, 160 acres was rarely enough for a family to earn a living and survive, and often, families were forced to give up their homesteads before the five years were up, since droughts, bad land, and lack of necessities forced them out.
 - iii. However, fraud was spawned by the Homestead Act, since almost ten times as much land ended up in the hands of land-grabbing promoters than in real farmers, and often these cheats would not even live on the land, but say that they erected a "twelve by fourteen" dwelling—which later turned out to be twelve by fourteen *inches*!!!
- VIII. Taming Western Deserts
1. Railroads such as the **Northern Pacific** helped develop the agricultural West, a place where, after the tough, horse-trodden lands had been watered and dug up, proved to be surprisingly fertile.
 2. Due to higher wheat prices resulting from crop failures around the world, more people rashly pushed further west, past the 100th meridian, to grow wheat.
 - i. Here, as warned by geologist **John Wesley Powell**, so little rain fell that successful farming could only be attained by *massive* irrigation.
 - ii. To counteract the lack of water (and a six year drought in the 1880s), farmers developed the technique of "**dry farming**," or using shallow cultivation methods to plant and farm, but over time, this method created a finely pulverized surface soil that contributed to the notorious "Dust Bowl" several decades later.
 3. A Russian species of wheat—tough and resistant to drought—was brought in and grew all over the Great Plains, while other plants were chosen in favor of corn.
 4. Huge federally financed irrigation projects soon caused the **Great American Desert** to bloom, and dams that tamed the **Missouri** and **Columbia** Rivers helped water the land.
- IX. The Far West Comes of Age
1. The Great West experienced a population surge, as many people moved onto the frontier.
 2. New states like **Colorado**, **North Dakota**, **South Dakota**, **Montana**, **Washington**, **Idaho**, and **Wyoming** were admitted into the Union.

- i. Not until 1896 was **Utah** allowed into the Union, and by the 20th century, only **Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona** remained as territories.
 - 3. In Oklahoma, the U.S. government made available land that had formerly belonged to the Native Americans, and thousands of “sooners” jumped the boundary line and illegally went into Oklahoma, often forcing U.S. troops to evict them.
 - i. On April 22, 1889, Oklahoma was legally opened, and 18 years later, in 1907, Oklahoma became the “Sooner State.”
 - 4. In 1890, for the first time, the U.S. census announced that a frontier was no longer discernible.
 - 5. The “closing” of the frontier inspired the **Turner Thesis**, which stated that America needed a frontier.
 - 6. At first, the public didn’t seem to notice that there was no longer a frontier, but later, they began to realize that the land was not infinite, and concern led to the first national park being opened: **Yellowstone**, founded in 1872, followed by **Yosemite** and **Sequoia** (1890).
- X. The Folding Frontier
- 1. The frontier was a state of mind and a symbol of opportunity.
 - 2. The “**safety valve theory**” stated that the frontier was like a safety valve for folks who, when it became too crowded in their area, could simply pack up and leave, moving West.
 - i. Actually, few city-dwellers left the cities for the West, since they didn’t know how to farm; the West increasingly became less and less a land of opportunity for farms, but still was good for hard laborers and ranchers.
 - ii. Still, free acreage did lure a host of immigrant farmers to the West—farmers that probably wouldn’t have come to the West had the land not been cheap—and the lure of the West may have led to city employers raising wages to keep workers in the cities!
 - 3. It seems that the cities, not the West, were the safety valves, as busted farmers and fortune seekers made **Chicago** and **San Francisco** into large cities.
 - 4. Of hundreds of years, Americans had expanded west, and it was in the trans-Mississippi west that the Indians made their last stand, where Anglo culture collided with Hispanic culture, and where America faced Asia.
 - 5. The life that we live today is one that those pioneers dreamed of, and the life that they lived is one that we can only dream.
- XI. The Farm Becomes a Factory
- 1. Farmers were now increasingly producing single “cash” crops, since they could then concentrate their efforts, make profits, and buy manufactured goods from mail order, such as the **Aaron Montgomery Ward** catalogue (first sent in 1872).
 - 2. Large-scale farmers tried banking, railroading, and manufacturing, but new inventions in farming, such as a steam engine that could pull behind it the plow, seeder, and harrow, the new twine binder, and the combined reaper-thresher sped up harvesting and lowered the number of people needed to farm.
 - i. Farmers, though, were inclined to blame banks and railroads for their losses rather than their own shortcomings.
 - 3. The mechanization of agriculture led to enormous farms, such as those in the Minnesota-North Dakota area and the Central Valley of California.

- i. **Henry George** described the state as a country of plantations and estates.
- ii. California vegetables and fruits, raised by ill-paid Mexican workers, made handsome profits when sold to the East.

XII. Deflation Dooms the Debtor

1. In the 1880s, when world markets rebounded, produced more crops, and forced prices down, the farmers in America were the ones that found ruin.
2. Paying back debts was especially hard in this deflation-filled time during which there was simply not enough money to go around for everyone.
3. Farmers operated year after year on losses and lived off their fat as best they could, but thousands of homesteads fell to mortgages and foreclosures during this time, and farm tenancy rather than farm ownership was increasing.
4. The fall of the farmers in the late 1800s was similar to the fall of the South and its “King Cotton” during the Civil War: depending solely on one crop was good in good times but disastrous during less prosperous times.

XIII. Unhappy Farmers

1. In the late 1880s and early 1890s, droughts, grasshopper plagues, and searing heat waves made the toiling farmers miserable and poor.
2. City, state, and federal governments added to this by gouging the farmers, ripping them off by making them pay painful taxes when they could least afford to do so.
3. The railroads (by fixing freight prices), the middlemen (by taking huge cuts in profits), and the various harvester, barbed wire, and fertilizer trusts all harassed farmers.
4. In 1890, one half of the U.S. population still consisted of farmers, but they were hopelessly disorganized.

XIV. The Farmers Take Their Stand

1. In the **Greenback movement** after the Civil War, agrarian unrest had flared forth as well.
2. In 1867, the **National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry**, better known as **The Grange**, was founded by **Oliver H. Kelley** to improve the lives of isolated farmers through social, educational, and fraternal activities.
 - i. Eventually, it spread to claim over 800,000 members in 1875, and the Grange changed its goals to include the improvement of the collective plight of the farmer.
 - ii. The Grangers found most success in the upper Mississippi Valley, and eventually, they managed to get Congress to pass a set of regulations known as the **Granger Laws**, but afterwards, their influence faded.
3. The **Greenback Labor Party** also attracted farmers, and in 1878, the Greenback Laborites polled over a million votes and elected 14 members of Congress.
 - i. In 1880, the Greenbackers ran General **James B. Weaver**, a Civil War general, but he only polled 3% of the popular vote.

XV. Prelude to Populism

1. The **Farmers' Alliance**, founded in the late 1870s, was another coalition of farmers seeking to overthrow the chains from the banks and railroads that bound them.

- i. However, its programs only aimed at those who owned their own land, thereby ignoring the tenant farmers, and it purposefully excluded Blacks.
 - ii. The White Alliance members agreed on the nationalization of railroads, the abolition of national banks, a graduated income tax, and a new federal subtreasury for farmers.
- 2. Populists were led by **Ignatius Donnelly** from Minnesota and **Mary Elizabeth Lease**, both of whom spoke eloquently and attacked those that hurt farmers (banks, RR's, etc...).
- 3. The Alliance was still not to be brushed aside, and in the coming decade, they would combine into a new People's Party (the Populist Party) to launch a new attack on the northeastern citadels of power.

Chapter 28: "The Revolt of the Debtor"

- I. The Republicans Return Under Harrison
 - 1. New president **Benjamin Harrison** was inaugurated on a rainy March 4, 1889.
 - i. He was brusque and abrupt, but also honest and earnest.
 - 2. After four years out of the White House, the Republicans were eager to return to power, especially those seeking political rewards.
 - i. **James G. Blaine** became the secretary of state.
 - ii. **Theodore Roosevelt** was named to the **Civil Service Commission**.
 - 3. However, the Republicans had troubles, for they only had three more members than was necessary for a quorum, and Democrats could simply not answer to the roll and easily keep Congress from working.
 - 4. The new Speaker of the House, **Thomas B. Reed**, was a large, tall man, a masterful debater, and very critical and quick man.
 - i. To solve the problem of reaching quorum in Congress, Reed counted the Democrats who were present but didn't answer to the roll call, and after three days of such chaos, he finally prevailed, opening the 51st, or "Billion Dollar" Congress—one that legislated a lot of expensive projects, etc...
- II. Political Gravy for All
 - 1. Harrison, a former **Civil War** general, appointed a Civil War amputee as commissioner of pensions, and that man practically used up the federal surplus to give out pensions.
 - i. The **Pension Act** of 1890 gave pensions to all Union Civil War veterans who had served at least 90 days in the army and could not do manual labor now.
 - ii. Thus, from 1891 to 1895, the bill for pensions rose from \$81 million to \$135 million.
 - a. This gained the Republican support of the **Grand Army of the Republic** (GAR), whose members were grateful to the GOP (**Grand Old Party**) for its handouts.
 - 2. The **Sherman Anti-Trust Act**, passed in 1890, was a pioneering but weak law that tried to deter the new corporations and monopolies that existed.

3. The **Sherman Silver Purchase Act** of 1890 appealed to those who had hated the old **Bland-Allison Law** of 1878 because it allowed the Treasury to buy 4.5 million ounces of silver monthly and pay for it in notes redeemable in silver OR gold
 4. The **McKinley Tariff Bill** of 1890 boosted rates up to 48.4%—the highest level yet.
 - i. The farmers lost the most from this tariff, as tin peddlers in the Midwest dishonestly cited rising prices due to Republicans; as a result, in the election of 1890, Democratic seats in the House rose to 235, while Republicans only had 88 representatives.
 - ii. Nine members of the **Farmers' Alliance**, an organization of southern and western farms, were also elected to the House of Representatives.
- III. The Populist Challenge of 1892
1. In 1892, the Democrats nominated conservative **Grover Cleveland** while Republicans went with unpopular Harrison, but the splash was made by a new third party: the **People's Party** (aka Populist Party).
 - i. The Populists, made up mainly of the Farmers' Alliance (and other groups), demanded free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of sixteen to one, a graduated income tax, and government ownership of the telephone, telegraph, and railroads—all to combat injustice.
 - ii. They also wanted direct elections of U.S. Senators, a one-term limit on the presidency, and the use of the initiative and referendum to allow citizens to propose and review legislation—all in the true spirit of Democracy.
 2. A rash of strikes in the summer of '92 also brought concerns that disgruntled workers could join the Populist Party.
 - i. At **Andrew Carnegie's** Homestead steel plant near Pittsburgh, a strike resulted in violence that killed ten and wounded sixty, and the eventual calling of U.S. troops to break the strike and its union backer.
 - ii. Silver miners striking in Idaho's **Coeur d'Alene District** were also broken.
 3. Impressively, the Populist party did get over a million votes and 22 Electoral votes, but these came all from the Midwest (farmer country).
 - i. The South was unwilling to support the Populists because of race: one million Black farmers in the **Colored Farmers' National Alliance**, along with other Blacks, were targets of Populist outreach.
 - ii. Populist leaders like Georgia's **Tom Watson** reached out to the Black community, but racist Whites stunted Populist support in the South.
 4. The Blacks were the real losers in the Election of 1892, for upon seeing that African-Americans were trying to show their political power, Southern Whites passed literacy tests, poll taxes, and the infamous "**grandfather clause**," which stated that no Black could not vote unless his forbear had voted in 1860 (none had).
 - i. Severe **Jim Crow laws** were also passed in many Southern states, and it would not be for another half century until Blacks finally became a political force.

- ii. Even Tom Watson became a racist himself following 1892, and after 1896, the Populist party lapsed into vile racism and Black disfranchisement.

IV. “Old Grover” Cleveland Again

1. Grover Cleveland won, but no sooner than he had stepped into the presidency did the **Depression of 1893** break out; it was the first such panic in the new urban and industrial age, and it caused much outrage and hardships.
2. About 8000 American business houses collapsed in six months, and dozens of railroad lines went into the hands of receivers.
 - i. Now Cleveland had a deficit, for the Treasury had to issue gold for the notes that it had paid in the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, and according to law, those notes had to be reissued, thus causing a steady drain on gold in the Treasury—the level alarmingly dropped below \$100 million at one point!
3. Meanwhile, Grover Cleveland had developed a malignant growth under the roof of his mouth, and it had to be secretly removed in a surgery that took place aboard his private yacht; had he died, **Adlai E. Stevenson**, a “soft money” (paper money) man, would have caused massive chaos with inflation.
4. Also, 33 year-old **William Jennings Bryan** was advocating “free silver,” and gaining support for his beliefs, but an angry Cleveland used his executive power to break the filibuster in the Senate—thus alienating the silver-supporting Democrats.

V. Gold Shortages and Job Shortages

1. Finally, the U.S. repealed the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, but this only partially stopped the problem, and by 1894, the gold reserve sank to only \$41 million!
 - i. The U.S. was in danger of going off the gold standard, sinking into financial turmoil, and ruining its international trade.
2. Finally, Cleveland turned to **J.P. Morgan**, the “banker’s banker,” who agreed to have **Wall Street** loan the government \$65 million in gold, obtain half of the gold from abroad, and take the needed steps to dam up the leaky Treasury.
 - i. This caused an outrage, for silverites saw only corruption and badness in Cleveland’s dealings with the “evil ‘Jupiter’” Morgan.
3. Meanwhile, the unemployed, led by men like “General” **Jacob S. Coxey**, a wealthy Ohio quarry owner, demonstrated for much-needed help.
 - i. He and his “Commonweal Army” of Coxeyites marched to Washington D.C., but upon reaching there, he and his “lieutenants” were arrested for walking on the grass, while the other people accounted for lots of disorder and pillage.

VI. Cleveland Crushes the Pullman Strike

1. In Chicago, the infamous **Pullman Strike**, led by **American Railway Union** leader **Eugene V. Debs**, was a violent flare-up but just one of the many that occurred.
 - i. The **Pullman Palace Car Company** had been hit hard by the depression had been forced to cut wages about one-third.

- ii. In the opinion of Illinois governor **John Peter Atgeld**, who had pardoned the **Haymarket Riot** anarchists the year before, the riot was serious but not out of hand.
 - iii. However, Attorney General **Richard Olney** felt that the strikers were interfering with U.S. mail delivery to Chicago, and he ordered federal troops to crush the strike...leading to controversy.
- 2. Labor unions began to think that employers and even the U.S. government were out to shut the unions down, and were incensed.

VII. Democratic Tariff Tinkering

- 1. The Democrats took to revising the existing tariff into one that would follow their campaign promises by providing *moderate* protection and adequate revenue.
 - i. This new bill even included a tax of 2% on \$4000+ incomes.
 - ii. However, upon reaching the Senate, the opposition of big business forced the **Wilson-Gorman Bill** to be amended 630 times, including a scandalous insertion of \$20 million a year to itself by the sugar trust.
 - iii. Thus, this bill fell quite short of providing a low tariff, though it was lowered down to 41.3% on dutiable goods.
 - iv. In 1895, though, the Supreme Court struck down the graduated income tax portion—the most popular one—of the Wilson-Gorman Bill.
- 2. As a result of the unpopular tariff, the Democrats lost a LOT of seats in the House in 1894, and the Republicans regained control.
- 3. Discontented debtors were turning to free silver as a cure-all, as such pamphlets as ***Coin's Financial School***, written by **William Hope Harvey**, influenced many toward the free silver cause.

VIII. McKinley: Hanna's Fair-Haired Boy

- 1. The leading Republican candidate in 1896 was **William McKinley**, a respectable and friendly former Civil War major who had served many years in Congress representing his native Ohio.
- 2. McKinley was the making of another Ohioan, **Marcus Alonzo Hanna**, who financially and politically supported the candidate through his political years.
- 3. McKinley was a conservative in business, preferring to leave things alone, and his platform was for the gold standard, even though he personally was not.
 - i. His platform also called for a gold-silver bimetallism—provided that all the other nations in the world did the same, which was not bound to happen.

IX. Bryan: Silverite Messiah

- 1. The Democrats were in disarray, unable to come up with a candidate, until William Jennings Bryan, the “Boy Orator of the Platte,” came “to their rescue.”
- 2. At the 1896 Democratic Convention in Chicago, Bryan delivered a movingly passionate speech in favor of free silver, and his **Cross of Gold Speech** created a sensation and got him nominated for the Democratic ticket the next day.

- i. The Democratic ticket called for unlimited coinage of silver with the ratio of 16 silver ounces worth as much as one ounce of gold.
- ii. Democrats who would not stand for this left their party!
- iii. Some Democrats charged that the Democrats had stolen the Populist ideas, and during the Election of 1896, it was essentially the “Demo-Pop” party.

X. Hanna Leads the “Gold Bugs”

- 1. Hanna thought that he could make the tariff the heart of the campaign issue, but Bryan turned the tables, making silver the key issue.
 - i. Free silver seemed to be a religion, with Bryan the “savior” of all free silverites.
 - ii. Essentially, Bryan was cutting in half the value of people’s earnings and savings with his free silver idea, and this worried the eastern conservatives.
- 2. With the public afraid of Bryan’s radical ideas, Hanna campaigned vigorously and amassed a sizeable amount of money for the Republicans to use in the election.
 - i. As a result, many Democrats accused Hanna of “buying” the election, since the Democrats only had \$1 million for their campaign, as opposed to the Republican \$16 million.

XI. Appealing to the Pocketbook Vote

- 1. Hanna launched a full-force attack against free silver, sending many speakers out onto the stump to appeal to the public in person, but few people could really understand what all the hoopla was about, and even they disagreed.
 - i. It was mostly shouting and little thinking.
- 2. A sharp rise in wheat prices near the end of the campaign quelled much of the farmers’ anger against the Republicans, and most people voted for McKinley due to fear of Bryan and his “dangerous, crazy, radical ideas.”

XII. Class Conflict: Plowholders versus Bondholders

- 1. McKinley won decisively, getting 271 Electoral votes, mostly from the populous East and upper Midwest, as opposed to Bryan’s 176, mostly from the South and the West.
- 2. This election was perhaps the most important since those involving **Abraham Lincoln**, for it was the first to seemingly pit the privileged against the underprivileged, and it resulted in a victory for big business and big cities.
- 3. The Middle Class preserved their comfortable way of life while the Republicans seized control of the White House of 16 more years.

XIII. Republican Standpattism Enthroned

- 1. When McKinley took office in 1897, he was calm and conservative, working well with his party and avoiding major confrontations.
- 2. The **Dingley Tariff Bill** was passed to replace the Wilson-Gorman law and raise more revenue, raising the tariff level to 46.5 percent!

XIV. Inflation without Silver

1. Just as McKinley came to power, prosperity was returning as the Depression of 1893 was running its course, and the Republicans took credit for this event.
2. The **Gold Standard Act** was not passed until 1900, when many silverites had left Congress, but it provided that paper currency was to be redeemable in full in gold.
3. A stable expansion of currency was clearly desired in America, since money was tight at the time, but free silver was a poor method of obtaining that.
4. Inflation occurred when new gold was discovered in Alaska, Canada, and South Africa, and when science perfected a cheap cyanide process for extracting gold from low-grade ore.

Chapter 29: “The Path of Empire”

I. Imperialist Stirrings

1. From the end of the **Civil War** to the 1880s, the United States was very isolationist, but in the 1890s, due to rising exports, manufacturing capability, power, and wealth, it began to expand onto the world stage, using overseas markets to send its goods.
 - i. The “**yellow press**” of **Joseph Pulitzer** and **William Randolph Hearst** also influenced overseas expansion, as did missionaries inspired by Reverend **Josiah Strong**’s *Our Country: It’s Possible Future and Its Present Crisis*.
 - ii. People were interpreting **Darwin**’s theory of survival of the fittest to mean that the United States was the fittest and needed to take over other nations to improve them.
 - a. Such events already were happening, as Europeans carved up Africa and China at this time.
2. Captain **Alfred Thayer Mahan**’s 1890 book, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783*, argued that every successful nation had a great navy, starting a naval race among the great powers.
3. **James G. Blaine** pushed his “**Big Sister**” policy, which sought better relations with Latin America, and in 1889, he presided over the first **Pan-American Conference**, held in Washington D.C.
4. However, in other diplomatic affairs, America and Germany almost went to war over the Samoan Islands (over which could build a naval base there), while Italy and America almost fought due to the lynching of 11 Italians in New Orleans, and the U.S. and Chile almost went to war after the deaths of two American sailors at **Valparaiso** in 1892.
 - i. The new aggressive mood was also shown by the U.S.-Canadian argument over seal hunting near the **Pribilof Islands** off the coast of Alaska.

II. Monroe’s Doctrine and the Venezuelan Squall

1. **British Guiana** and **Venezuela** had been disputing their border for many years, but when gold was discovered, the situation worsened.
 - i. Thus, the U.S., under President **Grover Cleveland**, sent a note written by Secretary of State **Richard Olney** to Britain informing them that the

British actions were trespassing the **Monroe Doctrine** and that the U.S. controlled things in the Americas.

- ii. The British replied four months later saying that the Monroe Doctrine didn't exist.
2. Uproar resulted, and the two nations almost went to war, but after second thoughts by both sides, the issue was settled with the British getting most of the land that they had wanted in the beginning.
 - i. Britain didn't want to fight because of the damage to its merchant trade that could result, as well as the vulnerability of Canada; plus, after the Dutch **Boers** of South Africa captured 600 British, Germany's **Kaiser Wilhem** cabled his congratulations, sending British anger to Germany, not to America.
 - ii. The result was that the Monroe Doctrine was strengthened, the Latin American nations appreciated the U.S. effort to protect them, and Britain sought better relations with the U.S. afterwards, since it had many enemies in Europe.

III. Spurning the Hawaiian Pear

1. From the 1820s, when the first U.S. missionaries came, the United States had always liked the **Hawaiian Islands**.
 - i. Treaties signed in 1875 and 1887 guaranteed commercial trade and U.S. rights to priceless **Pearl Harbor**, while Hawaiian sugar was very profitable, but in 1890, the **McKinley Tariff** raised the prices on this sugar, raising its price.
 - ii. Americans felt that the best way to offset this was to annex Hawaii—a move opposed by its **Queen Liliuokalani**—but in 1893, desperate Americans revolted.
2. They succeeded, and Hawaii seemed ready for annexation, but Grover Cleveland became president again, investigated the coup, found it to be wrong, and delayed the annexation of Hawaii until he basically left office.
 - i. Cleveland was bombarded for stopping “**Manifest Destiny**,” but his actions proved to be honorable for him and America.

IV. Cubans Rise in Revolt

1. In 1895, **Cuba** revolted against Spain, citing years of misrule, and the Cubans torched their sugar cane fields in hopes that such destruction would either make Spain leave or America interfere (the American tariff of 1894 had raised prices on it anyway).
 - i. Sure enough, America supported Cuba, and the situation worsened when Spanish **General Weyler** came to Cuba to crush the revolt and ended up putting many civilians into concentration camps that were terrible and killed many.
 - ii. The American public clamored for action, but Cleveland would do nothing.

V. The Mystery of the *Maine* Explosion

1. The yellow presses competed against each other to come up with more sensational stories, and Hearst even sent artist **Frederick Remington** to draw pictures of often-fictional atrocities
 - i. Example, he drew Spanish officials brutally stripping and searching an American woman, when in reality, Spanish women, not men, did such acts.
 2. Then, suddenly, on February 9, 1898, a letter written by Spanish minister to Washington, **Dupuy de Lôme**, which totally ridiculed president McKinley was published by Hearst.
 3. On February 15th of that year, the U.S. battleship **Maine** mysteriously exploded in Havana Harbor, killing 260 officers and men.
 - i. America was war-mad, and Spain was about to be crushed.
 4. Actually, what really happened was that an accidental explosion had basically blown up the ship—a similar conclusion to what Spanish investigators suggested—but America ignored them.
- VI. McKinley Unleashes the Dogs of War
1. The American public wanted war, but McKinley privately didn't like war or the violence, since he had been a Civil War major; in addition, **Mark Hanna** and Wall Street didn't want war because it would upset business.
 2. However, on April 11, 1898, the President sent his war message to Congress anyway, since: war with Spain seemed inevitable, America had to defend Democracy, opposing a war could split the Republican Party and America.
 3. Congress also adopted the **Teller Amendment**, which proclaimed that when the U.S. had overthrown Spanish misrule, it would give the Cubans their freedom.
- VII. Dewey's May Day Victory at Manila
1. On paper, at least, the Spanish had the advantage over the U.S., since it had more troops and a supposedly better army, as well as younger (less senile) generals.
 2. Navy Secretary **John D. Long** and his assistant secretary, **Theodore Roosevelt** had modernized the U.S. navy, making it sleek and sharp.
 - i. On February 25, 1898, Roosevelt cabled Commodore **George Dewey**, commanding the **American Asiatic Squadron** at **Hong Kong**, and told him to take over the Philippines.
 - ii. Dewey did so brilliantly, completely taking over the islands from the Spanish.
- VIII. Unexpected Imperialistic Plums
1. Dewey had naval control, but he could not storm the islands and its fortresses, so he had to wait for reinforcements, but meanwhile, other nations were moving their ships into Manila Harbor to protect their men.
 - i. The German navy defied American blockade regulations, and Dewey threatened the navy commander with war, but luckily, this episode blew over, due in part to the British assistance of America.

2. Finally, on August 13, 1898, American troops arrived and captured Manila, collaborating with Filipino insurgents, led by **Emilio Aguinaldo**, to overthrow the Spanish rulers.
 3. On July 7, 1898, the U.S. annexed Hawaii (so that it could use the islands to support Dewey, supposedly), and Hawaii received full territorial status in 1900.
- IX. The Confused Invasion of Cuba
1. The Spanish sent warships to Cuba, panicking Americans on the Eastern seaboard, and the fleet, commanded by **Admiral Cervera**, found refuge in Santiago harbor, Cuba.
 - i. Then, it was promptly blockaded by a better American force.
 2. American ground troops, led by fat General **William R. Shafter**, were ill-prepared for combat in the tropical environment (i.e. they had woolen long underwear).
 3. The “**Rough Riders**,” a regiment of volunteers led by Theodore Roosevelt and Colonel **Leonard Wood**, rushed to Cuba and battled at El Caney San Juan Hill.
 - i. TR had lots of fun.
- X. Curtains for Spain in America
1. Admiral Cervera was finally ordered to fight the American fleet, and his fleet was destroyed.
 2. On land, the American army, commanded by General **Nelson A. Miles**, met little resistance as they took over **Puerto Rico**.
 3. Soon afterwards, on August 12, 1898, Spain signed an armistice.
 4. Note that if the Spaniards had held out for a few more months, they might have won, for the American army was plagued with dysentery, typhoid, and yellow fever.
 - i. Finally, TR wrote a “round-robin” letter demanded that the U.S. government take the troops out before they all died.
- XI. McKinley Heeds Duty, Destiny, and Dollars
1. In negotiations in Paris, America got **Guam** and Puerto Rico and freed Cuba, but the Philippines were a tough problem, since America couldn’t honorably give it back to Spain after decades of misrule, but the U.S. couldn’t just take it like an imperialistic nation.
 2. Finally, McKinley decided to keep the Philippines, even though they had been taken one day *after* the end of the war, but he did so because of popular public opinion, not to mention the urging of his wife, an invalid.
 - i. The U.S. paid \$20 million for the islands.
- XII. America’s Course (Curse?) of Empire
1. Upon the U.S. taking of the Philippines, uproar broke out, since until now, the United States had mostly acquired territory from the American continent, and even with Alaska, Hawaii, and the other scattered islands, there weren’t many people living there.

2. The **Anti-Imperialist League** sprang into being, firmly opposed to this new imperialism of America, and its members included **Mark Twain**, **William James**, **Samuel Gompers**, and **Andrew Carnegie**.
 - i. Even the Filipinos wanted freedom, and denying that to them was un-American.
 3. However, expansionists cried that the Philippines could become another Hong Kong.
 - i. British writer **Rudyard Kipling** wrote about “The White Man’s Burden,” urging America to keep the Philippines and “civilize them.”
 4. In the Senate, the treaty almost was not passed, but finally, **William Jennings Bryan** argued for its passage, saying that the sooner the treaty was passed, the sooner the U.S. could get rid of the Philippines; the treaty passed by ONE VOTE.
- XIII. Perplexities in Puerto Rico and Cuba
1. The Foraker Act of 1900 gave Puerto Ricans a limited degree of popular government, and in 1917, Congress granted Puerto Ricans full American citizenship.
 - i. U.S. help also transformed Puerto Rico and worked wonders in sanitation, transportation, beauty, and education.
 2. In the ***Insular Cases***, the Supreme Court barely ruled that the Constitution did not have full authority on how to deal with the islands (Cuba and Puerto Rico), essentially letting Congress do whatever it wanted with them.
 3. America could not improve Cuba that much, other than getting rid of yellow fever with the help of General Leonard Wood and Dr. **Walter Reed**.
 4. In 1902, the U.S. did indeed walk away from Cuba, but it also encouraged Cuba to write and pass the **Platt Amendment**, which became their constitution.
 - i. This said that the U.S. could intervene and restore order in case of anarchy, that the U.S. could trade freely with Cuba, and that the U.S. could get two bays for naval bases, notably **Guantanamo Bay**.
- XIV. New Horizons in Two Hemispheres
1. The **Spanish-American War** lasted only 113 days and affirmed America’s presence as a world power.
 2. However, America’s actions after the war made its German rival jealous and its Latin American neighbors suspicious.
 3. Finally, one of the happiest results of the war was the closing of the bloody chasm between the U.S. North and South, which had been formed in the Civil War.
 - i. General **Joseph Wheeler** was given a command in Cuba.

Chapter 30: “America on the World State”

- I. “Little Brown Brothers” in the Philippines
 1. The Filipinos had assumed that they would receive freedom after the **Spanish-American War**, but when they didn’t they revolted against the U.S.

- i. The insurrection began on February 4, 1899, and was led by **Emilio Aguinaldo**, who took his troops into guerrilla warfare after open combat proved to be useless.
 - ii. Stories of atrocities abounded, but finally, the rebellion was broken in 1901 when U.S. soldier invaded Aguinaldo's headquarters and captured him.
2. **President McKinley** formed a **Philippine Commission** in 1899 to deal with the Filipinos, and in its second year, the organization was headed by amiable **William H. Taft**, who developed a strong attachment for the Filipinos, calling them his "little brown brothers."
3. The Americans tried to assimilate the Filipinos, but the islanders resisted; they finally got their independence on July 4, 1946.

II. John Hay Defends China (and U.S. Interests)

1. Following its defeat by Japan in 1894-94, China had been carved into spheres of influence by the European powers.
2. American were alarmed, as churches worried about their missionary strongholds while businesses feared that they would not be able to export their products to China.
3. Finally, Secretary of State **John Hay** dispatched his famous **Open Door note**, which urged the European nations to keep fair competition open to all nations willing and wanting to participate.
 - i. All the powers already holding spots of China were squirmish, and only Italy, which had no sphere of influence of its own, accepted unconditionally.
 - ii. Russia didn't accept at all, but the others did, on certain conditions, and thus, China was "saved" from being carved up.

III. Hinging the Open Door in China

1. In 1900, a super-patriotic group known as the "**Boxers**" revolted and took over the capital of China, Beijing, taking all foreigners hostage, including diplomats.
2. After a multi-national force broke the rebellion, the powers made China pay \$333 million for damages, of which the U.S. eventually received \$18 million.
3. Fearing that the European powers would carve China up for good, now, John Hay officially asked that China not be carved.

IV. Kicking "Teddy" Roosevelt Upstairs

1. McKinley was the easy choice to be president in 1900, and Republican Party leaders wanted to get rid of burdensome maverick **Teddy Roosevelt**, so they cooked up a scheme to kick him into the vice presidency, a traditional political graveyard.
 - i. TR received a unanimous vote for VP, except for his own.
2. The Democrats could only decide on **William Jennings Bryan** (rather, he decided for them that he would be the candidate).

V. Imperialism or Bryanism in 1900?

1. Just like four years before, it was McKinley sitting on his front porch and Bryan actively and personally campaigning, but Theodore Roosevelt's active campaigning took a lot of the momentum away from Bryan's.
2. Bryan's supporters concentrated on imperialism—a bad move, considering that Americans were tired of the subject, while McKinley's supporters claimed that “Bryanism,” not imperialism, was the problem, and that if Bryan became president, he would shake up the prosperity that was in America at the time; McKinley won easily.

VI. TR: Brandisher of the Big Stick

1. Six months later, a deranged murderer shot and killed William McKinley, making Theodore Roosevelt the youngest president ever at age 42.
 - i. TR promised to carry out McKinley's policies.
2. Theodore Roosevelt was a big-chested man with a short temper, large glasses, and a stubborn mentality that always thought he was right.
 - i. Born into a rich family and graduated from Harvard, he was highly energetic and spirited, and his motto was “Speak softly and carry a big stick,” or basically, “Let your actions do the talking.”
 - ii. Roosevelt rapidly developed into a master politician, and a maverick uncontrollable by party machines, and he believed that a president should lead, which would explain the precedents that he would set during his term, becoming the “first modern president.”

VII. Columbia Blocks the Canal

1. TR had traveled to Europe and knew more about foreign affairs than most of his predecessors, and one foreign affair that he knew needed to be dealt with was the creation of a canal through the Central American isthmus.
 - i. During the Spanish-American War, the battleship **Oregon** had been forced to steam all the way around the tip of South America to join the fleet in Cuba.
 - ii. Such a waterway would also make defense of the recent island acquisitions easier (i.e. Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam, Hawaii).
2. However, the 1850 **Clayton-Bulwer Treaty** with Britain had forbade the construction by either country of a canal in the Americas without the other's consent and help, but that statement was nullified in 1901 by the **Hay-Pauncefote Treaty**.
3. A Nicaraguan route was one possible place for a canal, but it was opposed by the old **French Canal Company** that was eager to salvage something from their costly failure at Panama (in other words, make a Panama canal).
 - i. Their leader was **Philippe Bunau-Varilla**.
4. The U.S. finally chose Panama after Mount Pelée erupted and killed 30,000 people.
5. The U.S. negotiated a deal that would buy a 6-mile-wide strip of land in Panama for \$10 million and a \$250,000 annual payment, but this treaty was retracted by the Columbian government, which owned Panama.

- i. TR was obviously incensed, since he wanted construction of the canal to begin before the 1904 campaign.

VIII. Uncle Sam Creates a Puppet Panama

1. On November 3, 1903, another revolution in Panama began with the killing of a Chinese civilian and a donkey, and when Columbia tried to stop it, the U.S., citing an 1846 treaty with Columbia, wouldn't let the Columbian fleet through.
2. Panama was thus recognized by the U.S., and fifteen days later, Bunau-Varilla, the Panamanian minister despite his *French* nationality, signed the **Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty** that gave a widened (6x10 mi.) Panamanian zone to the U.S. for \$15 mil.
3. TR didn't actively plot to tear Panama away from Columbia, but it sure seemed like it to the public, and to Latin America, and his actions in this incident suffered a political black eye.

IX. Completing the Canal and Appeasing Columbia

1. In 1904, construction began on the **Panama Canal**, but at first problems with land slides and sanitation occurred.
 - i. Colonel **George Washington Coethals** finally organized the workers while Colonel **William C. Gorgas** exterminated yellow fever.
 - ii. When TR visited Panama in 1906, he was the first U.S. president to leave America for foreign soil.
 - iii. The canal was finally finished and opened in 1914, at a cost of \$400 million.

X. TR's Perversion of the Monroe Doctrine

1. Latin American nations like Venezuela and the Dominican Republic were having a hard time paying their debts to their European debtors, so Britain and Germany decided to send a bit of force to South America to make the Latinos pay.
2. TR feared that if European powers interfered in the Americas to collect debts, they might then stay in Latin America, a blatant violation of the **Monroe Doctrine**, so he issued his **Roosevelt Corollary**, which stated that in future cases of debt problems, the U.S. would take over and pay off the debts, thus keeping the Europeans on the other side of the Atlantic.
 - i. In effect, no one could bully Latin America except the U.S.
 - ii. However, this corollary didn't bear too well with Latin America, whose countries once again felt that Uncle Sam was being overbearing.
 - a. When U.S. Marines landed in Cuba to bring back order to the island in 1906, this seemed like an extension of the "**Bad Neighbor**" policy.

XI. Roosevelt on the World Stage

1. In 1904, Japan attacked Russia, since Russia had been in Manchuria, and proceeded to administer a series of humiliating victories until the Japanese began to run short on men.

- i. Therefore, they approached Theodore Roosevelt to facilitate a peace treaty.
 - ii. At **Portsmouth**, New Hampshire, in 1905, both sides met, and though both were stubborn (Japanese wanted all of the strategic island of **Sakhalin** while the Russians disagreed), in the end, TR negotiated a deal in which Japan got half of Sakhalin but no indemnity for its losses.
 - 2. For this and his mediation of North African disputes in 1906 through an international conference at **Algeciras**, Spain, TR received the **Nobel Peace Prize** in 1906.
 - 3. However, due to the Russo-Japanese incident, America lost two allies in Russia and Japan, neither of which felt that it had received its fair share of winnings.
- XII. Japanese Laborers in California
- 1. After the war, many Japanese immigrants poured into California, and fears of a “yellow flood” arose again.
 - 2. The showdown came in 1906 after the San Francisco earthquake when the city decreed that due to lack of space, Japanese children should attend a special school.
 - i. Instantly, this became an international issue, but TR settled it eventually.
 - ii. S.F. would not displace students while Japan would keep its laborers in Japan.
 - 3. To impress the Japanese, Roosevelt sent his entire battleship fleet around the world for a tour, and it received tremendous salutes in Latin America, New Zealand, Hawaii, Australia, and Japan, helping relieve tensions.
 - 4. The **Root-Takahira Agreement** pledged the U.S. and Japan to respect each other’s territorial possessions in the Pacific and to uphold the Open Note in China.

Chapter 31: “Progressivism and the Republican Roosevelt”

- I. Progressive Roots
 - 1. In the beginning of the 1900s, America had 76 million people, mostly in good condition, but before the first decade of the 20th century, the U.S. would be struck by a movement by people known as the **progressives**, who fought against monopoly, corruption, inefficiency, and social injustice.
 - i. The purpose of the **Progressive Movement** was to use the government as an agency of human welfare.
 - 2. The Progressives had their roots in the **Greenback Labor Party** of the 1870s and 1880s and the **Populist Party** of the 1890s.
 - 3. In 1894, **Henry Demarest Lloyd** exposed the corruption of the monopoly of the **Standard Oil Company** with his book *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, while **Thorstein Veblen** criticized the new rich (those who made money from the trusts) in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899).
 - 4. Other exposers of the corruption of trusts, or **muckrakers**, as **Theodore Roosevelt** called them, were **Jacob A. Riis**, writer of *How the Other Half Lives*,

a book about the New York slums, and novelist **Theodore Dreiser**, who wrote *The Financier* and *The Titan*.

5. Socialists and feminists gained strength, and with people like **Jane Addams** and **Lillian Wald**, women entered the Progressive fight.

II. Raking Muck with the Muckrakers

1. Beginning about 1902, a group of aggressive ten- and fifteen-cent popular magazines, such as *Cosmopolitan*, *Collier's*, and *Everybody's*, began flinging the dirt about the trusts.
2. Despite criticism, reformer-writers ranged far and wide to lay bare the muck on the back of American society.
 - i. In 1902, **Lincoln Steffens** launched a series of articles in *McClure's* entitled "The Shame of the Cities," in which he unmasked the corrupt alliance between big business and the government.
 - ii. **Ida M. Tarbell** launched a devastating exposé against Standard Oil.
3. These writers exposed the mean trust, the "money trust," the railroad barons, and the corrupt amassing of American fortunes, this last part done by **Thomas W. Lawson**.
4. **David G. Phillips** charged that 75 of the 90 U.S. Senators did not represent the people but actually the railroads and trusts.
5. **Ray Stannard Baker's** *Following the Color Line* was about the illiteracy of Blacks.
6. **John Spargo's** *The Bitter Cry of the Children* exposed child labor.
7. Dr. **Harvey W. Wiley** exposed the frauds that sold potent patent medicines by experimenting on himself.
8. The muckrakers sincerely believed that the cure to the ill so of American democracy was more democracy.

III. Political Progressivism

1. Progressives were mostly middle-class citizens who felt squeezed by both the big trusts above and the restless immigrant hordes working for cheap labor that came from below.
2. The Progressives favored the "**initiative**" so that voters could directly propose legislation, the "**referendum**" so that the people could vote on laws that affected them, and the "**recall**" to take bad officials off from their positions.
3. Progressives also desired to expose graft, use a secret ballot to counteract the effects of party bosses, and have direct election of U.S. senators to curb corruption.
 - i. Finally, in 1913, the **17th Amendment** provided for direct election of senators.
4. Females also campaigned for woman's suffrage, but that did not come...yet.

IV. Progressivism in the Cities and States

1. Progressive cities either used expert-staffed commissions to manage urban affairs or the **city-manager system**, which was designed to take politics out of municipal administration.

2. Urban reformers tackled “slumlords,” juvenile delinquency, and wide-open prostitution.
 3. In Wisconsin, Governor **Robert M. La Follette** wrestled control from the trusts and returned power to the people, becoming a Progressive leader in the process.
 - i. Other states also took to regulate railroads and trusts, such as Oregon and California, which was led by Governor **Hiram W. Johnson**.
 - ii. **Charles Evans Hughes**, governor of New York, gained fame by investigating the malpractices of gas and insurance companies.
- V. Battling Social Ills
1. Progressives also made major improvements in the fight against child labor, especially after a 1911 fire at the **Triangle Shirtwaist Company** in NYC burned up 146 workers, mostly young women.
 - i. The landmark case of ***Muller vs. Oregon*** (1908) found attorney **Louis D. Brandeis** persuading the Supreme Court to accept the constitutionality of laws that protected women workers.
 - ii. On the other hand, the case of ***Lochner vs. New York*** invalidated a New York law establishing a ten-hour day for bakers.
 - iii. Yet, in 1917, the Court upheld a similar law for factory workers.
 2. Alcohol also came under the attack of Progressives, as prohibitionist organizations like the **Woman’s Christian Temperance Union**, founded by **Frances E. Willard**, (WCTU) and the **Anti-Saloon League** were formed.
 - i. Finally, in 1919, the **18th Amendment** prohibited the sale and drinking of alcohol.
- VI. TR’s Square Deal for Labor
1. The Progressivism spirit touched President Roosevelt, and his “Square Deal” embraced the three Cs: control of the corporations, consumer protection, and the conservation of the United States’ natural resources.
 2. In 1902, a strike broke out in the anthracite coalmines of Pennsylvania, and some 140,000 workers demanded a 20% pay increase and the reduction of the workday to nine hours.
 - i. Finally, after the owners refused to negotiate and the lack of coal was getting to the freezing schools, hospitals, and factories during that winter, TR threatened to seize the mines and operate them with federal troops if he had to in order to keep it open and the coal coming to the people.
 - ii. As a result, the workers got a 10% pay increase and a 9-hour workday, but their union was not officially recognized as a bargaining agent.
 3. In 1903, the **Department of Commerce and Labor** was formed, a part of which was the **Bureau of Corporations**, which was allowed to probe businesses engaged in interstate commerce; it was highly useful in “trust-busting.”
- VII. TR Corrals the Corporations
1. The 1887-formed **Interstate Commerce Commission** had proven to be inadequate, so in 1903, Congress passed the **Elkins Act**, which heavily fined RR’s that gave rebates and the shippers that accepted them.

2. The **Hepburn Act** restricted the free passes of railroads.
3. TR decided that there were “good trusts” and “bad trusts,” and set out to control the “bad trusts,” such as the **Northern Securities Company**, which was organized by **J.P. Morgan** and **James J. Hill**.
 - i. In 1904, the Supreme Court upheld TR’s antitrust suit and ordered Northern Securities to dissolve, a decision that angered Wall Street but helped TR’s image.
4. TR did crack down on over 40 trusts, and he helped dissolve the beef, sugar, fertilizer, and harvesters trusts, but in reality, he wasn’t as big of a trustbuster as he has been portrayed.
 - i. He had no wish to take down the “good trusts,” but the trusts that did fall under TR’s big stick fell symbolically, so that other trusts would reform themselves.
5. TR’s successor, **William Howard Taft**, crushed more trusts than TR, and in one incident, when Taft tried to crack down on **U.S. Steel**, a company that had personally allowed by TR to absorb the **Tennessee Coal and Iron Company**, the reaction from TR was hot!

VIII. Caring of the Consumer

1. In 1906, significant improvements in the meat industry were passed, such as the **Meat Inspection Act**, which decreed that the preparation of meat shipped over state lines would be subject to federal inspection from corral to can.
 - i. **Upton Sinclair’s** *The Jungle* enlightened the American public to the horrors of the meatpacking industry, thus helping to force changes.
2. The **Pure Food and Drug Act** tried to prevent the adulteration and mislabeling of foods and pharmaceuticals.
 - i. Another reason for new acts was to make sure European markets could trust American beef and other meat.

IX. Earth Control

1. Americans were vainly wasting their natural resources, and the first conservation act, the **Desert Land Act** of 1877, didn’t help much.
 - i. More successful was the **Forest Reserve Act** of 1891, which authorized the president to set aside land to be protected as national parks.
 - a. Under this statute, some 46 million acres of forest were rescued.
2. Roosevelt, a sportsman in addition to all the other things he was, realized the values of conservation, and persuaded by other conservationists like **Gifford Pinchot**, head of the federal **Division of Forestry**, he helped initiate massive conservation projects.
 - i. The **Newlands Act** of 1902 initiated irrigation projects for the western states while the giant **Roosevelt Dam**, built on the Arizona River, was dedicated in 1911.
3. By 1900, only a quarter of the nation’s natural timberlands remained, so he set aside 125 million acres, establishing perhaps his most enduring achievement as president.

4. Concern about the disappearance of the national frontier led to the success of such books like **Jack London's *Call of the Wild*** and the establishment of the **Boy Scouts of America** and the **Sierra Club**, a member of which was naturalist **John Muir**.
 5. In 1913, San Francisco received permission to build a dam in **Hetch Hetchy Valley**, a part of Yosemite National Park, causing much controversy.
 - i. Roosevelt's conservation deal meant working with the big loggers and resource users, not the small, independent ones.
- X. The "Roosevelt Panic" of 1907
1. TR had widespread popularity (the "Teddy" bear), but conservatives branded him as a dangerous rattlesnake, unpredictable in his Progressive moves.
 2. However, in 1904, TR announced that he would not seek presidency in 1908, since he would have, in effect, served two terms by then, thus defanging his power.
 3. In 1907, a short but sharp panic on Wall Street placed TR at the center of its blame, with conservatives criticizing him, but he lashed back, and besides all, the panic died down.
 4. In 1908, congress passed the **Aldrich-Vreeland Act**, which authorized national banks to issue emergency currency backed by various kinds of collateral.
 - i. This would lead to the momentous **Federal Reserve Act** of 1913.
- XI. The Rough Rider Thunders Out
1. In the 1908 campaign, TR chose William Taft as his "successor," hoping that the corpulent man would continue his policies, and Taft easily defeated William Jennings Bryan; a surprise came from Socialist **Eugene V. Debs**, who garnered 420,793 votes.
 2. TR left the presidency to go on a lion hunt, survived, and returned, still with much energy.
 - i. He had established many precedents and had helped ensure that the new trusts would fit capitalism and have healthy adult lives helping the American people.
 3. TR protected against socialism, was a great conservationist, expanded the powers of the presidency, shaped the progressive movement, launched the Square Deal, a precursor to the **New Deal** that would come later, and opened American eyes to the fact that America shared the world with other nations, so it couldn't be isolationist.
- XII. Taft: A Round Peg in a Square Hole
1. William Taft was a mild progressive, quite jovial, quite fat, and passive, but he was also sensitive to criticism and not as liberal as Roosevelt.
- XIII. The Dollar Goes Abroad as Diplomat
1. Taft urged Americans to invest abroad, in a policy called "**Dollar Diplomacy**," which called for Wall Street bankers to sluice their surplus dollars into foreign areas of strategic concern to the U.S., especially in the Far East and in the regions

critical to the security of the Panama Canal, or otherwise, rival powers like Germany might weaken U.S. trade.

2. In 1909, perceiving a threat to the monopolistic Russian and Japanese control of the **Manchurian Railway**, Taft had Secretary of State **Philander C. Knox** propose that a group of American and foreign bankers buy the railroads and turn them over to China.
3. Taft also pumped U.S. dollars into Honduras and Haiti, whose economies were stagnant, while in Cuba, the same Honduras, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua, American forces were brought in to restore order after unrest.

XIV. Taft the Trustbuster

1. In his four years of office, Taft brought 90 suits against trusts.
2. In 1911, the Supreme Court ordered the dissolution of the Standard Oil Company.
3. After Taft tried to break apart U.S. Steel, he increasingly became TR's antagonist.

XV. Taft Splits the Republican Party

1. To lower the tariff and fulfill a campaign promise, Taft and the House passed a moderately reductive bill, but the Senate, led by Senator **Nelson W. Aldrich**, tacked on lots of *upward* revisions, and thus, when the **Payne-Aldrich Bill** passed, it betrayed Taft's promise, incurred the wrath of his party (drawn mostly from the Midwest), and outraged many people.
 - i. Taft even called it "the best bill that the Republican Party ever passed."
2. While Taft did establish the **Bureau of Mines** to control mineral resources, his participation in the **Ballinger-Pinchot quarrel** of 1910, in which Secretary of the Interior **Richard Ballinger** opened public lands in Wyoming, Montana, and Alaska to corporate development and was criticized by Pinchot, who was then fired by Taft.
3. In the spring of 1910, the Republican Party was split between the Progressives and the Old Guard that Taft supported, and Democrats emerged with a landslide in the House.
 - i. Socialist **Victor L. Berger** was elected from Milwaukee.

XVI. The Taft-Roosevelt Rupture

1. In 1911, the **National Progressive Republican League** was formed, with La Follette as its leader, but in February 1912, TR began dropping hints that he wouldn't mind being nominated by the Republicans, his reason being that he had meant no third *consecutive* term, not third term overall.
2. Rejected by the Taft supporters of the Republicans, TR became a candidate on the Progressive ticket, shoving La Follette aside.
3. In the Election of 1912, it would be Theodore Roosevelt versus William H. Taft versus the Democratic candidate, whoever that was to be... ☺

Chapter 32: “Wilsonian Progressivism at Home and Abroad”

- I. The Emergence of Dr. Thomas Woodrow Wilson
 1. With the Republican Party split wide open, the Democrats sensed that they could win the presidency for the first time in 16 years.
 - i. One possible candidate was Dr. **Woodrow Wilson**, a once-mild conservative but now militant progressive who had been the president of **Princeton University**, governor of New Jersey (where he didn't permit himself to be controlled by the bosses, and had attacked trusts and passed liberal measures).
 - ii. In 1912, in Baltimore, the Democrats nominated Wilson on the 46th ballot after **William Jennings Bryan** swung his support over to Wilson's side.
 - a. The Democratic ticket would run under a platform called “**New Freedom**,” which would include many progressive reforms.
- II. The “Bull Moose” Campaign of 1912
 1. At the Progressive convention, **Jane Addams** put **Theodore Roosevelt's** name on the nomination, and as TR spoke, he ignited an almost-religious spirit in the crowd.
 - i. TR got the Progressive nomination, and entering the campaign, TR said that he felt “as strong as a bull moose,” making that animal the unofficial Progressive symbol.
 2. Republican **William Taft** and TR tore into each other, as the former friends now ripped every aspect of each other's platforms and personalities.
 3. Meanwhile, TR's **New Nationalism** and Wilson's New Freedom became the key issues.
 - i. Roosevelt's New Nationalism was inspired by **Herbert Croly's** *The Promise of American Life* (1910), and it stated that the government should control the bad trusts, leaving the good trusts alone and free to operate.
 - a. TR also campaigned for woman suffrage and a broad program of social welfare, such as minimum-wage laws and “socialistic” social insurance.
 - ii. Wilson's New Freedom favored small enterprise, desired to break up all trusts—not just the bad ones—and basically shunned social-welfare proposals.
 4. The campaign was stopped when Roosevelt was shot in the chest in Milwaukee, but he delivered his speech anyway, was rushed to the hospital, and recovered in two weeks.
- III. Woodrow Wilson: Minority President
 1. Woodrow Wilson easily won with 435 Electoral votes, while TR had 88 and Taft only had 8, but the Democrat did not receive the majority of the popular vote (only 41%)!

2. Socialist **Eugene V. Debs** racked up over 900,000 popular votes, while the combined popular totals of TR and Taft exceeded Wilson!!!
 - i. Had the Republican Party not been split in 1910, it still could have won!
 3. William Taft would later become the only U.S. president to be appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court as well, when he did so in 1921.
- IV. Wilson: The Idealist in Politics
1. Woodrow Wilson was a sympathizer with the South, a fine orator, a sincere and morally appealing politician, and a very intelligent man.
 - i. He was also cold, personality-wise, austere, intolerant of stupidity, and very idealistic.
 2. When convinced he was right, Wilson would break before he would bend, unlike TR.
- V. Wilson Tackles the Tariff
1. Wilson stepped into the presidency already knowing that he was going to tackle the “triple wall of privilege”: the tariff, the banks, and the trusts.
 2. To tackle the tariff, Wilson successfully helped in the passing of the **Underwood Tariff** of 1913, which substantially reduced import fees and enacted a graduated income tax (under the approval of the recent **16th Amendment**).
- VI. Wilson Battles the Bankers
1. The nation’s financial structure, as created under the Civil War **National Banking Act** had proven to be glaringly ineffective, as shown by the **Panic of 1907**, so Wilson had Congress authorize an investigation to fix this.
 - i. The investigation, headed by Senator **Aldrich**, in effect recommended a third **Bank of the United States**.
 - ii. Democrats heeded the findings of a House committee chaired by Congressman **Arsene Pujo**, which traced the tentacles of the “money monster” into the hidden vaults of American banking and business.
 - iii. **Louis D Brandeis’s** *Other People’s Money and How the Banker’s Use It* (1914) furthermore showed the problems of American finances at the time.
 2. In June 1913, Woodrow Wilson appeared before a special joint session of Congress and pleaded for a sweeping reform of the banking system.
 - i. The result was the epochal 1913 **Federal Reserve Act**, which created the new **Federal Reserve Board**, which oversaw a nationwide system of twelve regional reserve districts, each with its own central bank, and had the power to issue paper money (“Federal Reserve Notes”).
- VII. The President Tames the Trusts
1. In 1914, Congress passed the **Federal Trade Commission Act**, which empowered a presidentially appointed position to investigate the activities of trusts and stop unfair trade practices such as unlawful competition, false advertising, mislabeling, adulteration, & bribery.
 2. The 1914 **Clayton Anti-Trust Act** lengthened the **Sherman Anti-Trust Act’s** list of practices that were objectionable, exempted labor unions from being called

trusts (as they had been called by the Supreme Court under the Sherman Act), and legalized strikes and peaceful picketing by labor union members.

VIII. Wilsonian Progressivism at High Tide

1. After tackling the triple wall of privilege and leading progressive victory after victory, Wilson proceeded with further reforms, such as the **Federal Farm Loan Act** of 1916, which made credit available to farmers at low rates of interest, and the **Warehouse Act** of 1916, which permitted loans on the security of staple crops—both Populist ideas.
2. The **La Follette Seamen's Act** of 1915 required good treatment of America's sailors, but it sent merchant freight rates soaring as a result of the cost of maintain sailor health.
3. The **Workingmen's Compensation Act** of 1916 granted assistance of federal civil-service employees during periods of instability but was invalidated by the Supreme Court.
4. The 1916 **Adamson Act** established an eight-hour workday with overtime pay.
5. Wilson even nominated Louis Brandeis to the Supreme Court—making him the first Jew ever in that position—but stopped short of helping out Blacks in their civil rights fight.
6. Wilson appeased the business by appointing a few conservatives to the Federal Reserve Board and the Federal Trade Commission, but he used most of his energies for progressive support.

IX. New Directions in Foreign Policy

1. Wilson, unlike his two previous predecessors, didn't pursue an aggressive foreign policy, as he stopped "**dollar diplomacy**," persuaded Congress to repeal the **Panama Canal Tolls Act** of 1912 (which let American shippers not pay tolls for using the canal), and even led to American bankers' pulling out of a six-nation, Taft-engineered loan to China.
2. Wilson signed the **Jones Act** in 1916, which granted full territorial status to the Philippines and promised independence as soon as a stable government could be established.
 - i. The Filipinos finally got their independence on July 4, 1946.
3. When California banned Japanese ownership of land, Wilson sent Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan to plead with legislators, and tensions cooled.
4. When disorder broke out in **Haiti** in 1915, Wilson sent American marines, and in 1916, he sent marines to quell violence in the **Dominican Republic**.
5. In 1917, Wilson bought the **Virgin Islands** from Denmark.

X. Moralistic Diplomacy in Mexico

1. Mexico had been exploited for decades by U.S. investors in oil, railroads, and mines, but the Mexican people were tremendously poor, and in 1913, they revolted, installed full-blooded Indian General **Victorian Huerta** to the presidency.
 - i. This led to a massive immigration of Mexicans to America, mostly to the Southwest.

2. The rebels were very violent and threatened Americans living in Mexico, but Woodrow Wilson would not intervene to protect American lives.
 - i. Neither would he recognize Huerta's regime, even though other countries did.
 - ii. On the other hand, he let American munitions flow to Huerta's rivals, **Venustiano Carranza** and **Francisco ("Pancho") Villa**.
 3. After a small party of American sailors were arrested in **Tampico**, Mexico, in 1914, Wilson threatened to use force, and even ordered the navy to take over **Vera Cruz**, drawing protest from Huerta and Carranza.
 - i. Finally, the ABC powers—Argentina, Brazil, and Chile—mediated the situation, and Huerta fell from power and was succeeded by Carranza, who resented Wilson's acts.
 4. Meanwhile, "Pancho" Villa, combination bandit/freedom fighter, murdered 16 Americans in January 1916 in Mexico and then killed 19 more a month later in New Mexico.
 - i. Wilson sent General **John J. Pershing** to capture Villa, and he penetrated deep into Mexico, clashed with Carranza's and Villa's different forces, but didn't take Villa.
- XI. Thunder Across the Sea
1. In 1914, a Serbian patriot killed the Austria-Hungarian heir to the throne, and Austria declared war on Serbia, which was supported by Russia, who declared war on Austria-Hungary and Germany, which declared war on Russia and France, then invaded neutral Belgium, and pulled Britain into the war igniting **World War I**.
 2. Americans were thankful that the Atlantic Ocean separated the warring Europeans from America, and that the U.S. didn't have to go into war...at least not yet...
- XII. A Precarious Neutrality
1. Wilson, whose wife had recently died, issued a neutrality proclamation and was promptly wooed by both the Allies and the German-Austrian-Hungarian powers.
 2. The Germans and Austro-Hungarians counted on their relatives in America for support, but the U.S. was mostly anti-German from the outset, as **Kaiser Wilhem II** made for a perfect autocrat to hate.
 3. German and Austro-Hungarian agents in America further tarnished the Central Powers' image when they resorted to violence in American factories and ports, and when one such agent left his briefcase in a New York elevator, its contents were found to contain plans for sabotage.
- XIII. America Earns Blood Money
1. Just as WWI began, America was in a business recession, but the war, along with American trade (fiercely protested by the Central Powers that were technically free to trade with the U.S. but were prohibited from doing so by the British navy which controlled the sea lanes) with the Allies and Wall Street financing of the war by **J.P. Morgan** et al, pulled the U.S. out of it.

2. So, Germany announced submarine warfare around the British Isles, warning the U.S. that it would not try to attack neutral ships but that mistakes would probably occur.
 - i. Wilson thus warned that Germany would be held to “strict accountability” for any attacks on American ships.
 - ii. German subs, or **U-boats**, sank many ships, including the *Lusitania*, a British passenger liner that was carrying arms and munitions as well.
 - a. The attack killed 1198 lives, including 128 Americans.
 - b. The Germans had issued fliers warning Americans of the ship’s possible torpedoing by German subs before its voyage.
3. America clamored for war in punishment for the outrage, but Wilson kept the U.S. out of it by use of a series of strong notes to the German warlords.
 - i. Even this was too much for Bryan, who resigned rather than go to war.
 - ii. After the German sank the *Arabic* in August 1915, killing two Americans and numerous other passengers, Germany finally agreed not to sink unarmed ships *without warning*.
4. After Germany seemed to break that pledge by sinking the *Sussex*, it issued the **Sussex pledge**, which agreed not to sink passenger ships or merchant vessels without warning, so long as the U.S. could get the British to stop their blockade.
 - i. Wilson couldn’t do this, so his victory was a precarious one.

XIV. Wilson Wins Reelection in 1916

1. In 1916, Republicans chose **Charles Evans Hughes**, who made different pledges and said different things depending on where he was, leading to his being nicknamed “Charles Evasive Hughes.”
2. The Democratic ticket, with Wilson at its head again, went under the slogan “He kept us out of war,” and warned that electing Hughes would be leading America into World War I.
 - i. Ironically, Wilson would lead America into war in 1917.
 - ii. Actually, even Wilson knew of the dangers of such a slogan, as American neutrality was rapidly sinking, and war was going to be inevitable.
3. Wilson barely beat Hughes, with a vote of 277 to 254, with the final result dependent on results from California, and even though Wilson didn’t specifically promise to keep America out of war, enough people felt that he did to vote for him.

Chapter 33: “The War to End War”

I. War by Act of Germany

1. On January 22, 1917, **Woodrow Wilson** made one final, futile attempt to avert war, delivering a moving address that declared that only “peace without victory” would be lasting.
 - i. Germany responded by shocking the world, announcing that it would not be engaging in *unrestricted* warfare, which meant that its **U-boats** would now be firing on armed and unarmed ships in the war zone.
2. Wilson asked Congress for the authority to arm merchant ships, but a band of Midwestern senators tried to block this measure.
3. Then, the **Zimmerman note** was intercepted and published on March 1, 1917.
 - i. Written by German foreign secretary **Arthur Zimmerman**, it secretly proposed an alliance between Germany and Mexico, and if the **Central Powers** won, Mexico could recover Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona from the U.S.
4. The Germans also began to make good on their threats, sinking numerous ships, while in Russia, a revolution toppled the tsarist regime.
5. On April 2, 1917, President Wilson asked for Congress to declare war, which it did four days later; Wilson had lost his gamble.

II. Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned

1. Many people still didn’t want to enter into war, for America had prided itself in isolationism for decades, and now, Wilson was entangling America in a distant war.
 - i. Six senators and 50 representatives, including the first Congresswoman, **Jeanette Rankin**, voted against war.
2. To gain enthusiasm for the war, Wilson came up with the idea of America entering the war to “make the world safe for democracy.”
 - i. This idealistic motto worked brilliantly, but with the new American zeal came the loss of Wilson’s earlier motto, “peace without victory.”

III. Fourteen Potent Wilsonian Points

1. On January 8, 1917, Wilson delivered his **Fourteen Points Address** to Congress.
2. The **Fourteen Points** were a set of idealistic goals for peace:
 - i. No more secret treaties.
 - ii. Freedom of the seas was to be maintained.
 - iii. A removal of economic barriers among nations.
 - iv. Reduction of armament burdens.
 - v. Adjustment of colonial claims in the interests of natives and colonizers.
 - vi. Other points included: “**self-determination**,” or independence for oppressed minority groups, and a **League of Nations**, an international organization that would keep the peace and settle world disputes.

IV. Creel Manipulates Minds

1. The **Committee on Public Information**, headed by **George Creel**, was created to “sell” the war to those people who were against it and gain support for it.
 - i. The Creel organization sent out an army of 75,000 men to deliver speeches in favor of the war, showered millions of pamphlets containing the most potent “Wilsonisms” upon the world, splashed posters and billboards that had emotional appeals, and showed anti-German movies like *The Kaiser, the Beast of Berlin*.
2. There were also patriotic songs, but Creel did err in that he oversold some of the ideals, and result would be disastrous disillusionment.

V. Enforcing Loyalty and Stiffing Dissent

1. Germans in America were surprisingly loyal to the U.S., but nevertheless, many Germans were blamed for espionage activities, and a few were tarred, feathered, and beaten.
2. The **Espionage Act** of 1917 and the **Sedition Act** of 1918 showed American fears/paranoia about Germans and other perceived threat.
 - i. Antiwar Socialists and the members of the radical union **Industrial Workers of the World** (IWW) were often prosecuted, including Socialist **Eugene V. Debs** and IWW leader **William D. Haywood**, who were arrested, convicted, and sent to prison.
 - ii. Fortunately, after the war, there were presidential pardons (from **Warren G. Harding**), but a few people still sat in jail into the 1930s.

VI. The Nation’s Factories Go to War

1. America was very unprepared for war, though Wilson had created the **Council of National Defense** to study problems with any mobilization and had launched a shipbuilding program.
 - i. America’s army was only the 15th largest in the world.
2. In trying to mobilize for war, no one knew how much America could produce, and traditional **laissez-faire** economics still provided resistance to government control of the economy.
 - i. In march 1918, Wilson named **Bernard Baruch** to head the **War Industries Board**, but this group never had much power and was disbanded soon after the armistice.

VII. The War, Workers, and Women

1. Congress imposed a rule that made any unemployed man available to go into the war, which discouraged strikes, and laborers sweated in producing munitions.
2. The **National War Labor Board**, headed by former president **William H. Taft**, settled any possible labor difficulties that might hamper the war efforts.
3. Fortunately, **Samuel Gompers’s American Federation of Labor** (AF of L), which represented skilled laborers, loyally supported the war, and by war’s end, its membership more than doubled to over 3 million.

4. Yet, there were still labor problems, as price inflation threatened to eclipse wage gains, and over 6000 strikes broke out during the war, the greatest occurring in 1919, when 250,000 steelworkers walked off the job.
 - i. But the steel owners brought in 30,000 African-Americans to break the strike, and in the end, the strike collapsed, hurting the labor cause for more than a decade.
5. During the war, Blacks immigrated to the North to find more jobs, and did, but the appearance of Blacks in formerly all-White towns did spark violence, such as in Chicago and St. Louis.
 - i. Blacks were also often brought in as strikebreakers.
6. Women also found more opportunities in the workplace, since the men were gone to war.
 - i. This gained support for women's suffrage, which was finally achieved with the **20th Amendment**, passed in 1920.
7. Although a **Women's Bureau** did appear after the war to protect female workers, most women gave up their jobs at war's end, and Congress even affirmed its support of women in their traditional roles in the home with the **Sheppard-Towner Maternity Act** of 1921, which federally financed instruction in maternal and infant health care.

VIII. Forging a War Economy

1. Mobilization relied more on passion and emotion than laws.
2. **Herbert Hoover** was chosen to head the **Food Administration**, since he had organized a hugely successful voluntary food drive for the people of Belgium
 - i. He spurned ration cards in favor of voluntary meatless Tuesdays and wheatless Wednesdays, suing posters, billboards, and other media to whip up a patriotic spirit which encouraged people to voluntarily sacrifice some of their own goods for the war.
 - ii. After all, America had to feed itself and its European allies.
3. Hoover's voluntary approach worked beautifully, as citizens grew gardens on street corners to help the farmers, people observed "heatless Mondays," "lightless nights," and "gasless Sundays" in accordance with the **Fuel Administration**, and the farmers increased food production by one-fourth.
4. The wave of self-sacrifice also sped up the drive against alcohol, culminating with the **18th Amendment**, which prohibited the sale, distribution, or consumption of alcohol.
5. Money was raised through the sale of war bonds, four great **Liberty Loan** drives, and increased taxes.
6. Still, the government sometimes flexed its power, such as when it took over the RR's in 1917.

IX. Making Plowboys into Doughboys

1. European Allies finally confessed to the U.S. that not only were they running out of money to pay for their loans from America but also that they were running out of men, and that America would have to raise a train an army to send over to Europe, or the Allies would collapse.

2. This could only be solved with a draft, which Wilson opposed but finally supported as a disagreeable but temporary necessity.
 - i. The draft bill ran into heated opposition in Congress but was grudgingly passed.
 - ii. Unlike earlier wars, there was no way for one to buy one's way out of being drafted.
 3. Luckily, patriotic men and women lined up on draft day, disproving ominous predictions of bloodshed by the opposers of the draft.
 - i. Within a few months, the army had grown to 4 million men and women.
 - ii. African-Americans were allowed in the army, but they were usually assigned to non-combat duty; also, training was so rushed that many troops didn't know how to even use rifles, much less bayonets, but were sent to Europe anyway!
- X. Fighting in France—Belatedly
1. After the **Bolsheviks** seized control of Russia, they withdrew the nation from the war, freeing up thousands of German troops to fight on the **Western Front**.
 2. German predictions of American tardiness proved to be rather accurate, as America took one year before it sent a force to Europe and also had transportation problems.
 3. Nevertheless, American doughboys slowly poured into Europe, and U.S. troops helped in an Allied invasion of Russia at **Archangel** to prevent munitions from falling into German hands.
 - i. 10,000 troops were sent to Siberia as part of an Allied expedition whose purpose was to prevent munitions from falling into the hands of Japan, rescue some 45,000 trapped Czechoslovak troops, and prevent Bolshevik forces from snatching military supplies.
 - ii. Bolsheviks resented this interference, which it felt was America's way of suppressing its infant communist revolution.
- XI. America Helps Hammer the "Hun"
1. In the spring of 1918, one commander, the French Marshal Foch, for the first time, led the Allies and just before the Germans were about to invade Paris and knock out France, American reinforcements arrived and pushed the Germans back.
 2. In the **Second Battle of the Marne**, Allies pushed Germany back some more, marking a German withdrawal that was never again effectively reversed.
 3. The Americans, demanding their own army instead of just supporting the British and French, finally got General **John J. Pershing** to lead a front.
 4. The **Meuse-Argonne offensive** cut German railroad lines and took 120,000 casualties.
 - i. **Alvin C. York** became a hero when he single-handedly killed 20 Germans and captured 132 more; ironically, he had been in an antiwar sect beforehand.

5. Finally, the Germans were exhausted and ready to surrender, for they were being deserted, the British blockade was starving them, and the Allied blows just kept coming.
 - i. It was a good thing, too, because American victories were using up resources too fast.
 - ii. Also, pamphlets containing seductive Wilsonian promises rained down on Germany, in part persuading them to give up.

XII. The Fourteen Points Disarm Germany

1. At 11:00 of the eleventh day of the eleventh month of 1918, the Germans laid down their arms after overthrowing their Kaiser in hopes that they could get a peace based on the Fourteen Points.
2. It was the *prospect* of endless American troops, rather than the American military performance, that had demoralized the Germans.

XIII. Wilson Steps Down from Olympus

1. At the end of the war, Wilson was at the height of his popularity, but when he appealed for voters to give a Democratic victory in 1918, but American voters instead gave Republicans a narrow majority, and Wilson went to Paris as the only leader of the Allies *not* commanding a majority at home.
2. When Wilson decided to go to Europe personally to oversee peace proceedings, Republicans were outraged, thinking that this was all just for flamboyant show.
 - i. When he didn't include a single Republican, not even Senator **Henry Cabot Lodge**, a very intelligent man who used to be the "scholar in politics" until Wilson came along and was therefore jealous and spiteful of Wilson, the Republicans got even more mad.

XIV. An Idealist Battles the Imperialists in Paris

1. At the Paris Conference in 1919, the **Big Four**—Italy, led by **Vittorio Orlando**, France, led by **Georges Clemenceau**, Britain, led by **David Lloyd George**, and the U.S., led by Wilson—basically dictated the terms of the treaty.
 - i. Wilson successfully got all of the colonies of the losers to be put into the hands of his dream, the League of Nations, but they would be given to various countries of the League, which would be trustees.
 - ii. This was basically colonialism thinly disguised.
2. Wilson also managed to get his League of Nations accepted by the other powers and nations.

XV. Hammering Out the Treaty

1. However, at home in America, the Republicans proclaimed that they would not pass the treaty, since to them, the League of Nations was either over-powerful or useless.
 - i. Led by Henry Cabot Lodge, **William Borah** of Idaho and **Hiram Johnson** of California, these senators were bitterly opposed to the League.
2. Upon seeing Wilson's lack of support, the other European nations had stronger bargaining chips, as France demanded the **Rhineland** and **Saar Valley** (but didn't

receive it; instead, the League of Nations got the Saar Basin for 15 years and then let it vote to determine its fate) and Italy demanded **Fiume**, a valuable seaport inhabited by both Italians and Yugoslavs.

- i. The Italians went home after Wilson tried to appeal to the Italian people while France received a promise that the U.S. and Great Britain would aid France in case of another German invasion.
3. Japan also wanted the valuable **Shantung peninsula** and the German islands in the Pacific, and Wilson opposed, but when the Japanese threatened to walk out, Wilson compromised again and let Japan keep Germany's economic holdings in Shantung, outraging the Chinese.

XVI. The Peace Treaty That Bred a New War

1. The **Treaty of Versailles** was forced upon Germany under the threat that if it didn't sign the treaty, war would resume, and when the Germans saw all that Wilson had compromised to get his League of Nations, they cried betrayal, because the treaty did not contain much of the Fourteen Points like the Germans had hoped it would.
2. Wilson was not happy with the treaty, sensing that it was inadequate, and his popularity was down, but he did make a difference in that his going to Paris prevented the treaty from being purely imperialistic.

XVII. The Domestic Parade of Prejudice

1. Returning to America, Wilson was met with fierce opposition, as Hun-haters felt that the treaty wasn't harsh enough while the Irish denounced the League
2. The "hyphenated" Americans all felt that the treaty had not been fair to their home country.

XVIII. Wilson's Tour and Collapse (1919)

1. When Wilson returned to America, at the time, Senator Lodge had no hope to defeat the treaty, so he delayed, reading the entire 264-page treaty aloud in the **Senate Foreign Relations Committee**, held hearings for people discontent with the treaty to voice their feelings, and basically stalled, bogging the treaty down.
2. Wilson decided to take a tour to gain support for the treaty, but trailing him like bloodhounds were Senators Borah and Johnson, two of the "irreconcilables," who verbally attacked him.
3. However, in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast regions, reception was much warmer, and the high point came at **Pueblo**, Colorado, where he pleaded that the League was the only hope for peace in the future.
 - i. That night, he collapsed from physical and nervous exhaustion, and several days later, a stroke paralyzed half of his body.

XIX. Wilson Rejects the Lodge Reservations

1. Lodge now came up with fourteen "reservations" to the Treaty of Versailles, which sought to safeguard American sovereignty.

- i. Congress was especially concerned with Article X, which *morally* bound the U.S. to aid any member of the League of Nations that was victimized by aggression, for Congress wanted to preserve its war-declaring power.
 - 2. Wilson hated Lodge, and with though he was willing to accept similar Democratic reservations and changes, he would not do so from Lodge, and thus, he ordered his Democratic supporters to vote *against* the treaty with the Lodge reservations attached.
 - i. On November 19, 1919, the Treaty of Versailles was defeated by a vote of 55 to 39.
- XX. Defeat Through Deadlock
 - 1. About four-fifths of the senators actually didn't mind the treaty, but unless the Senate approved the pact with the Lodge reservations tacked on, it would fail completely.
 - 2. Brought up for a vote again, on March 19, 1920, the treaty failed again, due in part to Wilson's telling of Democrats to vote against the treaty...again.
 - i. Wilson's feud with Lodge, U.S. isolationism, tradition, and disillusionment all contributed to the failure of the treaty, but Wilson must share the blame as well, since he stubbornly went for "all or nothing," and received nothing.
- XXI. The "Solemn Referendum" of 1920
 - 1. Wilson had proposed to take the treaty to the people with a national referendum, but that would have been impossible.
 - 2. In 1920, the Republican Party was back together, thanks in part to Teddy Roosevelt's death in 1919, and it devised a clever platform that would appeal to pro-League and anti-League factions of the party, and they chose Warren G. Harding as their candidate in the "smoke-filled room," with **Calvin Coolidge** as the vice presidential candidate.
 - 3. The Democrats chose **James M. Cox** and **Franklin D. Roosevelt** as VP, and they also supported *a* League of Nations, but not necessarily *the* League of Nations.
 - 4. Warren G. Harding was swept into power
- XXII. The Betrayal of Great Expectations
 - 1. U.S. isolationism doomed the Treaty of Versailles and indirectly led to **World War II**, because France, without an ally, built up a large military force, and Germany, suspicious and fearful, began to illegally do the same.
 - 2. The suffering of Germany and the disorder of the time was used by **Adolf Hitler** to seize power in Germany, build up popularity, and drag Europe into war.
 - 3. It was the U.S.'s responsibility to take charge as the most powerful nation in the world after World War I, but it retreated into isolationism, and let the rest of the world do whatever it wanted in the hopes that the U.S. would not be dragged into another war, but ironically, it was such actions that eventually led the U.S. into WWII.

Chapter 34: “American Life in the ‘Roaring Twenties’”

- I. Insulating America from the Radical Virus
 1. After **World War I**, America turned inward, away from the world, and denounced “radical” foreign ideas and “un-American” lifestyles.
 2. The “red scare” of 1919-20 resulted in Attorney General **A. Mitchell Palmer** (“Fighting Quaker”) using a series of raids to round up and arrest about 6000 suspected Communists.
 3. In December of 1919, 249 alleged alien radicals were deported on the *Buford*.
 4. The red scare severely cut back on free speech for a period, since the hysteria caused many people to want to eliminate any Communists.
 - i. Some states made it illegal to merely *advocate* the violent overthrow of government for social change.
 - ii. In 1921, **Nicola Sacco**, a shoe-factory worker, and **Bartolomeo Vanzetti**, a fish peddler, were convicted of murdering a Massachusetts paymaster and his guard; in that case, the jury and judge were prejudiced in some degree because the two were Italians, atheists, anarchists, and draft dodgers.
 - a. In this time period, anti-foreignism was high as well.
 - b. Liberals and radicals rallied around the two men, but they died anyway.
- II. Hooded Hoodlums of the KKK
 1. The new **Ku Klux Klan** was anti-foreign, anti-Catholic, anti-black, anti-Jewish, anti-pacifist, anti-Communist, anti-internationalist, anti-revolutionist, anti-bootlegger, anti-gambling, anti-adultery, and anti-birth control.
 2. At its peak in the 1920s, it claimed 5 million members, mostly from the South, but it also featured a reign of hooded horror.
 3. It was stopped not by the exposure of its horrible intolerance but by its money fraud!
- III. Stemming the Foreign Flood
 1. In 1920-21, some 800,000 Europeans (mostly from the southeastern regions) came to the U.S., and to quell the fears of the “100% Americans,” Congress passed the **Emergency Quota Act of 1921**, in which newcomers from Europe were restricted at any year to a quota, which was set at 3% of the people of their nationality who lived in the U.S. in 1910.
 - i. This really favored the Slavs and the southeaster Europeans.
 2. This was then replaced by the **Immigration Act of 1924**, which cut the quota down to 2% and the origins base was shifted to that of 1890, when few southeaster Europeans lived in America.
 - i. This act also slammed the door against Japanese immigrants.
 - ii. By 1931, for the first time in history, more people left America than came here.
 3. The immigrant tide was now cut off, but those that were in America struggled to adapt.

- i. Labor unions in particular had difficulty in organizing because of the differences in race, culture, and nationality.

IV. The Prohibition “Experiment”

1. The **18th Amendment** (and later, the **Volstead Act**) prohibited the sale of alcohol, but this law never was effectively enforced because so many people violated it.
2. Actually, most people thought that **Prohibition** was here to stay, and this was especially popular in the Midwest and the South.
3. Prohibition was particularly supported by women and the **Women’s Christian Temperance Union**, but it also posed problems from countries that produced alcohol and tried to ship them to the U.S. (illegally, of course).
4. In actuality, bank savings did increase, and absenteeism in industry did go down.

V. The Golden Age of Gangsterism

1. Prohibition led to the rise of gangs that competed to distribute liquor.
2. In the gang wars of Chicago in the 1920s, about 500 people were murdered, but captured criminals were rare, and convictions even rarer, since gangsters often provided false alibis for each other.
 - i. The most famous of these gangsters was “**Scarface**” **Al Capone**, who was finally caught for (get this) tax evasion.
3. Gangs moved into other activities as well: prostitution, gambling, and narcotics, and by 1930, their annual profit was \$12 – 18 billion!
 - i. In 1932, gangsters kidnapped the baby son of **Charles Lindbergh**, shocking the nation, and this event led Congress to the so-called **Lindbergh Law**, which allowed the death penalty to certain cases of interstate abduction.

VI. Monkey Business in Tennessee

1. Education made strides behind the progressive ideas of **John Dewey**, a professor at Columbia University who set forth principles of “learning by doing” and believed that “education for life” should be the primary goal of school.
 - i. Now, schools were no longer prisons.
 - ii. States also increasingly putting minimum ages for teens to stay in school.
2. A massive health care program launched by the **Rockefeller Foundation** practically eliminated hookworm in the South.
3. Evolutionists were also clashing against creationists, and the prime example of this was the **Scopes Trial**, where John T. Scopes, a teacher high school teacher of Dayton, Tennessee, was charged with teaching evolution.
 - i. **William Jennings Bryan** was among those who were against him, but the one-time “boy orator” was made to sound foolish and childish by expert attorney **Clarence Darrow**, and five days after the end of the trial, Bryan died.
 - ii. The trial proved to be inconclusive.
4. Increasing numbers of Christians were starting to reconcile their differences between religion and the findings of modern science, as evidenced in the new **Churches of Christ** (est. 1906).

VII. The Mass-Consumption Economy

1. Prosperity took off in the “Roaring 20s,” despite the recession of 1920-21, and it was helped by the tax policies of Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellons, which favored the rapid expansion of capital investment.
2. **Henry Ford** perfected the assembly-line production to where this famous **Rouge River Plant** was producing a finished automobile every ten seconds.
3. The **automobile** now provided more freedom, more luxury, and more privacy.
4. A new medium arose as well: advertising, which used persuasion, ploy, seduction, and sex appeal to sell merchandise.
 - i. In 1925, **Bruce Barton**’s bestseller *The Man Nobody Knows* claimed that Jesus Christ was the perfect salesman and that all advertisers should study his techniques.
5. Sports was buoyed by people like home-run hero **George Herman (“Babe”) Ruth** and boxers **Jack Dempsey** and **Georges Carpentier**.

VIII. Putting America on Rubber Tires

1. Americans adapted, rather than invented, the gasoline engine.
2. People like Henry Ford and **Ransom E. Olds** (famous for Oldsmobile) developed the infant auto industry.
3. Early cars stalled and weren’t too reliable, but eventually, cars like the Ford **Model T** became cheap and easy to own.
 - i. In 1929, when the bull market collapsed, 26 million motor vehicles were registered in the United States, or 1 car per 4.9 Americans.

IX. The Advent of the Gasoline Age

1. The automobile spurred 6 million people to new jobs and took over the railroad as king of transportation.
 - i. New roads were constructed, the gasoline industry boomed, and America’s standard of living rose greatly.
 - ii. Cars were luxuries at first, but they rapidly became necessities.
 - iii. The less-attractive states lost population at an alarming rate .
 - iv. However, accidents killed lots of people, and by 1951, 1,000,000 people had died by the car—more than the total of Americans lost to all its previous wars combined.
2. Cars brought adventure, excitement, and pleasure.

X. Humans Develop Wings

1. On December 17, 1903, **Orville** and **Wilbur Wright** flew the first airplane for 12 seconds over a distance of 120 feet.
2. Aviation slowly got off the ground, and they were used a bit in World War I, but afterwards, they really took off (pun not intended) when they became used for mail and more functions.
 - i. The first transcontinental airmail route was established from New York to San Francisco in 1920.
 - ii. At first, there were many accidents and crashes, but later, safety improved.

3. Charles Lindbergh became the first person ever to fly across the Atlantic Ocean when he did it in his *Spirit of St. Louis*, going from New York to Paris.

XI. The Radio Revolution

1. In the 1890s, **Guglielmo Marconi** had already invented wireless telegraphy and his invention was used for long distance communication in the Great War.
2. Then, in November of 1920, the first voice-carrying radio station began broadcasting when KDKA (in Pittsburgh) told of President **Warren G. Harding's** landslide victory.
3. While the automobile lured Americans away from home, the radio lured them back, as millions tuned in to hear favorites like "Amos 'n' Andy" and listen to the "Eveready Hour."
4. Sports were further stimulated while politicians had to adjust their speaking techniques to support the new medium, and music could finally be heard electronically.

XII. Hollywood's Filmland Fantasies

1. **Thomas Edison** was one of those who invented the movie, but in 1903, the real birth of the movie came with *The Great Train Robbery*.
 - i. A first full-length feature was **D.W. Griffith's** *The Birth of a Nation*, which glorified the KKK of the **Reconstruction** era.
2. **Hollywood**, California, quickly became a hot spot for movie production, due to its favorable climate and landscape.
 - i. The first movies featured nudity and heavy-lidded female vampires called "vamps" until a shocked public forced codes of censorship to be placed on them.
3. Propaganda movies of **World War II** would really boost the popularity of movies.
4. Critics, though, did bemoan the vulgarization of popular tastes wrought by radio and movies.
 - i. These new mediums led to the loss of old family traditions, like the telling of an old story by a grandparent.

XIII. The Dynamic Decade

1. For the first time, most Americans lived in urban areas, not the countryside.
2. The birth-control movement was led by fiery **Margaret Sanger**, and the **National Women's Party** began in 1923 to campaign for an **Equal Rights Amendment** to the Constitution.
3. The **Fundamentalists** of old religion even lost ground to the new **Modernists**, who liked to think that God was a "good guy" and the universe was a nice place.
4. A new fad that shocked many conservative older folk (who labeled it as full of erotic suggestions and totally inappropriate) arrived, and the youths who practiced it were called "flappers."
 - i. They danced new dances like the "Charleston" and dressed more provocatively.

- ii. **Sigmund Freud** said that sexual repression was responsible for most of society's ills, and that pleasure and health demanded sexual gratification and liberation.
- 5. Jazz was the music of "flappers," and Blacks like **Handy**, "**Jelly Roll**" **Morton**, and **Joseph King Oliver** gave birth to it.
- 6. Black pride spawned such great leaders as **Langston Hughes** (famous for *The Weary Blues*, which appeared in 1926) and **Marcus Garvey** (founder of the **United Negro Improvement Association** and inspiration for the **Nation of Islam**).

XIV. Literary Liberation

- 1. By the dawn of the 1920s, many of the old writers (**Henry James**, **Henry Adams**, and **William Dean Howells**) had died, and those that survived, like **Edith Wharton** and **Willa Cather** were popular (well, some of them were).
- 2. Many of the new writers, though, hailed from different backgrounds (not Protestant New Englanders).
 - i. **H.L. Mencken**, the "Bad Boy of Baltimore," found fault in lots of things in America.
 - a. He wrote the monthly *American Mercury*.
 - ii. **F. Scott Fitzgerald** wrote *This Side of Paradise* and *The Great Gatsby*, both of which captured the society of the time as it was.
 - iii. **Theodore Dreiser** wrote *An American Tragedy* and dealt with the same theme of the glamour and cruelty of an achievement-oriented society.
 - iv. **Ernest Hemingway** wrote *The Sun Also Rises*, and *Farewell to Arms*.
 - v. **Sherwood Anderson** wrote *Winesburg, Ohio*, and wrote about small-town life.
 - vi. **Sinclair Lewis** disparaged small-town America in his *Main Street* and *Babbitt*.
 - vii. **William Faulkner's** *Soldier's Pay*, *The Sound and the Fury*, and *As I Lay Dying* all were very famous.
- 3. Poetry also was innovative, as **Ezra Pound** and **T.S. Eliot** were two great poets.
- 4. **Eugene O'Neill** was an actor in plays like *Strange Interlude*, and he came from New York.
- 5. Other famous writers included **Claude McKay** and **Zora Neale Hurston**.
- 6. Architecture also made its marks with the designs of **Frank Lloyd Wright**.
 - i. The Empire State Building debuted in 1931.

XV. Wall Street's Big Bull Market

- 1. There was much overspeculation in the 1920s, especially on Florida home properties (until a hurricane took care of that), and even during times of prosperity, many, many banks failed each year.
 - i. The whole system was built on fragile credit.
 - ii. The stock market made headline news.
- 2. Secretary of the Treasury Mellon reduced the amount of taxes that rich people had to pay, thus thrusting the burden onto the middle class.

- i. He reduced the national debt, though, but he has been accused of indirectly encouraging the Bull Market.
- 3. Whatever the case, the prosperities of the 1920s was setting up the crash that would lead to the poverty and suffering of the 1930s.

Chapter 35: “The Politics of Boom and Bust”

- I. The Republican “Old Guard” Returns
 - 1. Newly elected President **Warren G. Harding** was tall, handsome, and popular, but he had a mediocre mind and he did not like to hurt people’s feelings.
 - i. Neither could he detect the corruption of his cabinet.
 - 2. His cabinet did have some good officials, though, such as Secretary of State **Charles Evans Hughes**, who was masterful, imperious, incisive, and brilliant, Secretary of Commerce **Herbert Hoover**, and Secretary of the Treasury **Andrew W. Mellon**.
 - 3. However, people like Senator **Albert B. Fall** of New Mexico, a scheming anti-conservationist, became secretary of the interior, and **Harry M. Daugherty** took over reigns as attorney general.
 - i. These two became the worst of the scandalous cabinet members.
- II. GOP Reaction at the Throttle
 - 1. A good man but a weak one, Harding was the perfect front for old-fashioned politicians to set up a McKinley style old order back onto the U.S.
 - i. It hoped to improve on laissez-faire, and one of the examples of this was the Supreme Court, where Harding appointed four of the nine justices, including **William H. Taft**, former president of the United States.
 - 2. In the early 1920s, the Supreme Court killed a federal child-labor law.
 - i. In the case of *Adkins vs. Children’s Hospital*, the court reversed its ruling in the *Muller vs. Oregon* case by invalidating a minimum wage law for women.
 - 3. Under Harding, corporations could expand again, and anti-trust laws were not as enforced or downright ignored.
 - 4. Men sympathetic to railroads headed the **Interstate Commerce Commission**.
- III. The Aftermath of the War
 - 1. Wartime government controls disappeared (i.e. the dismantling of the **War Industries Board**) and Washington returned control of railroads to private hands by the **Esch-Cummins Transportation Act** of 1920.
 - 2. The **Merchant Marine Act** of 1920 authorized the **Shipping Board**, which controlled about 1500 vessels, to get rid of a lot of ships at bargain prices, thus reducing the navy.
 - 3. Labor lost much of its power, as a strike was ruthlessly broken in 1919, and the **Railway Labor Board** ordered a wage cut of 12% in 1922.
 - i. Labor membership shrank by 30% from 1920 to 1930.

4. In 1921, the **Veterans' Bureau** was created to operate hospitals and provide vocational rehabilitation for the disabled.
 - i. Many veterans wanted the monetary compensation promised to them for their services in the war.
 - ii. The **Adjusted Compensation Act** gave every former soldier a paid-up insurance policy due in twenty years, and was passed by Congress twice (the second time to override president **Calvin Coolidge's** veto).
- IV. America Seeks Benefits Without Burdens
1. Since America had never ratified the **Treaty of Versailles**, it was still technically at war with Germany, so in July of 1921, it passed a simple joint resolution ending the war.
 2. The U.S. did not cooperate much with the **League of Nations**, but eventually, "unofficial observers" did participate in conferences.
 3. In the Middle East, Secretary Hughes secured for American oil companies the right to share in the exploitation of the oil riches there.
 4. Disarmament was another problem for Harding, who had to watch the actions of Japan and Britain for any possible hostile activities.
- V. Ship-Scrapping at the Washington Conference
1. The **Washington "Disarmament" Conference** of 1921-22 resulted in a plan in which a 5:5:3 ratio of ships that could be held by the U.S., Britain, and Japan (in that order) was proposed by Hughes, surprising many delegates (the Soviet Union, which was not recognized by the U.S., was not invited and did not attend).
 2. The **Five-Power Naval Treaty** of 1922 embodied Hughes's ideas on ship ratios, but only after Japanese received compensation.
 3. A **Four-Power Treaty**, which bound Britain, Japan, France, and the U.S. to preserve the status quo in the Pacific, replaced the 20-year-old **Anglo-Japanese Alliance**.
 4. The **Nine-Power Treaty** of 1922 kept the open door open in China.
 5. However, despite all this apparent action, there were no limits placed on small ships, and Congress only approved the Four-Power Treaty on the condition that the U.S. was *not* bound, thus effectively rendering that treaty useless.
 6. **Frank B. Kellogg**, Calvin Coolidge's Secretary of State, won the Nobel Peace Prize for his role in the **Kellog-Briand Pact (Pact of Paris)**, which said that all nations that signed would no longer use war as offensive means.
- VI. Hiking the Tariff Higher
1. Businessmen did not want Europe flooding American markets with cheap goods after the war, so Congress passed the **Fordney-McCumber Tariff Law**, which raised the tariff from 27% to 35%.
 - i. Presidents Harding and Coolidge were much more prone to increasing tariffs than decreasing them.
 2. However, this presented a problem: Europe needed to sell goods to the U.S. in order to get the money to pay back its debts, and when it could not sell, it could not repay.

VII. The Stench of Scandal

1. However, scandal rocked the Harding administration in 1923 when **Charles R. Forbes** was caught with his hand in the till and resigned as the head of the Veterans' Bureau.
 - i. He and his accomplices looted the government for over \$200 million.
2. The **Teapot Dome Scandal** was the most shocking of all.
 - i. Albert B. Fall leased land in Teapot Dome, Wyoming, and Elk Hills, California, to oilmen **Harry F. Sinclair** and **Edward L. Doheny**, but not until Fall had received a "loan" (actually a bribe) of \$100,000 from Doheny and about three times that amount from Sinclair.
3. There were reports as to the underhanded doings of Attorney General Daugherty, in which he was accused of the illegal sale of pardons and liquor permits.
4. President Harding, however, died in San Francisco on August 2, 1923, of pneumonia and thrombosis, and he didn't have to live through much of the uproar of the scandal.

VIII. Calvin Coolidge: A Yankee in the White House

1. New president Calvin Coolidge was serious and never spoke more than he needed to.
2. A very morally clean person, he was not touched by the Harding scandals, and he proved to be a bright figure in the Republican Party.

IX. Frustrated Farmers

1. **World War I** had given the farmers much prosperity, as they had produced much food for the soldiers.
 - i. New technology in farming, such as the **gasoline-engine tractor**, had increased farm production dramatically.
2. However, after the war, these products weren't needed, and the farmers fell into poverty.
3. Farmers looked for relief, and the **Capper-Volstead Act**, which exempted farmers' marketing cooperatives from antitrust prosecution, and the **McNary-Haugen Bill**, which sought to keep agricultural prices high by authorizing the government to buy up surpluses and sell them abroad, helped a little.
 - i. However, Coolidge vetoed the second bill...twice.

X. A Three-Way Race for the White House in 1924

1. Coolidge was chosen by the Republicans again, while Democrats nominated **John W. Davis** after 102 ballots in Madison Square Garden.
 - i. The Democrats also voted by one vote NOT to condemn the **Ku Klux Klan**.
2. Senator **Robert La Follette** led Progressive Party as the third party candidate.
 - i. He gained the endorsement of the **American Federation of Labor** and the shrinking **Socialist Party**, and he actually received 5 million votes.
 - ii. However, Calvin Coolidge easily won the election.

XI. Foreign-Policy Flounderings

1. Isolationism continued to reign in the Coolidge era, as the Senate did not allow America to adhere to the **World Court**, the judicial part of the League of Nations.
2. In the Caribbean and Latin America, U.S. troops were withdrawn from the Dominican Republic in 1924 but remained in Haiti from 1914 to 1934.
 - i. Coolidge took out troops from Nicaragua in 1925, and then sent them back the next year, and in 1926, he defused a situation with Mexico where the Mexicans were claiming sovereignty over oil resources.
 - ii. However, Latin Americans began to resent the American dominance of them.
3. The European debt to America also proved tricky.

XII. Unraveling the Debt Knot

1. Because America demanded that Britain and France pay their debts, those two nations put huge reparation payments on Germany, which then, to pay them, printed out lots of paper money that cause inflation to soar.
 - i. At one point in October of 1923, a loaf of bread cost 480 million marks.
2. Finally, in 1924, **Charles Dawes** engineered the **Dawes Plan**, which rescheduled German reparations payments and gave the way for further American *private* loans to Germany.
 - i. Essentially, the payments were a huge circle, with American never really gaining any money or repaid in genuine.
 - ii. Also, the U.S. gained bitter enemies in France and Britain who were angry over America's apparent greed and careless nature for others.

XIII. The Triumph of Herbert Hoover, 1928

1. In 1928, Calvin Coolidge said, "I do not choose to run," and his logical successor immediately became economics genius Herbert Hoover.
 - i. Hoover was opposed by New York governor **Alfred E. Smith**, a man who was blanketed by scandal (he drank during a Prohibitionist era and was a Roman Catholic).
2. Radio turned out to be an important factor in the campaign, and Hoover's personality sparkled on this new medium (compared to Smith, who sounded stupid and boyish).
3. Hoover had never been elected to public office before, but he had made his way up from poverty to prosperity, and believed that other people could do so as well.
4. There was, once again, below-the-belt hitting on both sides, as the campaign took an ugly turn, but Hoover triumphed in a landslide, with 444 Electoral votes to Smith's 87.

XIV. President Hoover's First Moves

1. Hoover's **Agricultural Marketing Act**, passed in June of 1929, was designed to help the farmers help themselves, and it set up a **Federal Farm Board** to help the farmers.

- i. In 1930, the Farm Board created the **Grain Stabilization Corporation** and the **Cotton Stabilization Corporation** to bolster sagging prices by buying surpluses.
 - 2. The **Hawley-Smoot Tariff** of 1930 raised the tariff to an unbelievable 60%!!!
 - 3. Foreigners hated this tariff that reversed a promising worldwide trend toward reasonable tariffs and widened the yawning trade gaps.
- XV. The Great Crash Ends the Golden Twenties
- 1. Herbert confidently predicted an end to poverty very soon, but on October 29, 1929, a devastating crash caused by overspeculation and overly high stock prices built only upon non-existent credit struck the nation.
 - i. Losses, even in blue-chip securities, were unbelievable, as by the end of 1929, stockholders had lost over \$40 million in paper values (more than the cost of World War I)!!!
 - ii. By the end of 1930, 4 million Americans were jobless, and two years later, that number shot up to 12 million.
 - iii. Over 5000 banks collapsed in the first three years of the **Great Depression**.
 - iv. Lines formed at soup kitchens and at homeless shelters.
- XVI. Hooked on the Horn of Plenty
- 1. The Great Depression might have been caused by an overabundance of farm products and factory products; the nation's capacity to produce goods had clearly outrun its capacity to consume or pay for them.
 - 2. Also, an over-expansion of credit created unsound faith in money, and many bought too much to pay.
 - 3. Britain and France, which had never fully recovered from World War I, worsened.
 - 4. In 1930, a terrible drought scorched the Mississippi Valley and thousands of farms were sold to pay for debts.
 - 5. By 1930, the depression was a national crisis, and hard-working workers had nowhere to work; thus, people turned bitter and also turned on Hoover.
 - i. Villages of shanties and ragged shacks were called **Hoovervilles** and were inhabited by the people who had lost their jobs.
- XVII. Rugged Times for Rugged Individualists
- 1. Hoover unfairly received the brunt of the blame for the Great Depression, but he did pass measures that made the depression less severe than it could have been.
 - i. Critics noted that he could feed millions in Belgium (after World War I) but not millions at home in America.
 - 2. He did not believe in government tampering of the economic machine, and he felt that depressions like this were simply parts of the natural economic process.
 - i. However, by the end of his term, he had started to take steps for the government to help the people
- XVIII. Herbert Hoover: Pioneer for the New Deal

1. Finally, Hoover voted to withdraw \$2.25 billion to start projects to alleviate the suffering of the depression.
 - i. The **Hoover Dam** of the Colorado River was one such project.
2. The **Muscle Shoals Bill**, which was designed to dam the Tennessee River and was ultimately embraced by the **Tennessee Valley Authority**, was vetoed by Hoover.
3. Early in 1932, Congress, responding to Hoover's appeal, established the **Reconstruction Finance Corporation**, which became a government lending bank.
 - i. However, giant corporations were the ones that benefited most from this, and the RFC was another one of the targets of Hoover's critics.
4. In 1932, Congress passed the **Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act**, which outlawed anti-union contracts and forbade the federal courts to issue injunctions to restrain strikes, boycotts, and peaceful picketing.
5. Remember that in past depressions, the American public was often forced to "sweat it out," not wait for government help.

XIX. Routing the Bonus Army in Washington

1. Many veterans which had not been paid their compensation marched to Washington, D.C. to demand their *entire* bonus/
 - i. The "**Bonus Expeditionary Force**" erected unsanitary camps and shacks in vacant lots, creating health hazards and annoyance.
 - ii. Riots followed after troops came in to intervene (after Congress tried to pass a bonus bill but failed), and many people died.
 - iii. Hoover falsely charged that the force was led by riffraff and reds, and the American opinion turned even more against him.

XX. Japanese Militarists Attack China

1. In September 1931, Japan, alleging provocation, invaded Manchuria and shut the Open Door.
2. Peaceful peoples were stunned, as this was a flagrant violation of the League of Nations covenant, and a meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, was arranged.
3. An American actually attended, but instead of driving Japan out of China, the meeting drove Japan out of the League, thus weakening it further.
4. Secretary of State **Henry Stimson** did indicate that the U.S. probably would not interfere with a League of Nations embargo on Japan, but he was later restrained from taking action.
 - i. Since the U.S. did no effective thing, the Japanese bombed Shanghai in 1932, and even then, outraged Americans didn't do much to change the Japanese minds.

XXI. Hoover Pioneers the Good Neighbor Policy

1. Hoover was deeply interested in relations south of the border, and during his term, U.S. relations with Latin America and the Caribbean improved greatly.
 - i. Since the U.S. had less money to spend, it was unable to dominate Latin America as much, and later, **Franklin D. Roosevelt** would build upon these policies.

Chapter 36: “The Great Depression and the New Deal”

I. FDR: A Politician in a Wheelchair

1. In 1932, voters still had not seen any improvement, and wanted a new president.
2. President **Herbert Hoover** was nominated again without much vigor and true enthusiasm, and he campaigned saying that his policies prevented the **Great Depression** from being worse than it was.
3. The Democrats nominated **Franklin Delano Roosevelt**, a tall, handsome man who was the fifth cousin of famous Theodore Roosevelt and had followed in his footsteps.
 - i. FDR was suave and conciliatory while TR was pugnacious and confrontational.
 - ii. FDR was stricken with polio in 1921, and during this time, his wife, **Eleanor**, became his political partner.
 - a. Eleanor was to become the most active First Lady ever.
 - iii. Franklin also lost a friend in 1932 when he and **Al Smith** both sought the Democratic nomination.

II. Presidential Hopefuls of 1932

1. In the campaign, Roosevelt seized the opportunity to prove that he was not an invalid, and his campaign also featured an attack on Hoover’s spending (ironically, he would spend even more during his term).
2. The Democrats found expression in the airy tune “Happy Days Are Here Again,” and clearly, the Democrats had the advantage in this race.

III. The Humiliation of Hoover in 1932

1. Hoover had been swept into the presidential office in 1928, but in 1932, he was swept *out* with equal force, as he was defeated 472 to 59.
2. Noteworthy was the transition of Blacks from the Republican to the Democratic Party.
3. During the lame-duck period, Hoover tried to initiate some of Roosevelt’s plans but was met by stubbornness and resistance.
4. Hooverites would later accuse FDR of letting the depression worsen so that he could emerge an even more shining savior.

IV. FDR and the Three R’s: Relief, Recovery, and Reform

1. On Inauguration Day, FDR asserted, “the only thing we have to fear is fear itself.”
2. He called for a nationwide banking holiday to eliminate paranoid bank withdrawals, and then commenced on his Three R’s.
3. The Democratic-controlled Congress was willing to do as FDR said, and the first 100 days of FDR’s administration were filled with more legislative activity than ever before.
 - i. Many of the New Deal Reforms had been adopted by European nations a decade before.

V. Roosevelt Tackles Money and Banking

1. The **Emergency Banking Relief Act** of 1933 as passed first.
2. Then, Roosevelt settled down for the first of his thirty famous “**Fireside Chats.**”
3. The “**Hundred Days Congress**” passed the **Glass-Steagall Banking Reform Act**, that provided the **Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation**, which insured individual deposits up to \$5000, thereby eliminating the epidemic of bank failure and restoring faith to banks.
4. FDR then took the nation off of the gold standard and achieved controlled inflation by ordering Congress to buy gold at increasingly higher prices.
 - i. In February 1934, he announced that the U.S. would pay foreign gold at a rate of one ounce of gold per very \$35 due.

VI. Creating Jobs for the Jobless

1. Roosevelt had no qualms about using federal money to assist the unemployed, so he created the **Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)**, which provided employment in fresh-air government camps for about 3 million uniformed young men.
 - i. They reforested areas, became fire fighters, drained swamps, and controlled floods.
 - ii. However, critics accused FDR of militarizing the youths and acting as dictator
2. The **Federal Emergency Relief Act** looked for immediate relief rather than long-term alleviation, and its **Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)** was headed by the zealous **Harry L. Hopkins**.
3. The **Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA)** made available many millions of dollars to help farmers meet their mortgages.
4. The **Home Owners’ Loan Corporation (HOLC)** refinanced mortgages on non-farm homes and bolted down the loyalties of middle class, Democratic homeowners.
5. The **Civil Works Administration (CWA)** was established late in 1933, and it was designed to provide purely temporary jobs during the winter emergency.
 - i. Many of its tasks were rather frivolous and were designed for the sole purpose of making jobs.
6. One FDR opponent was **Father Charles Coughlin**, a Catholic priest in Michigan who disliked the **New Deal** and voiced his opinions on radio.
7. Senator **Huey P. Long** of Louisiana was popular for his “**Share the Wealth**” program, where every family was to receive \$5000, allegedly from the rich.
 - i. His chief lieutenant was former clergyman **Gerald L. K. Smith**.
 - ii. He was later shot by a deranged medical doctor in 1935.
8. **Dr. Francis E. Townsend** of California attracted the trusting support of perhaps 5 million “senior citizens” with his fantastic plan of each senior receiving \$200 month, provided that all of it would be spent within the month.
9. Congress also authorized the **Works Progress Administration (WPA)** in 1935, which put \$11 million on thousands of public buildings, bridges, and hard-surfaced roads and gave 9 million people jobs in its eight year existence.

- i. It also found part-time jobs for needy high school and college students and for actors, musicians, and writers.
- ii. **John Steinbeck** counted dogs in his California county.

VII. A Helping Hand for Industry and Labor

1. The **National Recovery Administration** (NRA), by far the most complicated of the programs, was designed to assist industry, labor, and the unemployed.
 - i. There were maximum hours of labor, minimum wages, and more rights for labor union members, including the right to choose their *own* representatives in bargaining.
 - ii. The Philadelphia Eagles were named after this act, which received much support and patriotism, but eventually, it was shot down by the Supreme Court.
 - a. Besides too much was expected of labor, industry, and the public.
2. The **Public Works Administration** also intended both for industrial recovery and for unemployment relief.
 - i. Headed by Secretary of the Interior **Harold L. Ickes**, it aimed at long-range recovery by spending over \$4 billion on some 34,000 projects that included public buildings, highways, and parkways (i.e. the **Grand Coulee Dam** of the Columbia River).
3. One of the Hundred Days Congress's earliest acts was to legalize light wine and beer with an alcoholic content of 3.2% or less and also levied a \$5 tax on every barrel manufactured.
 - i. Prohibition was officially repealed with the **21st Amendment**.

VIII. Paying Farmers Not to Farm

1. To help the farmers, which had been suffering ever since the end of World War I, Congress established the **Agricultural Adjustment Administration**, which paid farmers to reduce their crop acreage and would eliminate price-depressing surpluses.
 - i. However, it got off to a rocky start when it killed lots of pigs for not good reason, and paying farmers not to farm actually increased unemployment.
 - ii. The Supreme Court killed it in 1936.
2. The New Deal Congress also passed the **Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act** of 1936, which paid farmers to plant soil-conserving plants like soybeans or to let their land lie fallow.
3. The **Second Agricultural Adjustment Act** of 1938 was a more comprehensive substitute that continued conservation payments but was accepted by the Supreme Court.

IX. Dust Bowls and Black Blizzards

1. After the drought of 1933, furious winds whipped up dust into the air, turning parts of Missouri, Texas, Kansas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma into the **Dust Bowl**

and forcing many farmers to migrate west to California (ala *The Grapes of Wrath*).

- i. The dust was very hazardous to the health and to living, creating further misery.
 2. The **Fazier-Lemke Farm Bankruptcy Act**, passed in 1934, made possible a suspension of mortgage foreclosure for five years, but it was voided in 1935 by the Supreme Court.
 3. In 1935, FDR set up the **Resettlement Administration**, charged with the task of removing near-farmless farmers to better land.
 4. **Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier** sought to reverse the forced-assimilation policies in place since the **Dawes Act** of 1887.
 - i. He promoted the **Indian Reorganization Act** of 1934 (the Indian “New Deal”), which encouraged tribes to preserve their culture and traditions.
 - ii. Not all Indians liked it; 77 tribes refused to organize under its provisions (200 did).
- X. Battling Bankers and Big Business
1. The **Federal Securities Act** (“Truth in Securities Act”) required promoters to transmit to the investor sworn information regarding the soundness of their stocks and bonds.
 2. The **Securities and Exchange Commission** was designed as a watchdog administrative agency, and stock markets henceforth were to operate more as trading marts than as casinos.
 3. In 1932, Chicagoan **Samuel Insull**’s multi-billion dollar financial empire had crashed, and such cases as his resulted in the **Public Utility Holding Company Act** of 1935.
- XI. The TVA Harnesses the Tennessee River
1. The sprawling electric-power industry attracted the fire of New Deal reformers.
 - i. New Dealers accused it of gouging the public with excessive rates.
 2. Thus, the **Tennessee Valley Authority** (1933) sought to discover exactly how much money it took to produce electricity and then keep rates reasonable.
 - i. It constructed dams on the Tennessee River and helped the 2.5 million extremely poor citizens of the area improve their lives and their conditions.
 - ii. Hydroelectric power of Tennessee would give rise to that of the West.
- XII. Housing Reform and Social Security
1. To speed recovery and better homes, FDR set up the **Federal Housing Administration** (FHA) in 1934 to stimulate the building industry through small loans to householders.
 - i. It was one of the few “alphabetical” agencies to outlast the age of Roosevelt.

2. Congress bolstered the program in 1937 by authorizing the **U.S. Housing Authority** (USHA), designed to lend money to states or communities for low-cost construction.
 - i. This was the first time in American history that slum areas stopped growing.
 3. The **Social Security Act** of 1935 was the greatest victory for New Dealers, since it created pension and insurance for the old-aged, the blind, the physically handicapped, delinquent children, and other dependents by taxing employees and employers.
 - i. Republican attacked this bitterly.
- XIII. A New Deal for Unskilled Labor
1. A rash of walkouts occurred in the summer of 1934, and after the NRA was axed, the **Wagner Act** (aka National Labor Relations Act) of 1935 took its place.
 - i. Under the encouragement of a highly sympathetic **National Labor Relations Board**, unskilled laborers began to organize themselves into effective unions, one of which was **John L. Lewis**, the boss of the **United Mine Workers** who also succeeded in forming the **Committee for Industrial Organization** (CIO) within the ranks of the AF of L in 1935.
 - ii. The CIO later left the AF of L and won a victory against General Motors.
- XIV. Roosevelt's "Coddling" of Labor
1. The CIO also won a victory against the **United States Steel Company**, but smaller steel companies struck back, resulting in such incidences as the **Memorial Day Massacre** of 1937 at the plant of the **Republic Steel Company of South Chicago** in which police fired upon workers, leaving scores killed or injured.
 2. In 1938, the **Fair Labor Standards Act** (Wages and Hours Bill) was passed, setting up minimum wage and maximum hours standards and forbidding children under the age of sixteen from working.
 3. Roosevelt enjoyed immense support from the labor unions.
 4. In 1938, the CIO broke completely with the AF of L and renamed itself the **Congress of Industrial Organizations** (the new CIO).
- XV. Landon Challenges "the Champ" in 1936
1. The Republicans nominated Kansas Governor **Alfred M. Landon** to run against FDR.
 - i. Landon was weak on the radio and weaker in personal campaigning, and while he criticized FDR's spending, he also favored enough of FDR's New Deal to be ridiculed by the Democrats as an unsure idiot.
 2. In 1934, the **American Liberty League** had been formed by conservative Democrats and wealthy Republicans to fight "socialistic" New Deal schemes.
 3. Roosevelt won in a super huge landslide, getting 523 Electoral votes to Landon's 8.
 4. FDR won primarily because he appealed to the "forgotten man," whom he never forgot.

XVI. Nine Old Men on the Supreme Bench

1. The **20th Amendment** had cut the lame-duck period down to six weeks, so FDR began his second term on January 20, 1937, instead of on March 4.
2. He controlled Congress, but the Supreme Court kept on blocking his programs, so he proposed a shocking plan that would add a member to the Supreme Court for every existing member over the age of 70, for a maximum possible total of 15 total members.
 - i. For once, Congress voted against him because it did not want to lose its power.
3. Roosevelt was ripped for trying to be a dictator.

XVII. The Court Changes Course

1. FDR's "court-packing scheme" failed, but he did get some of the justices to start to vote his way, including **Owen J. Roberts**, formerly regarded as a conservative.
2. So, FDR did obtain his purpose of getting the Supreme Court to vote his way.
3. However, his failure of the court-packing scheme also showed how Americans still did not wish to tamper with the sacred justice system.

XVIII. The Twilight of the New Deal

1. During Roosevelt's first term, the depression did not disappear, and unemployment, down from 25%, was still at 15%.
 - i. In 1937, the economy took another (brief) downturn when the "Roosevelt recession," caused by government policies, occurred.
 - ii. Finally, FDR embraced the policies of British economist **John Maynard Keynes**.
2. In 1937, he announced a bold program to stimulate the economy by planned deficit spending.
3. In 1939, Congress relented to FDR's pressure and passed the **Reorganization Act**, which gave him limited powers for administrative reforms, including the key new **Executive Office in the White House**.
4. The **Hatch Act** of 1939 barred federal administrative officials, except the highest policy-making officers from active political campaigning and soliciting.

XIX. New Deal or Raw Deal?

1. Foes of the New Deal condemned its waste, citing that nothing had been accomplished.
2. Critics were shocked by the "try anything" attitude of FDR, who had increased the federal debt from \$19.487 million in 1932 to \$40.440 million in 1939.
3. It took **World War II**, though, to really lower unemployment, but the war also created a heavier debt than before.

XX. FDR's Balance Sheet

1. New Dealers claimed that the New Deal had alleviated the worst of the Great Depression.
2. FDR also deflected popular resentments against business and may have saved the American system of free enterprise, yet business tycoons hated him.

3. He provided bold reform without revolution.
4. Later, he would guide the nation through a titanic war in which the democracy of the world would be at stake.

Chapter 37: “Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Shadow of War”

- I. The London Conference
 3. The 1933 **London Conference** of the summer of 1933 was composed of 66 nations that came together to try to make a worldwide solution to the **Great Depression**.
 - i. U.S. President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** at first agreed to send Secretary of State **Cordell Hull** but withdrew that agreement and scolded the other nations for trying to stabilize currencies.
 - ii. As a result, the conference adjourned accomplishing nothing, furthermore strengthening extreme nationalism.
- XIV. Freedom for (from?) the Filipinos and Recognition for the Russians
 1. With hard times, Americans were eager to do away with their liabilities to the Philippine Islands, and American sugar producers wanted to get rid of the Filipino sugar makers due to competition.
 2. In 1934, Congress passed the **Tydings-McDuffie Act**, stating that the Philippines would receive their independence after 12 years of economic and political tutelage, in 1946.
 - i. Army bases were relinquished but naval bases were kept.
 3. Americans were freeing themselves of a liability, creeping into further isolationism, while militarists in Japan began to see that they could take over the Pacific easily without U.S. interference or resistance.
 4. In 1933, FDR finally formally recognized the **Soviet Union**, hoping that the U.S. could trade with the USSR and that the Soviets would discourage German and Japanese aggression.
- XV. Becoming a Good Neighbor
 1. In terms of its relations with Latin America, the U.S. wanted to be a “good neighbor,” showing that it was content as a regional power, not a world one.
 2. In 1933, FDR renounced armed intervention in Latin America at the **Seventh Pan-American Conference** in Montevideo, Uruguay, and the following year, U.S. marines left Haiti.
 3. U.S. also lifted troops from Panama, but when Mexican forces seized Yankee oil properties, FDR found himself urged to take drastic action.
 - i. However, he resisted and worked out a peaceful deal.
 - ii. His “good neighbor” policy was a great success, improving the U.S. image in Latin American eyes.
- XVI. Secretary Hull’s Reciprocal Trade Agreement

1. Secretary of State Hull believed that trade was a two-way street, and he had a part in Congress's passing of the **Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act** in 1934, which activated low-tariff policies while aiming at relief and recovery by lifting American trade.
 - i. This act whittled down the most objectionable schedules of the **Hawley-Soot** law by amending them, lowering rates by as much as half, provided that the other country would do the same for the United States.
2. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act reversed the traditional high-tariff policy that had damaged America before and paved the way for the American-led free-trade international economic system that was implemented after **World War II**.

XVII. Impulses Toward Storm-Center Isolationism

1. After **World War I**, many dictatorships sprang up, including **Joseph Stalin** of the Soviet Union, **Benito Mussolini** of Italy, and **Adolph Hitler** of Germany.
 - i. Of the three, Hitler was the most dangerous, because he was a great orator and persuader who led the German people to believe his "big lie," making them think that he could lead the country back to greatness and out of this time of poverty and depression.
2. In 1936, Nazi Hitler and Fascist Mussolini allied themselves in the **Rome-Berlin Axis**.
3. Japan slowly began gaining strength, refusing to cooperate with the world and quickly arming itself by ending the **Washington Naval Treaty** in 1934 and walking out of the London Conference.
4. In 1935, Mussolini attacked Ethiopia, conquering it, but the **League of Nations** failed to take effective action against the aggressors.
5. America continued to hide behind the shell of isolationism, believing that everything would stay good if the U.S. wasn't drawn into any international embroilments.
 - i. The 1934 **Johnson Debt Default Act** forbade any countries that still owed the U.S. money from borrowing any more cash.
6. In 1936, a group of Princeton University students began to agitate for a bonus to be paid to the **Veterans of Future Wars** (VFWs) while the perspective front-liners were still alive.

XVIII. Congress Legislates Neutrality

1. The 1934 **Nye Committee** was formed to investigate whether or not munitions manufacturers were pro-war for the sole purpose of making more money and profits, as the press blamed such producers for dragging America into the First World War.
2. To prevent America from being sucked into war, Congress passed Neutrality Acts in 1935-37, acts which stated that when the president proclaimed the existence of a foreign war, certain restrictions would automatically go into effect: no American could legally sail on a belligerent ship or sell or transport munitions to a belligerent, or make loans to a belligerent.

- i. The flaw with these acts was that they were designed to prevent America from being pulled into a war like World War I, but World War II would prove to be different.

XIX. America Dooms Loyalist Spain

1. During the **Spanish Civil War** (1936-39), Spanish rebels led by the Fascist General **Francisco Franco** rose up against the leftist-leaning republican government.
 - i. In order to stay out of the war, the U.S. put an embargo on both the loyalist government, which was supported by the USSR, and the rebels, which were aided by Hitler and Mussolini.
 - ii. The U.S. just stood by while Franco smothered the democratic government, letting a fellow democracy die just to stay out of war, and it also failed to build up its fleet, since most people believed that huge fleets led to huge wars.
 - a. It was not until 1938 that Congress passed a billion-dollar naval construction act, but then it was too little too late.

XX. Appeasing Japan and Germany

1. In 1937, Japan essentially invaded China, but FDR didn't call this combat "a war," thus allowing the Chinese to still get arms from the U.S., and in Chicago of that year, he merely verbally chastised the aggressors, calling for "a quarantine" of Japan (through economic embargoes, perhaps); this was his famous "Quarantine Speech."
 - i. However, this speech angered many isolationists, and FDR backed down a little from any more direct actions.
2. In December 1937, the Japanese bombed and sank the American gunboat, the ***Panay***, but then made the necessary apologies, "saving" America from entering into war against it.
 - i. To vent their frustration, the Japanese resorted to humiliating White civilians in China through slappings and strippings.
3. Meanwhile, Hitler was growing bolder and bolder after being allowed to introduce mandatory military service in Germany, take over the German Rhineland, persecute and exterminate about six million Jews, and occupy Austria—all because the European powers were appeasing him.
 - i. They hoped that each conquest of Germany would be the last.
4. However, Hitler didn't stop, and at the September 1938 **Munich Conference**, the Allies agreed to let Hitler have **Sudetenland** of neighboring Czechoslovakia, but six months later, in 1939, Hitler pulled the last straw and took over *all* of Czechoslovakia.

XXI. Hitler's Belligerency and U.S. Neutrality

1. On August 23, 1939, the USSR shocked the world by signing a nonaggression treaty with Germany.

- i. Now, it seemed that Germany could engulf all of Europe, especially without having to worry about fighting a two-front war in case war occurred.
- 2. In 1939, Hitler invaded Poland, and France and Britain finally declared war against Germany, but America refused to enter the war, its citizens not wanting to be “suckers” again.
 - i. They were anti-Hitler and anti-Nazi and wanted Britain and France to win, but they would not permit themselves to be dragged into fighting and bloodshed.
- 3. European powers needed American supplies, but the previous Neutrality Acts forbade the sale of arms to nations in war, so a new Neutrality Act of 1939 allowed European nations to buy war materials, but only on a “cash-and-carry” basis, which meant that they’d have to provide their own ships and pay for the arms in cash.
 - i. Since the British and French controlled the seas, the Germans couldn’t buy arms from America—as it was intended.

XXII. Aftermath of the Fall of France

- 1. After the fall of Poland, Hitler positioned his forces to attack France, leading to a lull in the war (so that men could move) that was pierced only by the Soviet Union’s attack and conquering of Finland, despite \$30 million from the U.S. (for *nonmilitary* reasons).
- 2. Then, in 1940, the “phony war” ended when Hitler overran Denmark and Norway, and then took over the Netherlands and Belgium.
 - i. Blitzing without stop or mercy, he then forced a paralyzing blow toward France, which was forced to surrender by late June of that year.
 - ii. The fall of France was shocking, because now, all that stood between Hitler and the world was Britain: if the English lost, Hitler would have all of Europe to operate, and he might take over the Americas as well.
- 3. Finally, Roosevelt moved and called for the nation to massively build up its armed forces, with expenses totaling more than \$37 million, and he also had Congress pass the first peacetime draft in U.S. history on September 6, 1940.
 - i. 1.2 million troops and 800,000 reserves would be trained.
- 4. At the **Havana Conference**, the U.S. warned Germany that it could not take over orphan colonies in the Americas, as such action wouldn’t be tolerated.

XXIII. Bolstering Britain with the Destroyer Deal (1940)

- 1. Now, with Britain the only power fighting against Germany, FDR had to decide whether to remain totally neutral or to help Britain.
 - i. Hitler launched air attacks against the British in August 1940 and prepared an invasion scheduled to start a month later, but the tenacious defense of the British Royal Air Force stopped that.
- 2. Those who supported helping Britain formed the **Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies**, while those for isolationism (including **Charles A. Lindbergh**) were in the **America First Committee**, and both groups campaigned and advertised for their respective positions.

3. Britain was in dire need for destroyers, and on September 2, 1940, FDR boldly moved to transfer 50 old-model, four-funnel destroyers left over from WWI, and in return, the British promised to give the U.S. eight valuable defensive base sites stretching from Newfoundland to South America.
 - i. These would stay in American ownership for 99 years.
 - ii. Obviously, this caused controversy, but FDR had begun to stop playing the silly old games of isolationism and was slowly starting to step out into the spotlight.

XXIV. FDR Shatters the Two-Term Tradition (1940)

1. At first, it was thought that **Robert A. Taft** of Ohio or **Thomas E. Dewey** would be the Republican candidate, but a colorful and magnetic newcomer who went from a nobody to a candidate in a matter of weeks, **Wendell L. Willkie**, became the Republican against Democratic candidate...Franklin D. Roosevelt, who waited until the last moment to challenge the two-term tradition.
 - i. Democrats felt that FDR was the only man qualified to be president, especially in so grave of a situation as was going on.
2. Willkie and FDR weren't really different in the realm of foreign affairs, but Willkie hit hard with his attacks on the third term
3. Still, FDR won because voters felt that, should war come, FDR was the best man to lead America.

XXV. Congress Passes the Landmark Lend-Lease Law

1. Britain was running out of money, but Roosevelt didn't want all the hassles that came with calling back debts, so he came up with the idea of a lend-lease program in which the arms and ships, etc... that the U.S. lent to the nations that needed them would be returned when they were no longer needed.
 - i. Senator Taft retorted that in this case, though, the U.S. wouldn't want them back because it would be like lending chewing gum that was chewed, then taking it back.
2. The lend-lease bill was argued over heatedly in Congress, but it passed, and by war's end, America had sent about \$50 billion worth of arms and equipment.
 - i. The lend-lease act was basically the abandonment of the neutrality policy, and Hitler recognized this.
 - ii. Before, German submarines had avoided attacking U.S. ships, but after the passage, they started to fire upon U.S. ships as well, such as the May 21, 1941 torpedoing of the *Robin Moor*.

XXVI. Hitler's Assault on the Soviet Union Spawns the Atlantic Charter

1. On June 22, 1941, Hitler attacked Russia, because ever since the signing of the nonaggression pact, neither Stalin nor Hitler had trusted each other, and both had been plotting to double-cross each other.
 - i. Hitler assumed his invincible troops would crush the inferior Soviet soldiers, but the valor of the Red army, U.S. aid to the USSR (through

lend-lease), and an early and bitter winter stranded the German force at Moscow and shifted the tide against Germany.

2. The **Atlantic Conference** was held in August 1941, and the resort was the eight-point **Atlantic Charter**, which was suggestive of **Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points**.
 - i. There would be no territorial changes contrary to the wishes of the natives.
 - ii. The charter also affirmed the right for people to choose their rulers (i.e. no dictators).
 - iii. It declared disarmament and a peace of security, as well as a new League of Nations.
3. Critics charged that "neutral America" was interfering, ignoring that America was no longer neutral.

XXVII.U.S. Destroyers and Hitler's U-Boats Clash

1. To ensure that arms sent to Britain would reach there, FDR finally agreed that a convoy would have to escort them, but only as far as Iceland, as Britain would take over from there.
2. There were clashes, as U.S. destroyers like the *Greer*, the *Kearny*, and the *Reuben James* were attacked by the Germans.
3. By mid-November 1941, Congress annulled the now-useless Neutrality Act of 1939.

XXVIII.Heading for the Surprise Assault at Pearl Harbor

1. Japan was still embroiled in war with China, but when America suddenly imposed embargoes on key supplies on Japan in 1940, the imperialistic nation had no choice but to either back off of China or attack the U.S.; they chose the latter, obviously.
2. The American had broken the Japanese code and knew that they would declare war soon, but the U.S. could not attack, so based on what the Japanese supposedly planned, most Americans thought that the Japanese would attack **British Malaya** or the **Philippines**.
3. However, the paralyzing blow struck **Pearl Harbor**, as on December 7, 1941, Japanese air bombers suddenly attacked the naval base located there (where almost the entire U.S. fleet was located), wiping out many battleships and killing or wounding 3000 men.
4. The next day, the one after "a date which will live in infamy" (FDR), the U.S. declared war on Japan, and on December 11, 1941, Germany and Italy declared war on the U.S.

XXIX. America's Transformation from Bystander to Belligerent

1. Up until the day of the Pearl Harbor attack, most Americans still wanted to stay out of war, but afterwards the event sparked such passion that it completely inflamed Americans into wanting to go into war.

2. This had been long in coming, as the U.S. had wanted to stay out of war but had still supported Britain more and more, and the U.S. had been against the Japanese aggression but had failed to take a firm stand on either side.
3. Finally, people decided that appeasement didn't work against "iron wolves," and that only full war was needed to keep the world safe for democracy and against anarchy and dictatorship.

Chapter 38: "America in World War II"

I. The Allies Trade Space for Time

1. When Japan attacked the United States at **Pearl Harbor**, millions of infuriated Americans, especially on the west coast, instantly changed their views from isolationist to avengist.
2. However, America, led by the wise **Franklin D. Roosevelt**, resisted such pressures, instead taking a "get Germany first" approach to the war, for if Germany were to defeat Britain before the Allies could beat Japan, there would be no stopping Hitler and his men.
 - i. In the mean time, *just enough* troops would be sent to fight Japan to keep it in check.
3. America had the hardship of preparing for war, since it had been in isolation for the preceding decades, and the test would be whether or not it could mobilize quickly enough to stop Germany and save the world for democracy (again).

II. The Shock of War

1. After the attack at Pearl Harbor, national unity was strong as steel, and the few Hitler supporters in America faded away.
2. Most of America's ethnic groups assimilated even faster due to WWII, since in the decades before the war, few immigrants had been allowed into America.
 - i. Unfortunately, on the Pacific coast, 110,000 Japanese-Americans were taken from their homes and herded into relocation camps, where their properties and freedoms were taken away from them.
 - ii. The 1944 case of ***Korematsu vs. U.S.*** affirmed the constitutionality of this terrible act.
 - a. It took more than 40 years later before the U.S. admitted fault and began to make \$20,000 reparations to camp survivors.
3. With the war, many **New Deal** programs were wiped out, such as the **Civilian Conservation Corps**, the **Works Progress Administration**, and the **National Youth Administration**.
4. WWII was no idealistic crusade, as most Americans didn't even know what the **Atlantic Charter** (declaration of U.S. into the war and to fight Germany first, and Japan second) was!

III. Building the War Machine

1. Massive military orders (over \$100 billion in 1942 alone) ended the **Great Depression** by creating demand for jobs and production.
2. Shipbuilder **Henry J. Kaiser** was dubbed “Sir Lauchlot” because his methods of ship assembly churned out one ship ever 14 days!
3. The **War Production Board** halted manufacture of nonessential items such as passenger cars, and when the Japanese seized vital rubber supplies in British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies, the U.S. imposed a national speed limit and gasoline rationing to save tires.
4. Farmers rolled out more food, but the new sudden spurt in production made prices soar—a problem that was finally solved by the regulation of it by the **Office of Price Administration**.
5. While labor unions pledged not to strike during the war, some did anyway.
 - i. The **United Mine Workers** was one such group and was led by **John L. Lewis**.
 - ii. In June 1943, Congress passed the **Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act**, which let the federal government seize and operate industries threatened by or under strikes.
 - iii. Fortunately, strikes accounted for less than 1% of total working hours of the U.S. wartime laboring force.

IV. Manpower and Womanpower

1. The armed forces had nearly 15 million men and 216,000 women, and some of these “women in arms” included the **WAACS** (army), the **WAVES** (navy), and **SPARS** (coast guard).
2. Because of the national draft that plucked men (and women) from their homes and into the military, there weren’t enough workers, so the **Bracero Program** brought Mexican workers to America to work.
3. With the men in the military, women took up jobs in the workplace, symbolized by “**Rosie the Riveter**,” and upon war’s end, they did not return to their homes as in **World War I**.
 - i. It must be noted that the female revolution into the work force was not as great as commonly exaggerated, since in other nations, more women were pressed into factories, etc... than in America, and at the end of the war, 2/3 of the women *did* return home; the servicemen that came home to them helped produce a **baby boom** that is still being felt today.

V. Wartime Migrations

1. The war also forced many people to move to new places, and many young folks went to and saw new cities far from home.
2. F.D.R. used the war as an excuse to pump lots of money into the stagnant South to revitalize it, helping to start the blossoming of the “**Sunbelt**.”
 - i. Still, some 1.6 million blacks left the South for better places, and explosive tensions developed over black housing, employment, and segregation facilities.

- ii. **A. Philip Randolph**, leader of the **Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters**, threatened a “Negro March to Washington” in 1941 to get better rights and treatment.
- 3. The president also established the **Fair Employment Practices Commission** to discourage racism and oppression in the workplace, and while Blacks in the army still suffered degrading discrimination (i.e. separate blood banks), they still used the war as a rallying cry against dictators abroad and racism at home—overall gaining power and strength.
 - i. Membership to the **NAACP** passed the half-million mark, and a new organization, the **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)**, was founded in 1942.
- 4. In 1944, the mechanical cotton picker made the need for muscle nonexistent, so blacks that used to pick cotton could now leave, since they were no longer needed.
 - i. They left the South and took up residence in urban areas.
- 5. Native Americans also left their reservations during the war, finding work in the cities or joining the army.
 - i. Some 25,000 Native Americans were in the army, and the Navajo and Comanches were “code talkers,” relaying military orders in the own language—a “code” that was never broken by the **Axis Powers**.
- 6. Such sudden “rubbing of the races” did spark riots and cause tension, such as the 1943 attack on some Mexican-American navy men in Los Angeles and the Detroit race riot (occurring in the same year) that killed 25 blacks and 9 whites.

VI. Holding the Home Front

- 1. America was the only country to emerge after the war relatively unscathed, and in fact, it was better off after the war than before.
 - i. The gross national product more than doubled, as did corporate profits.
 - ii. In fact, when the war ended and price controls were lifted, inflation shot up.
- 2. It was the plethora of spending during WWII that lifted America from its Great Depression.
 - i. The wartime bill amounted to more than \$330 billion—more than the combined costs of all the previous American wars together.
 - ii. While income tax was expanded to make four times as many people pay as before, most of the payments were borrowed, making the national debt soar from \$49 billion to \$259 billion (war cost as much as \$10 million per hour at one point).

VII. The Rising Sun in the Pacific

- 1. The Japanese overran the lands that they descended upon, winning more land with less losses than ever before and conquering **Guam**, **Wake**, the **Philippines**, **Hong Kong**, **British Malaya**, **Burma** (in the process cutting the famed **Burma Road**), the Dutch East Indies, and even pushed into **China**.

2. When the Japanese took over the Philippines, U.S. General **Douglas MacArthur** had to sneak out of the place, but he vowed to return to liberate the islands; he went to Australia.
 3. After the fighters in the Philippines surrendered, they were forced to make the infamous 85-mile **Bataan death march**.
 - i. On May 6, 1942, the island fortress of **Corregidor**, in **Manila Harbor**, surrendered.
- VIII. Japans High Tide at Midway
1. Japanese onrush was finally checked in the **Coral Sea**, where American and Australian forces check them, and when the Japanese tried to seize **Midway Island**, they were forced back by U.S. Admiral **Chester W. Nimitz** during fierce fighting from June 3-6, 1942.
 - i. Admiral **Raymond A. Spruance** also helped maneuver the fleet around to win, and this victory marked the turning point in the war in the Pacific.
 - ii. No longer would the Japanese take any more land, as the U.S. began a process called “**island hopping**,” where the **Allies** would bypass heavily fortified islands, take over neighboring islands, and starve the resistant forces to death with lack of supplies and constant bombing saturation, to push back the Japanese.
 2. Also, the Japanese had taken over some islands in the Alaskan chain, the **Aleutians**.
- IX. American Leapfrogging Toward Tokyo
1. Americans won at **Guadalcanal** in August 1942 and then got **New Guinea** by August 1944.
 2. By island hopping, the U.S. also retook the Aleutian Islands of **Attu** and **Kiska** in August of 1943, and in November of that year, “**bloody Tarawa**” and **Makin**, members of the **Gilbert Islands**, fell to the Allies.
 3. In January and February of 1944, the **Marshall Islands** fell to the U.S.
 4. The assault on the **Marianas** (including Guam) began on June 19, 1944, and with superior planes such as the “**Hellcat**” fighter jet and a U.S. victory the next day in the **Battle of the Philippine Sea**, the U.S. rolled on, taking the islands and beginning around-the-clock bombing raids over Tokyo and other parts of mainland Japan.
- X. The Allied Halting of Hitler
1. The U.S. also at first had trouble against Germany, as its U-boats proved very effective, but the breaking of the Germans’ “**enigma**” code helped pinpoint those subs better.
 - i. It wasn’t until war’s end that the true threat of the German submarines was known, as it was discovered that Hitler had been about to unleash a new U-boat that could remain underwater indefinitely and cruise at 17 knots underwater.

2. In May 1942, the British launched a massive raid on **Cologne**, France, and in August, the U.S. air force joined them.
 - i. The Germans, led by the “Desert Fox” **Marshall Edwin Rommel**, were driven to Egypt, dangerously close to the **Suez Canal**, but late in October 1942, British General **Bernard Montgomery** defeated him at **El Alamein**, west of **Cairo**.
 3. On the Soviet front, the Russians launched a new, blistering counteroffensive, regaining about 2/3 of the land they had lost before a year later.
- XI. The North African Second Front
1. The Soviets had begged the Allie to open up a second front against Hitler, since Soviet forces were dying by the millions (20 million by war’s end), and the Americans were eager to comply, but the British, remembering WWI, were reluctant.
 - i. Instead of a frontal European assault, the British devised an invasion through North Africa, so that the Allies could cut Hitler’s forces through the “soft underbelly” of the Mediterranean Sea.
 2. Thus, a secret attack was coordinated and executed by the **Dwight D. Eisenhower**-led troops, as they defeated the French troops, but upon meeting the real German soldiers, Americans were set back at **Kasserine Pass**.
 - i. This campaign wasn’t really successful, but important lessons were learned.
- XII. The Rough Road to Rome
1. At the **Casablanca Conference**, Franklin Roosevelt and **Winston Churchill** met and agreed on the term of “unconditional surrender.”
 2. The Allies found bitter resistance in Italy, as **Sicily** fell in August 1943 after bitter resistance.
 - i. Italian dictator **Mussolini** was deposed, and a new government was set up.
 - a. Two years later, he and his mistress were lynched and killed.
 - ii. Germany didn’t leave Italy, though, and for many months, more fighting and stalemates occurred, especially at **Monte Cassino**, where Germans were holed up.
 3. The Allies finally took **Rome** on June 4, 1944, and it wasn’t until May 2, 1945, that Axis troops in Italy finally surrendered.
 4. Though long and tiring, the Italian invasion *did* open up Europe, divert some of Hitler’s men from the Soviet front, and get Italy to fall.
- XIII. Eisenhower’s D-Day Invasion of France
1. At the **Tehran Conference**, the Big Three (Wilson, Churchill, and **Josef Stalin**, leader of Russia) met and agreed that the Soviets and Allies would launch simultaneous attacks.
 2. The Allies began for a gigantic cross-channel invasion, and command of the whole operation was entrusted to General Eisenhower.
 - i. Meanwhile, MacArthur received a fake army to use as a ruse to Germany.

3. The place to take was **French Normandy**, and on June 6, 1944, **D-Day** began, and after heavy resistance, Allied troops, some led by General **George S. Patton**, finally clawed their way onto land, across the jungle, and deeper into France.
 - i. With the help of the “French underground,” Paris was freed in August 1944.

XIV. FDR: The Fourth-Termite of 1944

1. Republicans nominated **Thomas E. Dewey**, a young, liberal governor of New York, and paired him with isolationist **John W. Bricker** of Ohio.
2. FDR was the Democratic lock, but because of his age, the vice presidential candidate was carefully chosen to be **Harry S. Truman**, who won over **Henry A. Wallace**—an ill-balanced and unpredictable liberal.

XV. Roosevelt Defeats Dewey

1. Dewey went on a rampaging campaign offensive while FDR, stuck with WWII problems, could not go out much, so the new **Political Action Committee of the CIO**, which was organized to get around the law banning direct use of union funds for political purposes.
2. In the end, Roosevelt stomped over Dewey, 432 to 99, the fourth term thing wasn’t even that big of a deal, since the precedence had already been broken three years before.
3. FDR won because the war was going well, and people wanted to stick with him.

XVI. The Last Days of Hitler

1. On the run and losing, Hitler concentrated his forces and threw them in the **Ardennes forest** on December 16, 1944, starting the **Battle of “the Bulge”** and nearly succeeding in his gamble, but the ten-day penetration was finally stopped by the 101st Airborne Division that had stood firm at the vital bastion of **Bastogne**, which was commanded by Brigadier General **A.C. McAuliffe**.
2. In March 1945, the Americans reached the **Rhine River** of Germany, and then pushed toward the river **Elbe**, and from there, joining Soviet troops, they marched toward Berlin.
3. Upon entering Germany, the Allies were horrified to find the concentration camps where millions of Jews and other undesirables had been slaughtered in genocide.
 - i. Adolph Hitler, knowing that he had lost, committed suicide in his bunker on April 30, 1945.
4. Meanwhile, in America, FDR died from a massive cerebral hemorrhage on April 12, 1945.
5. May 7, 1945 was the date of the official German surrender, and the next day was officially proclaimed **V-E Day** (Victory in Europe Day).

XVII. Japan Dies Hard

1. American submarines were ruining Japan's fleet, and attacks such as the March 9-10, 1945, firebomb raid on Tokyo that killed over 83,000 people were wearing Japan out.
2. On October 20, 1944, General MacArthur finally "returned" to the Philippines.
 - i. However, he didn't retake Manila until March 1945.
3. The last great naval battle at **Leyte Gulf** was lost by Japan, terminating its sea power status.
4. In March 1945, **Iwo Jima** was captured; this 25-day assault left over 4000 Americans dead.
5. **Okinawa** was won after fighting from April to June of 1945, and was captured at the cost of 50,000 American lives.
6. Japanese "kamikaze" pilots, for the sake of their god-emperor, sank many ships.

XVIII. Atomic Awfulness

1. At the **Potsdam Conference**, the Allies issued an ultimatum: surrender or be destroyed.
2. The first **atomic bomb** had been tested on July 16, 1945, near **Alamogordo**, New Mexico, and when Japan refused to surrender, Americans dropped A-bombs onto **Hiroshima** (on August 6, 1945), killing 180,000 and **Nagasaki** (on August 9, 1945), killing 80,000.
3. On August 8, 1945, the Soviets declared war on Japan, just as promised, and two days later, on August 10, Japan sued for peace on one condition: that the emperor **Hirohito** be allowed to remain on the Japanese throne.
 - i. Despite the "unconditional surrender" clause, the Allies accepted.
4. The formal end came on September 2, 1945, on the battleship *Missouri*.

XIX. The Allies Triumphant

1. America suffered 1 million casualties, but the number killed by disease and infections was very low, thanks to new miracle drugs like **penicillin**, but otherwise had suffered little losses (two Japanese attacks on California and Oregon that were rather harmless).
2. This was America's best-fought war, despite the fact that the U.S. began preparing later than usual.
 - i. This was partly thanks to the excellent U.S. generals and admirals, and the leaders.
3. Industry also rose to the challenge, putting out a phenomenal amount of goods, proving **Hermann Goering**, a Nazi leader who had scorned America's lack of manufacturing skills, wrong.
4. We won!!!

Chapter 39: “The Cold War Begins”

I. Postwar Economic Anxieties

1. The Americans cheered the end of World War II in 1945, but many worried that with the war over, the U.S. would sink back into another Great Depression.
 - i. Upon war’s end, inflation shot up with the release of price controls while gross national product sank, and labor strikes swept the nation.
2. To get even with labor, Congress passed the **Taft-Hartley Act**, which outlawed “closed” shop, made unions liable for damages that resulted from jurisdictional disputes among themselves, and required that union leaders take non-Communist oaths.
3. Labor tried to organize in the South and West with “**Operation Dixie**,” but this proved frustrating and unsuccessful.
4. To forestall an economic downturn, the Democratic administration sold war factories and other government installations to private businesses cheaply, passed the **Employment Act** of 1946, which made it government policy to “promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power,” and created the **Council of Economic Advisors** to provide the president with data to make that policy a reality.
 - i. It also passed the **Servicemen’s Readjustment Act** of 1944, better known as the **GI Bill of Rights**, which allowed all servicemen to have free college education once they returned from the war.

II. The Long Economic Boom, 1950-1970

1. Then, in the late 1940s and into the 1960s, the economy began to boom tremendously, and folks who had felt the sting of the **Great Depression** now wanted to bathe in the prosperity.
 - i. The middle class more than doubled while people now wanted two cars in every garage; over 90% of American families owned a television.
2. Women also reaped the benefits of the postwar economy, growing in the American work force while giving up their former roles as housewives.
3. However, much of the prosperity of the 50s and 60s rested on colossal military projects.
 - i. Massive appropriations for the **Korean War**, defense spending, industries like aerospace, plastics, and electronics, and research and development all were such projects.
4. Even though this new affluence did not touch everyone, it did touch many.
5. Cheap energy paralleled the popularity of automobiles, and spidery grids of electrical cables carried the power of oil, gas, coal, and falling water into homes and factories alike.
6. Workers upped their output tremendously, as did farmers, due to new technology in fertilizers, etc... in fact, the farming population shrank while production soared.

III. The Smiling Sunbelt

1. With so many people on the move, families were being strained, which explained the success of Dr. **Benjamin Spock's** *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* (1945).
2. Immigration also led to the growth of a fifteen-state region in the southern half of the U.S. known as the **Sunbelt**, which dramatically increased in population.
 - i. In fact, in the 1950s, California overtook New York as the most populous state.
3. Immigrants came to the Sunbelt for more opportunities, such as in California's electronics industry of the aerospace complexes of Texas and Florida.
 - i. Federal dollars poured into the Sunbelt (some \$125 million), and power grew there as well, as ever since 1964, every U.S. president has come from that region.
 - ii. Sunbelters were redrawing the political map, taking the economic and political power out of the North and Northeast.

IV. The Rush to the Suburbs

1. Whites in cities fled to the **suburbs**, encouraged by federal agencies such as the **Federal Housing Authority** and the **Veteran's Administration**, whose loan guarantees made it cheaper to live in the suburbs than in cramped city apartments
 - i. By 1960, one out of ever four Americans lived in the suburbs.
2. Innovators like the **Levitt** brothers, with their monotonous but cheap housing plans, built thousands of houses in single projects, and the "White flight" left the cities full of the poor and the African-Americans.
 - i. Federal agencies aggravated this by often refusing to make loans to Blacks due to the "risk factor" involved with this.

V. The Postwar Baby Boom

1. After the war, many soldiers returned to their sweethearts and married them, then had babies, creating a "**Baby Boom**" that is still being felt today.
2. As the children grew up collectively, they put strains on respective markets, such as manufacturers of baby products in the 1940s and 50s, teenage clothing designers in the 60s, and the job market in the 70s and 80s.
3. In the future, they will place enormous strains on the **Social Security** system.

VI. Truman: the "Gutty" Man from Missouri

1. Presiding after **World War II** was **Harry S. Truman**, who had come to power after **Franklin Roosevelt** had died from a massive brain hemorrhage.
 - i. The first president in a long time without a college education, Truman at first approached his burdens with humility, but he gradually evolved into a confident, cocky politician.
 - ii. His cabinet was made up of the old "**Missouri gang**," which composed of Truman's friends from when he was a senator from Missouri.
 - iii. Often, Truman would stick to a wrong decision just to prove his decisiveness and power of command.

2. However, even if he was small on the small things, he was big on the big things, taking responsibility very seriously and working very hard.

VII. Yalta: Bargain or Betrayal?

1. A final conference of the **Big Three** had taken place at **Yalta** in February 1945, where Soviet leader **Joseph Stalin** pledged that Poland should have a representative government with free elections, as would Bulgaria and Romania, but he broke those promises.
2. At Yalta, the Soviet Union had agreed to attack Japan three months after the fall of Germany, but by the time the Soviets entered the Pacific war, the U.S. was about to win anyway, and now, it seemed that the USSR had entered to the sake of taking some spoils.
 - i. The Soviet Union was also granted control of the Manchurian railroads and received special privileges to **Dairen** and **Port Arthur**.
3. Critics of FDR charged that he sold China's **Chiang Kai-shek** down the river, while supporters claimed that the Soviets could have taken more of China had they wished, and that the Yalta agreements had actually limited the Soviet Union.

VIII. The United States and the Soviet Union

1. With the USA and the USSR as the only world superpowers after WWII, trouble seemed imminent, for the U.S. had waited until 1933, to recognize the USSR; the U.S. and Britain had delayed to open up a second front during World War II; the U.S. and Britain had frozen the Soviets out of developing nuclear arms; and the U.S. had withdrawn its vital lend-lease program from the USSR in 1945 and spurned Moscow's plea for a \$6 billion reconstructive loan while approving a similar \$3.75 one to Berlin.
2. Stalin wanted a protect sphere around western Russian, for twice earlier in the century, Russia had been attacked from that way, and that mean taking nations like Poland under its control.
3. Even though both the USA and the USSR were recent newcomers to the world stage, very advanced, and had been isolationist before the 20th century, now, they found themselves in a political stare down that would turn into the **Cold War** and last for four and a half decades.

IX. Shaping the Postwar World

1. However, the U.S. did manage to establish structures that were part of FDR's open world.
 - i. Meeting at **Bretton Woods**, New Hampshire, in 1944, the **Western Allies** established the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** to encourage world trade by regulating the currency exchange rates.
2. The **United Nations** opened on April 25, 1945.
 - i. The member nations drew up a charter similar to that of the old **League of Nations**, formed a **Security Council** to be headed by five permanent powers (China, USSR, Britain, France, and USA) that had veto powers, and was set up in NYC.
 - ii. The Senate overwhelmingly approved the UN by a vote of 89 to 2.

3. The UN kept peace in **Kashmir** and other trouble spots, created the new Jewish state of **Israel**, formed such groups as **UNESCO** (U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization), **FAO** (Food and Agricultural Organization), and **WHO** (World Health Organization), bringing benefits to people all over the globe.
 4. However, when U.S. delegate **Bernard Baruch** called in 1946 for a UN agency free from great power veto that could investigate all nuclear facilities and weapons, the USSR rejected the proposal, since it didn't want to give up its veto power and was opposed to "capitalist spies" snooping around in the Soviet Union.
- X. The Problem of Germany
1. The **Nuremberg Trials** of 1945-46 severely punished 22 top culprits of the **Holocaust**.
 2. America knew that an economically healthy Germany was indispensable to the recovery of all of Europe, but Russia, fearing another blitzkrieg, wanted huge reparations from Germany.
 3. Germany, like Austria, was divided into four occupational zones controlled by the Allied Powers minus China, but as the U.S. began proposing the idea of a united Germany, and as the Western nations prevented Stalin from getting his reparations from their parts of Germany, it became obvious that Germany would remain indefinitely divided.
 - i. In 1948, when the USSR choked off all air and railway access to Berlin, located deep in East Germany, they thought that such an act would starve the Allies out, since Berlin itself as divided into four zones as well.
 4. However, the Allies organized a massive airlift to feed the people of Berlin, and in May 1949, the Soviets stopped their blockade of Berlin.
- XI. Crystallizing the Cold War
1. When, in 1946, Stalin used his troops to aid a rebel movement in Iran, Truman protested, and the Soviet backed down.
 2. Truman soon adopted the "**containment policy**," crafted by Soviet specialist **George F. Kennan**, which stated that firm containment of Soviet expansion would halt Communist power.
 3. On March 12, 1947, Truman requested what would come to be called the **Truman Doctrine**: \$400 million to help Greece and Turkey from falling into Communist power.
 - i. So basically, the doctrine said that the U.S. would aid any power fighting Communist aggression, an idea later criticized because the U.S. would often give money to dictators "fighting communism."
 4. In Western Europe, France, Italy, and Germany were still in terrible shape, so Truman, with the help of Secretary of State **George C. Marshall**, implemented the **Marshall Plan**, a miraculous recovery effort that had Western Europe up and prosperous in no time.
 - i. This helped in the forming of the **European Community** (EC).
 - ii. The plan sent \$12.5 billion over four years to 16 cooperating nations to aid in recovery, and at first, Congress didn't want to comply, especially when

this sum was added to the \$2 billion the U.S. was already giving to European relief as part of the **United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration** (UNRRA).

- iii. However, a Soviet-sponsored coup that toppled the government of Czechoslovakia finally awakened the Congressmen to their senses, and they passed the plan.
- 5. Truman also recognized Israel on its birthday, May 14, 1948, despite heavy Arab opposition and despite the fact that those same Arabs controlled oil supplies in the **Middle East**.

XII. America Begins to Rearm

- 1. The 1947 **National Security Act** created the **Department of Defense**, which was housed in the **Pentagon** and headed by a new cabinet position, the **secretary of defense**, under which served civilian secretaries of the army, navy, and air force.
- 2. The National Security Act also formed the **National Security Council** (NSC) to advise the president on security matters and the **Central Intelligence Agency** (CIA) to coordinate the government's foreign fact-gathering (spying?).
- 3. The "**Voice of America**," a radio broadcast, began beaming in 1948, while Congress resurrected the military draft, (**Selective Service System**), which redefined many young people's career choices and persuaded them to go to college.
- 4. In 1948, the U.S. joined Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg to form the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization**, which considered an attack on one member an attack on all, despite the U.S.'s traditionally not involving itself in entangling alliances.
 - i. In response, the USSR formed the **Warsaw Pact**, its own alliance system.
 - ii. NATO's membership grew to fourteen with the 1952 admissions of Greece and Turkey, and then to 15 when West Germany joined in 1955.

XIII. Reconstruction and Revolution in Asia

- 1. General **Douglas MacArthur**, head of reconstruction in Japan, tried the top Japanese war criminals, dictated a constitution that was adopted in 1946, and democratized Japan.
- 2. However, in China, the communist forces, led by **Mao Zedong**, defeated the nationalist forces, led by Chiang Kai-shek, who then fled to the island of **Formosa (Taiwan)** in 1949.
 - i. With this defeat, one-quarter of the world population (500,000 people) plunged under the Communist flag.
 - ii. Critics of Truman assailed that he did not support the nationalists enough, but Chiang Kai-shek never had the support of the people to begin with.
- 3. Then, in September of 1949, Truman announced that the Soviets had exploded their first atomic bomb—three years before experts thought was possible, thus eliminating the U.S. monopoly on nuclear weapons.
 - i. The U.S. exploded the hydrogen bomb in 1952, and the Soviets followed suit a year later; thus began the dangerous arms race of the Cold War.

XIV. Ferreting Out Alleged Communists

1. An anti-red chase was in full cry in the U.S. with the forming of the **Loyalty Review Board**, which investigated more than 3 million federal employees.
 - i. The attorney general also drew up a list of 90 organizations that were potentially not loyal to the U.S., and none was given the opportunity to defend itself.
2. In 1949, 11 communists were brought to a New York jury for violating the **Smith Act** of 1940, which had been the first peacetime anti-sedition law since 1798.
 - i. They were convicted, sent to prison, and their conviction was upheld by the 1951 case **Dennis vs. United States**.
3. The House of Representatives had, in 1938 established the **Committee on Un-American Activities** ("HUAC") to investigate "subversion," and in 1948, committee member **Richard M. Nixon** prosecuted **Algier Hiss**.
4. In February 1950, **Joseph R. McCarthy** burst upon the scene, charging that there were scores of unknown communists in the State Department.
 - i. He couldn't prove it, and many American began to fear that this red chase was going too far; after all, how could there be freedom of speech if saying communist ideas got one arrested?
 - ii. Truman vetoed the **McCarran Internal Security Bill**, which let the president arrest and detain suspicious people during an "internal security emergency."
5. The Soviet success of developing nuclear bombs so easily was probably due to spies, and in 1951, **Julius** and **Ethel Rosenberg** were brought to trial, convicted, and executed.
 - i. Their sensational trial, electrocution, and sympathy for their two children began to sober America zeal in red hunting.

XV. Democratic Divisions in 1948

1. Republicans won control of the House in 1946 and then nominated **Thomas E. Dewey** to the 1948 ticket, while Democrats were forced to choose Truman again when war-hero **Dwight D. Eisenhower** refused to be chosen.
 - i. Truman's nomination split the Democratic Party, as Southern Democrats ("**Dixiecrats**") nominated Governor **J. Strom Thurmond** of South Carolina on a **State's Rights Party** ticket.
 - ii. Former vice president **Henry A. Wallace** also threw his hat into the ring, getting nominated by the new **Progressive Party**.
2. With the Democrats totally disorganized, Dewey seemed destined for a super-easy victory, and on Election Night, the Chicago *Tribune* even ran an early edition proclaiming "DEWEY DEFEATS TRUMAN," but Truman shockingly won, getting 303 Electoral votes to Dewey's 189, and to make things better, the Democrats won control of Congress again.
3. Truman received critical support from farmers, workers, and blacks.
4. Truman then called for a new program called "Point Four," which called for financial support of poor, underdeveloped lands and keep underprivileged peoples from becoming communists.

5. At home, Truman outlined a sweeping “**Fair Deal**” program, which called for improved housing, full employment, a higher minimum wage, better farm price supports, new **Tennessee Valley Administrations**, and an extension of Social Security.
 - i. However, the only successes came in raising the minimum wage, providing for public housing in the **Housing Act** of 1949, and extending old-age insurance to more beneficiaries with the **Social Security Act** of 1950.

XVI. The Korean Volcano Erupts (1950)

1. When Russian and American forces withdrew from Korea, they had left the place full of weapons and with rival regimes (communist North and democratic South).
2. Then, on June 25, 1950, North Korean forces suddenly invaded South Korean, taking the South Koreans by surprise and pushing them dangerously south toward **Pusan**.
 - i. Truman sprang to action, remembering that the League of Nations had failed from inactivity, and ordered U.S. military spending to be quadrupled, as wanted from **National Security Council Memorandum Number 68**, or NSC-68.
 - a. This document was key because it reflected the almost limitless possibility that pervaded American society.
3. Truman also used a Soviet absence from the UN to label North Korea as an aggressor and send UN troops to fight against the aggressors.
 - i. He also ordered General MacArthur’s Japan-based troops to Korea.

XVII. Military Seesaw in Korea

1. General MacArthur landed a brilliant invasion behind enemy forces on September 15, 1950, and drove the North Koreans back across the **38th parallel**, towards China and the **Yalu River**.
 - i. An overconfident MacArthur boasted that he’d “have the boys home by Christmas,” but in November 1950, Chinese volunteers flooded across the border and pushed the South Koreans back to the 38th parallel.
2. MacArthur, humiliated, wanted to blockade China and bomb Manchuria, but Truman didn’t want to enlarge the war beyond necessity, but when the angry general began to publicly criticize President Truman, Harry had no choice but to remove him from command on grounds of insubordination.
 - i. MacArthur returned to cheers while Truman was scorned as a “pig,” an “imbecile,” an appeaser to Communist Russia and China, and a “Judas.”
 - ii. In July 1951, truce discussions began but immediately snagged over the issue of prisoner exchange.
 - a. Talks dragged on for two more years as men continued to die.

Chapter 40: “The Eisenhower Era”

I. The Advent of Eisenhower

1. In 1952, the Democrats chose **Adlai E. Stevenson**, the witty governor of Illinois, while Republicans rejected isolationist **Robert A. Taft** and instead chose **World War II** hero **Dwight D. Eisenhower** to run for president and anticommunist **Richard M. Nixon** to be his running mate.
2. Grandfatherly Eisenhower was a war hero and liked by everyone, so he left the rough part of campaigning to Nixon, who attacked Stevenson as soft against Communists, corrupt, and weak in the Korean situation.
 - i. Nixon then almost got caught with a secretly financed “slush fund,” but to save his political career, he delivered his famous, touching “**Checkers Speech**,” in which he talked about his family and specifically mentioned his cocker spaniel.
3. The “Checkers speech” showed the awesome power of television, since Nixon had pleaded on national TV, and even later, “Ike,” as Eisenhower was called, agreed to go into studio and answer some brief “questions,” which were later spliced in and edited to make it look like Eisenhower had answered questions from a live audience, when he didn’t.
 - i. This showed the power that TV would have in the upcoming decades, allowing lone wolves to appeal directly to the American people instead of being influenced by party machines or leaders.
4. Ike won easily (442 to 89), and true to his campaign promise, he flew to Korea to help move along peace negotiations...and failed...but seven months later, after Ike threatened to use nuclear weapons, an armistice was finally signed (but was later violated often).
5. 54,000 Americans had died, and tens of billions of dollars had been wasted in the effort, but American’s took a little comfort in knowing that Communism had been “contained.”

II. “Ike” Takes Command

1. Eisenhower had been an excellent commander and leader who was able to make cooperation possible between anyone, so he seemed to be a perfect leader for Americans weary of two decades of depression, war, and nuclear standoff.
 - i. He served that aspect of his job well, but he could have used his popularity to champion civil rights more than he actually did.
2. The success of brutal anticommunist “crusader” **Joseph R. McCarthy** was quite alarming, for after he had charged onto the national scene by charging that Secretary of State **Dean Acheson** was knowingly employing 205 Communist Party members (a claim he never proved, not even for one person), he ruthlessly sought to prosecute and persecute suspected Communists, often targeting innocent people and destroying families and lives.
 - i. Eisenhower privately loathed McCarthy, but the president did little to stop the anti-red, since it appeared that most Americans supported his actions, but his zeal led him to purge important Asian experts in the **State**

Department, men who could have advised a better course of action in Vietnam.

- a. He even denounced General **George Marshall**, former army chief of staff during World War II!
- ii. Finally, in 1954, when he attacked the army, he went too far and was exposed for the liar and drunk that he was; three years later, he died unwept and unsung.

III. Desegregating the South

1. Blacks in the South were bound by the severe **Jim Crow laws**, and were segregated in every aspect of society, from schools to restrooms to restaurants and beyond.
 - i. Only about 20% of the eligible Blacks could vote, due to intimidation, discrimination, poll taxes, and other schemes meant to keep Black suffrage down.
2. Where the law proved sufficient to enforce such oppression, vigilante justice in the form of lynchings did the job, and the White murderers were rarely caught and convicted.
3. In his 1944 novel, *An American Dilemma*, Swedish scholar **Gunnar Myrdal** had exposed the hypocrisy of American life, noting how while “every man [was] created equal,” Blacks were certainly treated worse than Whites.
 - i. Even though **Jackie Robinson** had cracked the racial barrier by signing with the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947, the nation’s conscience still paid little attention to the suffering of Blacks, thus prolonging their pain.
4. However, with organizations such as the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People**, such rulings as the 1950 case of *Sweatt vs. Painter*, where the Supreme Court ruled that separate professional schools for Blacks failed to meet the test of equality, such protestors as **Rosa Parks**, who in December 1955, refused to give up a bus seat in the “Whites only” section, and pacifist leaders like **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, who believed in peaceful methods of civil rights protests, Blacks were making their suffering and discrimination known to the public.

IV. Seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution

1. After he heard about the 1946 lynchings of Black soldiers seeking rights for which they fought overseas, Truman immediately sought to improve Black rights by desegregating the armed forces, but Eisenhower failed to continue this trend by failing to pass laws.
 - i. Only the judicial branch was left to improve Black civil rights.
2. **Earl Warren**, appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, shocked his conservative backers by actively assailing Black injustice and ruling in favor of African-Americans.
 - i. The 1954 landmark case of *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, reversed the previous 1896 ruling of *Plessy vs. Ferguson* by saying that “separate but equal” facilities were inherently unequal, thus ending segregation.

- ii. However, while the Border States usually obeyed this new ruling, states in the Deep South did everything they could to delay it and disobey it, diverting funds to private schools, signing and “**Declaration of Constitutional Principles**” that promised not to desegregate, and physically preventing Blacks to integrate.
 - a. Ten years after the ruling, fewer than 2% of eligible Black students sat in the same classrooms as whites.

V. Crisis at Little Rock

1. Eisenhower refused to issue a statement acknowledging the Supreme Court’s ruling, and he even privately complained about this new end to segregation, but in September 1957, when **Orval Faubus**, the governor of Arkansas, mobilized the National Guard to prevent nine Black students from enrolling in Little Rock’s Central High School, Ike sent troop sot escort the children to their classes.
 - i. That year, Congress passed the first **Civil Rights Act** since the **Reconstruction** days, an act that set up a permanent **Civil Rights Commission** to investigate violations of civil rights and authorized federal injunctions to protect voting rights.
2. Meanwhile, Martin Luther King, Jr. formed the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference**, which aimed to mobilize the vast power of Black churches on behalf of Black rights—a shrewd strategy, since churches were a huge source of Black power.
3. On February 1, 1960, four Black college freshmen launched a “sit-in” movement in Greensboro, North Carolina, demanding service at a whites-only Woolworth’s lunch counter, thus sparking the sit-in movement.
4. In April 1960, southern Black students formed the **Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee**, or SNCC, to give more focus and force to their civil rights efforts.

VI. Eisenhower Republicanism at Home

1. Eisenhower came into the White House pledging a policy of “**dynamic conservatism**,” which stated that he would be liberal with people but conservative with their money.
2. Ike decreased government spending by decreasing military spending, trying to transfer control of offshore oil fields to the states, and trying to curb the TVA’s by setting up a private company to take their places.
 - i. His secretary of health, education, and welfare condemned free distribution of the **Salk anti-polio vaccine**.
 - ii. Secretary of Agriculture **Ezra Taft Benson** tackled with agriculture issues, but despite government purchase of surplus grain, which it stored in giant silos costing Americans \$2 million a day, farmers didn’t see prosperity.
3. Eisenhower also cracked down on illegal Mexican immigration that cut down on the success of the **bracero program** by rounding up 1 million Mexicans and returning them to their native country in 1954.
 - i. With Indians, though, Ike proposed ending the FDR-style treatment toward Indians and reverting to a **Dawes Severalty Act**-style policy

toward Native Americans, but due to protest and resistance, this was disbanded.

4. However, Eisenhower kept many of the **New Deal** programs, since some, like **Social Security** and unemployment insurance, simply had to stay.
 - i. However, he did do some of the New Deal programs better, such as his backing of the **Interstate Highway Act**, which built 42,000 miles of interstate freeways.
5. Still, Eisenhower only balanced the budget three times in his eight years of office, and in 1959, he incurred the biggest peacetime deficit in U.S. history.
 - i. Still, critics said that he was economically timid, blaming the president for the sharp economic downturn of 1957-58.
6. Also, the **AF of L** merged with the **CIO** to end 20 years of bitter division in labor unions.

VII. A New Look in Foreign Policy

1. Secretary of State **John Foster Dulles** stated that the policy of containment was not enough and that the U.S. was going to push back Communism and liberate the peoples under it while toning down defense spending by building a fleet of superbombers called **Strategic Air Command**, which could drop massive nuclear bombs in any retaliation.
2. Ike tried to thaw the **Cold War** by appealing for peace to new Soviet Premier **Nikita Khrushchev** at the 1955 **Geneva Conference**, but the Soviet leader rejected such proposals, along with one for “open skies.”
3. However, hypocritically, when the Hungarians revolted against the USSR and appealed to the US for help, America did nothing, earning the scorn of bitter freedom fighters.

VIII. The Vietnam Nightmare

1. In Vietnam, freedom fighter **Ho Chi Minh** had tried to encourage **Woodrow Wilson** to help the Vietnamese against the French, but as Ho Chi became increasingly Communist, the U.S. began to fight it.
2. In March 1954, when the French became trapped at **Dienbienphu**, Eisenhower’s aides wanted to bomb the **Viet Minh** guerilla forces, but Ike held back, fearing plunging the U.S. into another Asian war so soon after Korea, and after the Vietnamese won, Vietnam was split at the 17th parallel, supposedly temporarily.
 - i. Ho Chi Minh was supposed to allow free elections, but soon, Vietnam became clearly split between a Communist north and a pro-Western south.
3. Secretary Dulles created the **Southeast Asian Treaty Organization** to emulate **NATO**, but this provided little help.

IX. A False Lull in Europe

1. In 1955, the USSR formed the **Warsaw Pact** to counteract NATO, but the Cold War *did* seem to be thawing a bit, as Eisenhower pressed for reduction of arms, and the Soviets were surprisingly cooperative, and Khrushchev publicly denounced Stalin’s brutality.

2. However, in 1956, when the Hungarians revolted against the USSR, the Soviets crushed them with brutality and massive bloodshed.
 - i. The U.S. did change some of its immigration laws to let 30,000 Hungarians into American as immigrants.
- X. Menaces in the Middle East
1. In 1953, to protect oil supplies in the Middle East, the CIA engineered a coup in Iran that installed the youthful shah, **Mohammed Reza Pahlevi**, as ruler of the nation, protecting the oil for the time being but earning the wrath of Arabs that would be repaid in the 70s.
 2. The **Suez crisis** was far messier: President **Gamal Abdel Nasser**, of Egypt, needed money to build a dam in the upper Nile and flirted openly with the Soviet side as well as the U.S. and Britain, and upon seeing this blatant Communist association, Secretary of State Dulles dramatically withdrew his offer, thus forcing Nasser to nationalize the dam.
 - i. Late in October 1956, Britain, France, and Israel suddenly attacked Egypt, thinking that the U.S. would supply them with needed oil, as had been the case in WWII, but Eisenhower did not, and the attackers had to withdraw.
 - ii. The Suez crisis marked the last time the U.S. could brandish its “oil weapon.”
 3. In 1960, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Iran, and Venezuela joined to form the **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries**, or **OPEC**.
- XI. The Voters Still Like “Ike” in 1956
1. In 1956, Eisenhower again ran against Stevenson and won easily by a landslide.
 2. The GOP called itself the “party of peace” while the Democrats assaulted Ike’s health, since he had had a heart attack in 1955 and a major abdominal operation in ’56.
 - i. However, the Democrats did win the House and Senate.
- XII. Round Two for “Ike”
1. After Secretary of State Dulles died of cancer in 1959 and presidential assistant **Sherman Adams** was forced to leave under a cloud of scandal due to bribery charges, Eisenhower, without his two most trusted and most helpful aides, was forced to govern more.
 2. A drastic labor-reform bill in 1959 grew from recurrent strikes in critical industries.
 3. Teamster chief “**Dave**” **Beck** was sent to prison for embezzlement, and his successor, **James R. Hoffa**’s appointment got the Teamsters expelled out of the **AF of L-CIO**.
 - i. Hoffa was later jailed for jury tampering and then disappeared in prison, allegedly murdered by some gangsters that he had crossed.
 4. The 1959 **Landrum-Griffin Acct** was designed to bring labor leaders to book for financial shenanigans and prevent bullying tactics.
 - i. Anti-laborites forced into the bill bans against “secondary boycotts” and certain types of picketing.

XIII. The Race with the Soviets to Space

1. On October 4, 1957, the Russians launched *Sputnik I* into space, and a month later, they sent *Sputnik II* out of the Earth as well, thus totally demoralizing Americans, because this seemed to prove Communist superiority.
 - i. Plus, the Soviets might fire missiles at the U.S. from space.
2. Critics charged that Truman had not spent enough money on missile programs while America had used its science for other things, like television.
3. Four months after *Sputnik I*, the U.S. sent its own satellite (weighing only 2.5 lbs) into space, but the apparent U.S. lack of technology sent concerns over U.S. education, since American children seemed to be learning less advanced information than Soviet kids.
 - i. The 1958 **National Defense and Education Act** (NDEA) gave \$887 million in loans to needy college students and grants for the improvement of schools.

XIV. The Continuing Cold War

1. Humanity-minded scientists called for an end to atmospheric nuclear testing, lest future generations be deformed and mutated.
 - i. Beginning October 1958, Washington did halt “dirty” testing, as did the USSR, but attempts to regularize such suspensions were unsuccessful.
2. However, in 1959, Khrushchev was invited by Ike to America for talks, and when he arrived in New York, he immediately talked about disarmament but gave no means of how to do it.
 - i. Later, at **Camp David**, talks did show upward signs, as the Soviet premier said that his ultimatum for the evacuation of Berlin would be extended indefinitely.
3. However, at the **Paris conference**, Khrushchev came in angry that the U.S. had flown a spy plane over Soviet territory (the plane had been shot down and Eisenhower had taken personal responsibility), and tensions immediately tightened again.

XV. Cuba’s Castroism Spells Communism

1. Latin American nations resented the United States’ giving billions of dollars to Europe compared to millions to Latin America, and the U.S.’s constant intervention (Guatemala, 1954), as well as its support of cold dictators who claimed to be fighting communism.
2. In 1959, in Cuba, **Fidel Castro** overthrew U.S.-supported **Fulgencio Batista**, promptly denounced the Yankee imperialists, and began to take U.S. properties for a land-distribution program, and when the U.S. cut off heavy U.S. imports of Cuban sugar, Castro confiscated more American property.
 - i. In 1961 America broke diplomatic relations with Cuba.
3. Khrushchev threatened to launch missiles at the U.S. if it attacked Cuba; meanwhile, America induced the **Organization of American States** to condemn communism in the Americas.

- i. Finally, Eisenhower proposed a “Marshall Plan” for Latin America, which gave \$500 million to the area, but many Latin American felt that it was too little too late.

XVI. Kennedy Challenges Nixon for the Presidency

1. The Republicans chose Richard Nixon, gifted party leader to some, ruthless opportunist to others, in 1960 with **Henry Cabot Lodge Jr.** as his running mate; while **John F. Kennedy** surprisingly won for the Democrats and had **Lyndon B. Johnson** as his running mate.

XVII. The Presidential Issues of 1960

1. Kennedy was attacked because he was the first Catholic presidential candidate ever, but defended himself and encouraged Catholics to vote for him, and if he lost votes from the South due to his religion, he got them back from the North due to the bitter Catholics there.
 - i. In four nationally televised debates, JFK held his own and looked more charismatic, perhaps helping him to win the election by a comfortable margin, becoming the youngest president elected (but not served) ever.

XVIII. An Old General Fades Away

1. Eisenhower had his critics, but he was appreciated more and more for ending one war and keeping the U.S. out of others.
2. Even though the 1951-passed **22nd Amendment** had limited him to two terms as president, Ike displayed more vigor and controlled Congress more during his second term.
3. In 1959, Alaska and Hawaii became the 49th and 50th states to join the Union.
4. Perhaps Eisenhower’s greatest weakness was his ignorance of social problems of the time, preferring to smile them away rather than deal with them, even though he was no bigot.

XIX. Changing Economic Patterns

1. The economy really sprouted during the 50s, and the invention of the **transistor** exploded the electronics field, especially in computers, helping such companies as **International Business Machines** (IBM) expand and prosper.
2. Aerospace industries progressed, as the **Boeing** company made the first passenger-jet airplane (adapted from the superbombers of the Strategic Air Command), the 707.
3. In 1956, “white-collar” workers outnumbered “blue collar” workers for the first time, meaning that the industrial era was passing on.
 - i. As this occurred, labor unions also labored, since most of their members were industrial workers.
 - ii. Women appeared more and more in the workplace, despite the stereotypical role of women as housewives that was being portrayed on TV shows such as “**Ozzie and Harriet**” and “**Leave It to Beaver.**”
 - a. More than 40 million new jobs were created.

4. Women's expansion into the workplace shocked some, but really wasn't surprising if one observed the trends in history, and now, they were both housewives and workers.
 - i. **Betty Friedan's** 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique* was a best-seller and a classic of modern feminine protest literature.
- XX. Consumer Culture in the Fifties
1. The fifties saw the first **Diner's Club** cards, the opening of **McDonald's**, the debut of **Disneyland**, and an explosion in the number of television stations in the country.
 2. Advertisers used television to sell products while "televangelists" like **Billy Graham**, **Oral Roberts**, and **Fulton J. Sheen** used TV to preach the gospel and encourage religion.
 3. Sports shifted west, as the Brooklyn Dodgers and New York Giants moved to Los Angeles and San Francisco, respectively, in 1958.
 4. Elvis Presley, a white singer of the new "rock and roll" who made girls swoon with his fleshy face, pointing lips, and antic, sexually suggestive gyrations, redefined popular music.
 - i. Elvis died from drugs in 1977, at age 42.
 5. Traditionalists were shocked by Elvis's shockingly open sexuality, and **Marilyn Monroe** (in her *Playboy* magazine spread) continued in the redefinition of the new sensuous sexuality.
 - i. Critics, such as **David Riesman** in *The Lonely Crowd*, **William H. Whyte, Jr.** in *The Organization Man*, and **Sloan Wilson** in *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*, lamented this new consumerist style.
 - ii. Harvard economist **John Kenneth Galbraith** questioned the relation between private wealth and public good in *The Affluent Society*.
 - a. **Daniel Bell** found further such paradoxes, as did **C. Wright Mills**.
- XXI. The Life of the Mind in Postwar America
1. **Ernest Hemingway's** *The Old Man and the Sea* and **John Steinbeck's** *East of Eden* and *Travels with Charlie* showed that prewar writers could still be successful, but new writers, who, except for **Norman Mailer's** *The Naked and the Dead* and **James Jones's** *From Here to Eternity*, spurned realism, were successful as well.
 2. **Joseph Heller's** *Catch-22* and **Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.'s** *Slaughterhouse-Five* crackled with fantastic and psychedelic prose, satirizing the suffering of the war.
 3. Authors and books that explored problems created by the new mobility and affluence of American life: **John Updike's** *Rabbit, Run* and *Couples*; **John Cheever's** *The Wapshot Chronicle* and *The Wapshot Scandal*; **Louis Auchincloss's** books, **Gore Vidal's** *Myra Breckinridge*.
 4. The poetry of **Ezra Pound**, **Wallace Stevens**, **William Carlos Williams**, **Theodore Roethke**, **Robert Lowell** (*For the Union Dead*), **Sylvia Plath** (*Ariel* and *The Bell-Jar*), **Anne Sexton**, and **John Berryman** reflected the twisted

emotions of the war, but some poets were troubled in their own minds as well, often committing suicide or living miserable lives.

5. **Tennessee Williams's** *A Streetcar Named Desire* and *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* were two plays that searched for American values, as were **Arthur Miller's** *Death of a Salesman* and *The Crucible*.
6. **Lorraine Hansberry's** *A Raisin in the Sun* portrayed African-American life while **Edward Albee's** *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* revealed the underside of middle class life.
7. Books by black authors such as **Richard Wright**, **Ralph Ellison**, and **James Baldwin** made best-seller's lists; Black playwrights like **LeRoi Jones** made powerful plays (*The Dutchman*).
8. The South had literary artists like **William Faulkner**, **Walker Percy**, and **Eudora Welty**.
9. Jewish authors also had famous books, such as **J.D. Salinger's** *Catcher in the Rye*.

Chapter 41: "The Stormy Sixties"

I. Kennedy's "New Frontier" Spirit

1. In 1960, young, energetic **John F. Kennedy** was elected to president of the United States—the youngest man ever *elected* to that office.
2. The 1960s would bring a sexual revolution, a civil rights revolutions, the emergence of a "youth culture," a devastating war in **Vietnam**, and the beginnings of a feminist revolution.
3. JFK delivered a stirring inaugural address, and he also assembled a very young cabinet, including his brother, **Robert Kennedy**, as attorney general.
 - i. Robert Kennedy tried to recast the priorities of the FBI, but was resisted by **J. Edgar Hoover**.
 - ii. Business whiz **Robert S. McNamara** took over the Defense Department.
4. Early on, JFK proposed the **Peace Corps**, an army of idealist and mostly youthful volunteers to bring American skills to underdeveloped countries.
5. Graduated from Harvard, JFK was very vibrant and charming to everyone.

II. The New Frontier at Home

1. Kennedy's social program was known as the **New Frontier**, but conservative Democrats and Republicans threatened to kill many of its reforms.
 - i. JFK did expand the **House Rules Committee**, but his program didn't expand quickly, as medical and education bills remained stalled in Congress.
 - ii. JFK also had to keep a lid on inflation and maintain a good economy.
 - iii. However, almost immediately into his term, steel management announced great price increases, igniting the fury of the president, but JFK also earned fiery attacks by big business on the New Frontier.
2. Kennedy's tax-cut bill chose to stimulate the economy through price-cutting.

3. Kennedy also promoted a project to land Americans on the moon, though apathetic Americans often ridiculed this.

III. Rumbblings in Europe

1. JFK met Russian Premier **Nikita Khrushchev** and was threatened, but didn't back down.
2. In August of the 1961, the Soviets began building the **Berlin Wall** to separate East and West Germany.
3. Western Europe, though, was now prospering after help from the super-successful **Marshall Plan**.
 - i. America had also encouraged a **Common Market**, which later became the **European Union (EU)**.
 - ii. The so-called **Kennedy Round** of tariff negotiations eased trade between Europe and the U.S.
4. Unfortunately, French leader **Charles de Gaulle** was one who was suspicious of the U.S., and he rejected British application into the Common Market.

IV. Foreign Flare-Ups and "Flexible Responses"

1. There were many world problems at this time:
 - i. The African **Congo** got its independence from Belgium in 1960 and then erupted into violence, but the **United Nations** sent a peacekeeping force.
 - ii. **Laos**, freed of its French overlords in 1954, was being threatened by Communism, but at the **Geneva conference** of 1962, peace was shakily imposed.
 - iii. Defense Secretary McNamara pushed a strategy of "flexible response," which developed an array of military options that could match the gravity of whatever crises came to hand.
 - a. One of these was the **Green Berets**, aka the Special Forces.

V. Stepping into the Vietnam Quagmire

1. The American-backed **Diem** government had shakily and corruptly ruled Vietnam since 1954, but it was threatened by the Communist **Viet Cong** movement led by **Ho Chi Minh**.
2. JFK slowly sent more and more U.S. troops to Vietnam to "maintain order," but they usually fought and died, despite the fact that it was "Vietnam's war."

VI. Cuban Confrontations

1. Kennedy's **Alliance for Progress** was dubbed the Marshall Plan for Latin America, and it aimed to close the rich-poor gap in Latin American and thus stem Communism.
 - i. However, too many Latin Americans felt that it was too little too late.
2. Kennedy also backed a U.S.-aided invasion of Cuba by rebels, but when the **Bay of Pigs Invasion** occurred, on April 17, 1961, it was a disaster, as Kennedy did not bring in the air support, and the revolt failed.
 - i. This event pushed recently imposed Cuban leader **Fidel Castro** closer to the Communist camp.

3. Then, in 1962, U.S. spy planes recorded missile installations in Cuba. It was later revealed that these were, in fact, nuclear missiles aimed at America.
 - i. The **Cuban Missile Crisis** lasted 13 nerve-racking days and put the U.S., the U.S.S.R., and the world at the brink of nuclear war, but in the end, Khrushchev blinked, backed off, looked very weak, and lost his power soon afterwards.
 - ii. The Soviets agreed to remove their missiles if the U.S. vowed to never invade Cuba again; the U.S. also removed their own Russia-aimed nuclear missiles in Turkey.
 - iii. There was also a direct phone call line (the “hot line”) installed between Washington D.C. and Moscow, in case of any crisis.
 - iv. In June, 1963, Kennedy spoke, urging better feelings toward the Soviets and beginning the modest policy of **détente**, or relaxed defense.

VII. The Struggle for Civil Rights

1. While Kennedy had campaigned a lot to appeal to Black voters, when it came time to help them, he was hesitant and seemingly unwilling, taking much time to act.
2. In the 1960s, groups of **Freedom Riders** fanned out to try to end segregation, but White mobs often reacted violently towards them.
3. Slowly but surely, Kennedy urged civil rights along, encouraging the establishment of the **SNCC**, a **Voter Education Project** to register the South’s Blacks.
4. Some places desegregated painlessly, but others were volcanoes.
 - i. 29 year-old **James Meredith** tried to enroll at the **University of Mississippi**, but White students didn’t let him, so Kennedy had to send some 400 federal marshals and 3000 troops to ensure that Meredith could enroll in his first class.
5. In spring of 1963, **Martin Luther King, Jr.** launched a peaceful campaign against discrimination in **Birmingham**, Alabama, but police and authorities responded viciously, often using extremely high-pressured water hoses to “hose down” the sit-in strikers.
 - i. The entire American public watched in horror as the Black protesters were treated with such contempt, since the actions were shown on national TV.
 - ii. Later, on June 11, 1963, JFK made a speech urging immediate action towards this “moral issue” in a passionate plea.
6. Still, more violence followed, as in September 1963, a bomb exploded in a Birmingham church, killing four Black girls who had just finished their church lesson.

VIII. The Killing of Kennedy

1. On November 22, 1963, while riding down a street in Dallas, Texas, JFK was shot and killed, allegedly by **Lee Harvey Oswald**, who was himself shot by self-proclaimed avenger **Jack Ruby**, and there was much controversy and scandal and conspiracy in the assassination.

2. **Lyndon B. Johnson** became the new president of the United States as only the fourth president to succeed an assassinated president.
3. It was only after Kennedy's death that America realized what a charismatic, energetic, and vibrant president they had lost.

IX. The LBJ Brand on the Presidency

1. Lyndon Johnson had been a senator in the 1940s and 50s, and his idol was **Franklin D. Roosevelt**, and he could manipulate Congress very well (through his in-your-face "Johnson treatment"); also, he was very vain and egotistical.
2. As a president, LBJ went from conservative to liberal, helping pass a **Civil Rights Act** of 1964, which banned all racial discrimination in most private facilities open to the public, including theaters, hospitals, and restaurants.
 - i. Also created was the **Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)**, which was aimed at eliminating discriminatory hiring.
3. Johnson's program was dubbed the "**Great Society**", and it reflected its **New Deal** inspirations.
 - i. Public support for the program was aroused by **Michael Harrington's *The Other America***, which revealed that over 20% of American suffered in poverty.

X. Johnson Battles Goldwater in 1964

1. In 1964, LBJ was opposed by Republican Arizona senator **Barry Goldwater**, who 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.
2. However, Johnson used the **Tonkin Gulf Incident**, in which North Vietnamese ships had *allegedly* fired on American ships, to attack (at least partially) Vietnam, and he also got approved the **Tonkin Gulf Resolution**, which gave him a virtual blank check on what he could do in affairs in Vietnam.
3. But on Election Day, Johnson won a huge landslide over Goldwater to stay president.

XI. The Great Society Congress

1. Johnson's win was also coupled by sweeping Democratic wins that enabled him to pass his Great Society programs.
2. Congress doubled the appropriation on the **Office of Economic Opportunity** to \$2 billion and granted more than \$1 billion to refurbish Appalachia, which had been stagnating.
3. Johnson also created the **Department of Transportation** and the **Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)**, headed by **Robert C. Weaver**, the first Black cabinet secretary in the United States' history.
4. LBJ also wanted aid to education, medical care for the elderly and indigent, immigration reform, and a new voting rights bill.
 - i. Johnson gave money to students, not schools, thus avoiding the separation of church and state by not technically giving money to Christian schools.

- ii. In 1965, new programs called **Medicare** and **Medicaid** were installed, which have certain rights to the elderly in terms of medicine and health maintenance.
 - iii. The **Immigration and Nationality Act** of 1965 abolished the “national origin” quota and doubled the number of immigrants allowed to enter the U.S. annually, to 290,000.
- 5. An antipoverty program called **Project Head Start** improved the performance of the underprivileged in education.

XII. The Black Revolution Explodes

- 1. Johnson’s **Voting Rights Act** of 1965 attacked racial discrimination at the polls.
- 2. The **24th Amendment** eliminated poll taxes, and in the “freedom summer” of 1964, both Blacks and White students joined to combat discrimination and racism.
 - i. However, in June of 1964, a Black and two White civil rights workers were found murdered, and 21 White Mississippians were arrested for the murders, but the all-White jury refused to convict the suspects.
 - ii. Also, an integrated “**Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party**” was denied its seat.
- 3. Early in 1965, Martin Luther King, Jr. resumed a voter-registration campaign in **Selma**, Alabama, but was assaulted with tear gas by state troopers.
 - i. LBJ’s response the stunned American people sped more reform.

XIII. Black Power

- 1. 1965 began a time of violent Black protests, such as the one in the **Watts** area of the LA, as Black leaders mocking Martin Luther King, Jr. like **Malcolm X** (born Malcolm Little), who was inspired by the **Nation of Islam** and its founder, **Elijah Muhammed**, urged action now, even if it required violence, but he was killed in 1965.
- 2. The **Black Panther** openly brandished weapons in Oakland, California.
- 3. Trinidad-born **Stokey Carmichael** led the **Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee** urged an abandonment of peaceful demonstrations.
- 4. Black power became a rallying cry by Blacks seeking more rights, but just as they were getting them, more riots broke out, and nervous Whites threatened with retaliation.
- 5. Tragically, on April 4, 1968, Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated.
 - i. Quietly, though, thousands of Blacks registered to vote and went into integrated classrooms, and they slowly built themselves into a political power group.

XIV. Combating Communism in Two Hemispheres

- 1. Johnson sent men to put down a supposedly Communist coup in the Dominican Republic and was denounced as over-anxious and too hyper.

2. In Vietnam, though, he slowly sent more and more U.S. men to fight the war, and the South Vietnamese became spectators in their own war. Meanwhile, more and more Americans died.
3. By 1968, he had sent more than half a million troops to Asia, and was pouring in \$30 billion annually, yet the end was nowhere in sight.

XV. Vietnam Vexations

1. America was floundering in Vietnam and was being condemned for its actions there, and French leader Charles de Gaulle also ordered NATO off French soil in 1966.
2. In the **Six-Day War**, Israel stunned the world by defeating Egypt (and its Soviet backers) and gaining new territory in the **Sinai Peninsula**, the **Golan Heights**, the **Gaza Strip**, and the **West Bank** of the Jordan River, including **Jerusalem**.
3. Meanwhile, numerous protests in America went against the Vietnam War and the draft.
 - i. Opposition was headed by the influential **Senate Committee of Foreign Relations**, headed by Senator **William Fullbright** of Arkansas.
 - ii. “Doves” (peace lovers) and “war hawks” (war supporters) clashed.
4. Both sides (the U.S. and North Vietnam) did try to have intervals in bombings, but they merely used those as excuses to funnel more troops into the area.
5. Johnson also ordered the **CIA** to spy on domestic antiwar activists, and he encouraged the FBI to use its counterintelligence program (“**Cointelpro**”) against the peace movement.
6. More and more, America was trapped in the awful **Vietnam War**, and it couldn’t get out, thus feeding more and more hatred and resentment to the American public.

XVI. Vietnam Topples Johnson

1. Johnson was personally suffering at the American casualties, as he wept as he signed condolence letters and even prayed with Catholic monks in a nearby church—at night, secretly, and the fact that North Vietnam had almost taken over Saigon in a blistering offensive during **Tet**, the Vietnamese new year, didn’t help either.
2. Johnson also saw a challenge for the Democratic ticket from **Eugene McCarthy** and **Robert Kennedy**, and the nation, as well as the Democratic Party, was starting to be split by Vietnam.
 - i. LBJ refused to sign an order for more troops to Vietnam.
3. Then, on March 31, 1968, Johnson declared that he would stop sending in troops to Vietnam and that he would not run in 1968, shocking America.

XVII. The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968

1. On June 5, 1968, Robert Kennedy was shot fatally, and the Democratic ticket went to **Hubert Humphrey**, Johnson’s “heir.”
2. The Republicans responded with Richard Nixon, paired with **Spiro Agnew**, and there was also a third-party candidate: **George C. Wallace**, former governor of Alabama, a racist who wanted to bomb the Vietnamese to death (what a radical!).

XVIII. Victory for Nixon

1. Nixon won a nail-biter, and Wallace didn't do that badly either, though worse than expected.
2. A minority president, he owed his presidency to protests over the war, the unfair draft, crime, and rioting.

XIX. The Obituary of Lyndon Johnson

1. Poor Lyndon Johnson returned to his Texas ranch and died there in 1973.
2. He had committed American into Vietnam with noble intentions, and he really wasn't a bad guy, but he was stuck in a time when he was damned if he did and damned if he didn't.

XX. The Cultural Upheaval of the 1960s

1. In the 60s, the youth of America experimented with sex, drugs, and defiance.
2. They protested a lot against conventional wisdom and beliefs.
3. Such poets like **Allen Ginsberg** and novelists like **Jack Kerouac** voiced these opinions.
4. Movies like *Rebel without a Cause* also showed this belief.
5. At the **UC Berkeley**, in 1964, a so-called **Free Speech Movement** began.
 - i. Kids tried drugs, "did their own thing" in new institutions, and rejected patriotism.
6. In 1948, Indiana University "sexologist" **Dr. Alfred Kinsey** had published *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, and had followed that book five years later with a female version, and his findings about the incidence of premarital sex and adultery were very controversial.
 - i. He also estimated that 10% of all American males were gay.
 - ii. The **Manhattan Society**, founded in LA in 1951, pioneered gay rights.
7. **Students for a Democratic Society**, once against war, later spawned an underground terrorist group called the **Weathermen**.
8. The upheavals of the 1960s can largely be attributed to the three P's: the youthful population bulge, the protest against racism and the Vietnam War, and the apparent permanence of prosperity, but as the 1970s rolled around, this prosperity gave way to stagnation.
9. However, the "counterculture" of the youths of the 1960s did significantly weaken existing values, ideas, and beliefs.

Chapter 42: "The Stalemated Seventies"

- I. The Economy Stagnates in the 1970s
 1. After the flurry of economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s, the U.S. economy stagnated in the 1970s, in which not one year of that decade had a growth rate that even matched a year of the preceding two decades.
 - i. Part of it was caused by more women and teens in the work force who typically had less skill and made less money than males, while deteriorating machinery and U.S. regulations also limited growth.
 2. Former President **Lyndon B. Johnson**'s spending on the **Vietnam War** and on his **Great Society** program also depleted the U.S. treasury, and this caused too much money in people's hands and too little products to buy.
 3. Also, since the U.S. did not continue advancing, they were caught by the Japanese and the Germans in industries that the U.S. once dominated: steel, automobiles, consumer electronics.

- II. Nixon "Vietnamizes" the War
 1. Upon taking office, President **Richard Nixon** urged American's to stop tearing each other apart cooperate.
 - i. He was very skilled in foreign affairs, and to cope with the Vietnam dilemma, he used a policy called "Vietnamization" in which 540,000 American troops would be pulled out of the Southeast Asian nation.
 - ii. The South Vietnamese would slowly fight their own war, and the U.S. would only supply arms and money; this was called the **Nixon Doctrine**.
 2. While outwardly seeming to appease, Nixon divided America into his supporters and opponents.
 3. The war was fought generally by the least privileged Americans, since college students and critically skilled civilians were exempt, and there were also reports of dissension in the army.
 - i. Soldiers slogged through grimy mud and jungle, trusting nothing and almost paranoid.
 4. The **My Lai Massacre** of 1968, in which American troops had brutally massacred innocent women and children in the village of My Lai, also led to more opposition to the war.
 5. In 1970, Nixon ordered an attack on Cambodia, Vietnam's neighbor.

- III. Cambodianizing the Vietnam War
 1. North Vietnamese had been using Cambodia as a springboard for funneling troops and arms, and on April 29, 1970, Nixon suddenly ordered U.S. troops to invade Cambodia to stop this.
 2. Much uproar was caused, as riots occurred at **Kent State University** and at **Jackson State College**.
 - i. Two months later, Nixon withdrew U.S. troops from Cambodia.
 3. The Cambodian incident even more split the "hawks" and the "doves" (war vs. peace).
 4. The U.S. Senate repealed the **Tonkin Gulf Resolution**, and in 1971, the **26th Amendment**, lowering the voting age to eighteen, was also passed.

5. In June 1971, *The New York Times* published a top-secret Pentagon study of America's involvement of the Vietnam War—papers that had been leaked by **Daniel Ellsberg**, former Pentagon official—which exposed all the deceit used by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

IV. Nixon's Détente with Beijing (Peking) and Moscow

1. Meanwhile, China and the Soviet Union were clashing over their own interpretations of Marxism, and Nixon seized this as a chance for the U.S. to relax tensions.
2. He sent national security adviser **Dr. Henry A. Kissinger** to China to encourage better relations, a mission in which he succeeded, even though he used to be a big anti-Communist.
 - i. He made the historic journey to China in February of 1972.
3. Nixon then traveled to Moscow in May 1972, and the Soviets, wanting foodstuffs and alarmed over the possibility of a U.S.-China alliance against the U.S.S.R., made deals with America in which the U.S. would sell the Soviets at least \$750 million worth of wheat, corn, and other cereals, thus ushering in an era of **détente**, or relaxed tensions.
4. The **ABM Treaty** (anti-ballistic missile treaty) and the **SALT** (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) also lessened tension, but the U.S. also went ahead with its new **MIRV** (Multiple Independently-targeted Reentry Vehicles) missiles, which could overcome any defense by overwhelming it with a plethora of missiles; therefore, the U.S.S.R. did the same.
 - i. Result: more MIRV missiles on both sides.
5. However, Nixon's détente policy did work, at least a little.

V. A New Team on the Supreme Bench

1. When **Earl Warren** was appointed as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, he headed many controversial but important decisions:
 - i. ***Griswold vs. Connecticut*** (1965) struck down a state law that banned the use of contraceptives, even by married couples, but creating a “right to privacy.”
 - ii. ***Gideon vs. Wainwright*** (1963) said that all criminals were entitled to legal counsel, even if they were too poor to afford it.
 - iii. ***Esobendo*** (1964) and ***Miranda*** (1966) were two cases in which the Supreme Court ruled that the accused could now remain silent.
 - iv. ***Engel vs. Vitale*** (1962) and ***School District of Abington Township vs. Schempp*** (1963) were two cases that led to the Court ruling against required prayers and having the Bible in public schools, basing the judgment on the **First Amendment**, which separated church and state.
2. Following its ruling against segregation in the case ***Brown vs. Board of Education***, the Court backed up its ruling with other rulings:
 - i. ***Reynolds vs. Sims*** (1964) ruled that the state legislatures, both upper and lower houses, would have to be reapportioned according to the human population, irrespective of cows.

3. Trying to end this liberalism, Nixon put **Warren E. Burger** to replace the retiring Earl Warren in 1969, and this succeeded; by the end of 1971, the Supreme Court had four new members that Nixon had appointed.

VI. Nixon on the Home Front

1. Nixon also expanded Great Society programs by increasing appropriations for **Medicare** and **Medicaid**, as well as **Aid to Families with Dependent Children** (AFDC), and created the **Supplemental Security Income** (SSI), which gave benefits to the indigent aged, blind, and disabled, and he raised **Social Security**.
2. Nixon's so-called **Philadelphia Plan** of 1969 required construction-trade unions working on the federal pay roll to establish "goals and timetables" for Black employees.
 - i. This plan changed "**affirmative action**" to mean preferable treatment on *groups*, not *individuals*, and the Supreme Court's decision on **Griggs vs. Duke Power Co.** (1971) supported this.
 - ii. However, whites protested to "reverse discrimination" (hiring of minorities for fear of repercussions if too many whites are hired).
3. The **Environmental Protection Agency** (EPA) was also created to help nature, as well as OSHA, or the **Occupational health and Safety Administration**.
4. In 1962, **Rachel Carson** had boosted the environmental movement with her book ***Silent Spring***, which exposed the disastrous effects of pesticides, and in 1950, LA had already had an **Air Pollution Control Office**.
5. The **Clean Air Act** of 1970 and the **Endangered Species Act** of 1973 both aimed to protect and preserve the environment and made notable progress.
6. Worried about inflation, Nixon also imposed a 90-day wage freeze and then took the nation off the gold standard, thus ending the "Bretton Woods" system of international currency stabilization, which had functioned for more than a quarter of a century after WWII.

VII. The Nixon Landslide of 1972

1. In 1972, the North Vietnamese attacked again, surprisingly, and Nixon ordered massive retaliatory air attacks, which ground the Vietnamese offense to a stop when neither China nor Russia stepped in to help, thanks to Nixon's shrewd diplomacy.
2. Nixon was opposed by **George McGovern** in 1972, who promised to end the war within 90 days after the election and also appealed to teens and women, but his running mate, **Thomas Eagleton** was found to have undergone psychiatric care before, and Nixon won in a landslide.

VIII. Bombing North Vietnam to the Peace Table

1. In keeping with Kessinger's promise of peace being near, Nixon then went on a bombing rampage that eventually drove the North Vietnamese to the bargaining table to agree to a cease-fire, which occurred on January 23, 1973
 - i. This little peace was little more than a barely-disguised American retreat.
2. The U.S. would withdraw its remaining 27,000 troops and get back 560 prisoners of war.

IX. Watergate Woes

1. 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 fixing some bugs of the room.
 - i. What followed was a huge scandal in which many prominent administrators resigned.
 - ii. It also provoked the improper or illegal use of the FBI and the CIA.
 - iii. Lengthy hearings proceeded, headed by Senator **Sam Erving**, and **John Dean III** testified about all the corruption, illegal activities, and scandal that took place.

X. The Great Tape Controversy

1. Then, it was found that there were tapes that had recorded conversations that could solve all the mystery in this case, but Nixon, who had explicitly denied participation in this **Watergate Scandal** earlier to the American people, refused to give them to Congress.
2. Also, Vice President **Spiro Agnew** was forced to resign in 1973 due to tax evasion.
3. Thus, in accordance with the new **25th Amendment**, Nixon submitted a name to Congress to approve as the new vice president; that man was **Gerald Ford**.
4. Then came the “**Saturday Night Massacre**” (Oct. 20, 1973), in which **Archibald Cox**, special prosecutor of the case who had issued a subpoena of the tapes, was fired and the attorney general and deputy general resigned because they didn’t want to fire Cox.

XI. The Secret Bombing of Cambodia and the War Powers Act

1. It was then discovered that there had been secret bombing raids in North Vietnamese forces in Cambodia that had occurred since March of 1969, despite federal assurances to the U.S. public that Cambodia’s neutrality was being respected.
 - i. The public now wondered what kind of a government was there if it couldn’t be trusted.
2. Finally, Nixon ended this bombing in June 1973.
3. However, soon, Cambodia was taken over by the cruel **Pol Pot**, who committed genocide by killing over 2 million people over a span of a few years.
4. The **War Powers Act** of November 1973 required the president to report all committance of U.S. troops to foreign exchanges within 48 hours.
5. There was also a “**New Isolationism**” that discouraged U.S. troops in other countries, but Nixon fended off all efforts at this.

XII. The Arab Oil Embargo and the Energy Crisis

1. After the U.S. backed Israel in its war against Syria and Egypt, which had been trying to regain territory lost in the **Six-Day War**, the Arab nations imposed an oil embargo, which strictly limited oil in the U.S. and caused a crisis.
 - i. A speed limit of 55 MPH was imposed, and the oil pipeline in Alaska was approved in 1974 despite environmentalists' cries, and other types of energy were pursued.
 - ii. Since 1948, the U.S. had been importing more oil than it exported, and oil production had gone down since 1970; thus marked the end of the era of cheap energy.
2. OPEC (**Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries**) lifted the embargo in 1974, and then quadrupled the price of oil.

XIII. The Unmaking of a President

1. On July 24, 1974, the Supreme Court ruled that Nixon had to give all tapes to Congress.
 - i. Those that had already been given showed Nixon cursing and swearing. Bad.
2. Late in July 1974, the House approved its first article of impeachment for obstruction of the administration of justice.
3. On August 5, 1974, Nixon finally released the three tapes that held the most damaging information—the same three tapes that had been “missing.”
4. On August 8 of the same year, he resigned, realizing that he would be convicted if impeached, and with resignation, at least he could still keep the privileges of a president.
 - i. Lesson: the Constitution works.

XIV. The First Unelected President

1. Gerald Ford was the first unelected president ever, since his name had been submitted by Nixon as a VP candidate. All the other VP's that had ascended to presidency had at least been supported as running mates of the president that had been elected.
2. He was also seen as a stupid jock of a president, and his popularity and respect further sank when he issued a full pardon of Nixon, thus setting off accusations of a “buddy deal.”
3. In July 1975, Ford signed the **Helsinki accords**, which recognized Soviet boundaries and kind of helped the situation.
4. Critics charged that détente was making the U.S. lose grain and technology while gaining nothing from the Soviets.

XV. Defeat in Vietnam

1. Disastrously for Ford, South Vietnam fell in 1975, and American troops had to be evacuated, the last on April 29, 1975, thus ending the Vietnam War.
2. America seemed to have lost the war, and it also lost a LOT of respect.

XVI. The Bicentennial Campaign and the Carter Victory

1. In 1976, **Jimmy Carter** barely squeezed by Gerald Ford (297 to 240), promising to never lie to the American public, and he also had Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress.
2. In 1978, Carter got an \$18 billion tax cut for America, but the economy soon continued sinking.
3. Despite an early spurt of popularity, Carter soon screwed it up.

XVII. Carter's Humanitarian Diplomacy

1. Carter was a champion for human rights, and in **Rhodesia**, (later **Zimbabwe**) and **South Africa**, he championed for black rights and privileges.
2. On September 17, 1978, **President Anwar Sadat** of Egypt and Prime Minister **Menachem Begin** of Israel signed some accords at Camp David.
 - i. Mediated by Carter after relations had strained, this was a great success.
 - ii. Israel agreed to withdraw from territory gained in the 1967 war while Egypt would respect Israel's territories.
3. In Africa, though, lots of Communist revolutions took place—not all successful, but disheartening and threatening still.
4. Carter also pledged to return the **Panama Canal** to Panama by the year 2000 and resumed full diplomatic relations with China in 1979.

XVIII. Carter Tackles the Ailing Economy

1. Inflation had been steadily going up, and by 1979, it was at a huge 13%, and Americans would learn that they could no longer hide behind their ocean moats and live happily.
2. Carter diagnosed America's problems as stemming primarily from the nation's costly dependence on foreign oil, which was true.
3. He called for legislation to improve energy conservation, but the American people, who had already forgotten about the long gas lines of 1973, didn't like this.

XIX. Carter's Energy Woes

1. In, in 1979, Iran's shah **Mohammed Reza Pahlevi**, who had been installed by America in 1953 and had ruled his land as a dictator, was overthrown and succeeded by the **Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini**.
 - i. Iranian fundamentalists were VERY against Western customs, and Iran stopped exporting oil; OPEC also seized to hike up oil prices, thus causing another oil crisis.
2. In July 1979, he retreated to Camp David and met with hundreds of leaders of various things to advise and counsel him, then came back on July 15, 1979 and chastised the American people for their obsession of material woes ("If it's cold, turn down the thermostat and put on a sweater.") and stunned the nation.
 - i. Then a few days later, he fired four cabinet secretaries and tightened the circle around his Georgian advisors even more tightly.

XX. Foreign Affairs and the Iranian Imbroglio

1. Carter signed the SALT II agreements with Soviet Premier **Leonid Brezhnev**, but the U.S. senate wouldn't ratify it.
2. Then, on November 4, 1979, a bunch of anti-American Muslim militants stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehran and took the people inside hostage, demanding that the U.S. return the exiled shah who had arrived in the U.S. two weeks earlier for cancer treatments.
3. Then, in December 27, 1979, the U.S.S.R. invaded Afghanistan, which later turned into their version of Vietnam.
 - i. However, at the moment, they threatened precious oil supplies.
4. Carter put an embargo on the Soviet Union and boycotted the Olympic games in Moscow.
 - i. He also proposed a "**Rapid Deployment Force**" that could respond to crises anywhere in the world in a quick manner.

XXI. The Iranian Hostage Humiliation

1. The American hostages languished in cruel captivity while night TV news reports showed Iranian mobs burning the American flag and spitting on effigies of Uncle Same.
2. At first Carter tried economic sanctions, but that didn't work.
3. Later, he tried a daring commando rescue mission, but that had to be aborted, and when two military aircraft collided, eight of the would-be rescuers were killed.
 - i. How humiliating for the U.S. to blunder so publicly like so!
4. The stalemate hostage situation dragged on for most of Carter's term, and was never released until January 20, 1981—the inauguration day of **Ronald Reagan**.

Chapter 43: "The Resurgence of Conservatism"

I. The Triumph of Conservatism

1. President **Jimmy Carter**'s administration seemed to be befuddled and bungling, since it could not control the rampant double-digit inflation or handle foreign affairs and would not remove regulatory controls from major industries such as airlines.
 - i. Late in 1979, **Edward Kennedy** ("Ted") declared his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for 1980, but he was hurt by his suspicious 1969 accident in which a young female passenger drowned.
2. As the Democrats duked it out, the Republicans chose conservative and former actor **Ronald Reagan**, signaling the return of conservatism, since the average American was older than that during the stormy sixties and was more likely to favor the right.
 - i. New groups that spearheaded the "new right" movement included **Moral Majority** and other conservative Christian groups.
3. Race was a burning issue, and in the 1974 *Milliken vs. Bradley* case, the Supreme Court ruled that desegregation plans could not require students to move across school-district lines.

- i. This reinforced the “**white flight**” that pitted the poorest whites and blacks against each other, often with explosively violent results.
 - 4. **Affirmative action** was another burning issue, but some whites used this to argue “reverse discrimination” and gain advantages that way.
 - i. The **Bakke** case of 1978 saw the Supreme Court barely rule that **Allan Bakke** had not been admitted into U.C. Davis because the university preferred minority races only and ordered the college to admit Bakke.
 - 5. The Supreme Court’s only black justice, **Thurgood Marshall**, warned that the denial of racial preferences might sweep away the progress gained by the civil rights movement.
- II. The Election of Ronald Reagan, 1980
- 1. Ronald Reagan was a man whose values had been formed before the turbulent sixties, and in a style resembling his early political hero, **Franklin D. Roosevelt**, Reagan adopted a stance that depicted “big government” as bad, federal intervention in local affairs as condemnable, and favoritism for minorities as negative.
 - i. He drew on the ideas of a group called the “**neoconservatives**,” a group that included **Norman Podhoretz**, editor of *Commentary* magazine, and **Irving Kristol**, editor of *Public Interest*, two men who championed free-market capitalism.
 - 2. Reagan had grown up in an impoverished family, become a B-movie actor in Hollywood in the 1940s, become president of the **Screen Actors Guild**, purged suspected “reds” in the McCarthy era, acted as spokesperson for **General Electric**, and become Californian governor.
 - 3. Reagan’s photogenic personality and good looks on televised debates, as well as his attacks on President Carter’s problems, helped him win the election of 1980 by a landslide (489 – 49).
 - i. Also, Republicans regained control of the Senate.
 - 4. Carter’s farewell address talked of toning down the nuclear arms race, human rights, and protecting the environment (one of his last acts in office was to sign a bill protecting 100 million acres of Alaskan land for a wildlife preserve).
- III. The Reagan Revolution
- 1. Reagan’s inauguration day coincided with the release by the Iranians of their hostages, and Reagan also assembled a cabinet of the “best and brightest,” including Secretary of the Interior **James Watt**, a controversial man with little regard to the environment.
 - i. Watt tried to hobble the **Environmental Protection Agency** and permit oil drilling in scenic places, but finally had to resign after telling an insulting ethnic joke in public.
 - 2. For over two decades, the government budget had slowly and steadily risen, much to the disturbance of the tax-paying public, and by the 80s, the public was tired of the **New Deal** and the **Great Society** and ready to slash bills, just as Reagan proposed.

3. His federal budget had cuts of some \$35 billion, and he even wooed some Southern Democrats to abandon their own party and follow him, but on March 30, 1981, the president was shot and wounded, but he recovered in only twelve days, showing his devotion to physical fitness despite his age (near 70) and gaining massive sympathy and support.

IV. The Battle of the Budget

1. Reagan's budget cost \$695 million, and the vast majority of budget cuts fell upon social programs, not on defense, but there were also sweeping tax cuts of 25% over three years.
 - i. The president appeared on national TV pleading for passage of the new tax-cut bill, and bolstered by "**bull weevils**," or Democrats who defected to the Republican side, Congress passed it.
 - ii. The bill used "**supply side**" economics to lower individual taxes, almost eliminate federal estate taxes, and create new tax-free savings plans for small investors.
2. However, this theory backfired as the nation slid into its worst recession since the **Great Depression**, with unemployment reaching nearly 11% in 1982 and several banks failing.
 - i. Critics (Democrats) yapped that Reagan's programs and tax cuts had caused this mayhem, but in reality, it had been Carter's "**tight money**" policies that had led to the recession, and Reagan and his advisors sat out the storm, waiting for a recovery that seemed to come in 1983.
3. However, during the 1980s, income gaps widened between the rich and poor for the first time in the 20th century (this was mirrored by the emergence of "yuppies"), and it was massive military spending (a \$100 billion annual deficit in 1982 and nearly \$200 billion annual deficits in the later years) that upped the American dollar (as well as the trade deficit, which reached a record \$152 billion in 1987) and made America the world's biggest borrowers.

V. Reagan Renews the Cold War

1. Reagan took a denunciative stance against the USSR, especially when they continued to invade Afghanistan, and his plan to defeat the Soviets was to wage a super-expensive arms race that would eventually force the Soviets into bankruptcy and render them powerless.
 - i. He began this with his **Strategic Defense Initiative** (SDI), popularly known as Star Wars, which proposed a system of lasers that could fire from space and destroy any nuclear weapons fired by Moscow before they hit America—a system that many experts considered impossible as well as upsetting to the "balance of terror" (don't fire for fear of retaliation) that had kept nuclear war from being unleashed all these years.
2. Late in 1981, the Soviets clamped down on Poland's massive union called "**Solidarity**" and received economic sanctions from the U.S.
 - i. The deaths of three different aging Soviet oligarchs from 1982-85 and the breaking of all arms-control negotiations in 1983 further complicated dealing with the Soviets.

VI. Troubles Abroad

1. Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982 to destroy guerilla bases, and the next year, Reagan sent U.S. forces as part of an international peace-keeping force, but when a suicide bomber crashed a bomb-filled truck into U.S. army barracks on October 23, 1983, killing over 200 marines, Reagan had to withdraw troops, though he miraculously suffered no political damage.
 - i. Afterwards, he became known as the “Teflon president,” to which nothing harmful would stick.
2. Reagan accused Nicaraguan “**Sandinistas**,” a group of leftists that had taken over the Nicaraguan government, of turning the country into a forward base from which Communist forces could invade and conquer all of Latin America.
 - i. He also accused them of helping revolutionary forces in El Salvador, where violence had reigned since 1979, and then helped “contra” rebels in Nicaragua.
 - ii. In October 1983, Reagan sent troops to Grenada, where a military coup had killed the prime minister and brought Marxists to power, to crush the rebels, which happened.

VII. Round Two for Reagan

1. Reagan was opposed by Democrat **Walter Mondale** and VP candidate **Geraldine Ferraro**, the first woman to appear on a major-party presidential ticket, but won handily.
2. Foreign policy issues dominated Reagan’s second term, one that saw the rise of **Mikhail Gorbachev**, a personable, energetic leader who announced two new Soviet policies: *glasnost*, or “openness,” which aimed to introduce free speech and political liberty to the Soviet Union, and *perestroika*, or “restructuring,” which meant that the Soviets would adopt free-market economies similar to those in the West.
3. At a summit meeting at Geneva in 1985, Gorbachev introduced the idea of ceasing the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF); at a second one at Reykjavik, Iceland, in November 1985, there was stalemate; but at the third one in Washington D.C., the treaty was finally signed, banning all INF’s from Europe.
 - i. The final one at Moscow saw Reagan warmly praising the Soviet chief for trying to end the **Cold War**.
4. Also, Reagan supported **Corazon Aquino**’s ousting of Filipino dictator, **Ferdinand Marcos**, ordered a lightning raid on Libya in 1986 in retaliation for Libya’s state-sponsored terrorist attacks, and began escorting oil tankers through the Persian Gulf during the Iran-Iraq War.

VIII. The Iran-Contra Imbroglio

1. In November 1986, it was revealed that a year before, American diplomats had secretly arranged arms sales to Iranian diplomats in return for the release of American hostages (at least one was) and had used that money to aid Nicaraguan contra rebels.

- i. This brazenly violated the congressional ban on helping Nicaraguan rebels, not to mention Reagan's personal vow not to negotiate with terrorists.
- ii. An investigation concluded that even if Reagan had no knowledge of such events, as he claimed, he *should* have, and this scandal not only cast a dark cloud over Reagan's foreign policy success but also brought out a picture of Reagan as a senile old man who slept through important cabinet meetings.
 - a. Still, Reagan remained ever popular.

IX. Reagan's Economic Legacy

1. Supply-side economics claimed that cutting taxes would actually *increase* government revenue, but instead, during his eight years in office, Reagan accumulated a \$2 trillion debt—more than all his presidential predecessors combined.
 - i. Much of the debt was financed by foreign bankers like the Japanese, ensuring that future Americans would have to work harder or have lower standards of living to pay off such debts for the United States.
2. Reagan did triumph in containing the welfare state by incurring debts so large that future spending would be difficult, thus prevent any more welfare programs from being enacted successfully.
3. Another trend of “**Reaganomics**” was the widening of the gap between the rich and the poor.

X. Culture Wars

1. Reagan used the courts as his instrument against affirmative action and abortion, and by 1988, the year he left office, he had appointed a near-majority of all sitting federal judges.
 - i. Included among those were three conservative-minded judges, one of which was **Sandra Day O'Connor**, a brilliant Stanford Law School graduate and the first female Supreme Court justice in American history.
2. In a 1984 case involving Memphis firefighters, the Court ruled that union rules about job seniority could outweigh affirmative-action concerns.
3. In *Ward's Cove Packing vs. Arizona* and *Martin vs. Wilks*, the Court ruled made it more difficult to prove that an employer practice discrimination in hiring and made it easier for white males to argue that they were victims of reverse-discrimination.
4. The 1973 case of *Roe vs. Wade* had basically legalized abortion, but the 1989 case of *Webster vs. Reproductive Health Services* seriously compromised protection of abortion rights.
 - i. In *Planned Parenthood vs. Casey* (1992), the Court ruled that states couldn't restrict access to abortion as long as they didn't place an “undue burden” on the woman.

XI. Referendum on Reaganism in 1988

1. Democrats got back the Senate in 1986 and sought to harm Reagan with the Iran-Contra scandal and unethical behavior that tainted an oddly large number of Reagan's cabinet.
 - i. They even rejected **Robert Bork**, Reagan's ultraconservative choice to fill an empty space on the Supreme Court.
2. The federal budget and the international trade deficit continued to soar while falling oil prices hurt housing values in the Southwest and damaged **savings-and-loans institutions**, forcing Reagan to order a \$500 million rescue operation for the S&L institutions.
 - i. On October 19, 1987, the stock market fell 508 points, sparking fears of the end of the money culture, but this was premature.
3. In 1988, **Gary Hart** tried to get the Democratic nomination but had to drop out due to a sexual misconduct charge while **Jesse Jackson** assembled a "rainbow coalition" in hopes of becoming president, but the Democrats finally chose **Michael Dukakis**, who lost badly to Republican candidate and Reagan's vice president **George Bush**, 112 to 426.

XII. George Bush and the End of the Cold War

1. Bush had been born into a rich family, but he was committed to public service and vowed to sculpt "a kindler, gentler America."
2. In 1989, it seemed that Democracy was reviving in previously Communist hot-spots:
 - i. In China, thousands of democratic-seeking students protested in **Tiananmen Square** but were brutally crushed by Chinese tanks and armed forces.
 - ii. In Eastern Europe, Communist regimes fell in Poland (which saw Solidarity rise again), Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and Romania.
 - a. Soon afterwards, the **Berlin Wall** came tumbling down.
3. In 1990, **Boris Yeltsin** stopped a military coup that tried to dislodge Gorbachev, then took over Russia when the Soviet Union fell and disintegrated into the **Commonwealth of Independent States**, of which Russia was the largest member, thus ending the Cold War.
 - i. This shocked experts who had predicted that the Cold War could only end violently.
4. Problems remained, for who would take over the USSR's nuclear stockpiles or its seat in the UN Security Council (eventually, Russia did).
5. In 1993, Bush signed the START II accord with Yeltsin, pledging both nations to reduce their long-range nuclear arsenals by two-thirds within ten years.
 - i. Trouble was still present when the **Chechnyen** minority in Russia tried to declare independence and was resisted by Russia; that incident hasn't been resolved yet.
6. Europe found itself quite unstable when the economically weak former communist countries re-integrated with it.

7. America now had no rival to guard against, and it was possible that it would revert back to its isolationist policies; also, military spending had soaked up so much money that upon the end of the Cold War, the Pentagon closed 34 military bases, canceled a \$52 billion order for a navy attack plane, and forced scores of Californian defense plants to shut their doors.
8. However, in 1990, South Africa freed **Nelson Mandela**, then elected him president four years later; free elections removed the Sandinistas in Nicaragua in 1990, and in 1992, peace came to Ecuador at last.

XIII. The Persian Gulf Crisis

1. On August 2, 1990, Iraqi leader **Saddam Hussein** invaded oil-rich Kuwait with 100,000 men, hoping to annex it as a 19th province and use its oil fields to replenish debts incurred during the Iraq-Iran War, a war which oddly saw the U.S. supporting Hussein despite his bad reputation.
2. Saddam attacked swiftly, but the UN responded just as swiftly, placing economic embargoes on the aggressor and preparing for military punishment.

XIV. Fighting “Operation Desert Storm”

1. Some 539,000 U.S. military force members joined 270,000 troops from 28 other countries to attack Iraq in a war, which began on January 12, 1991, when Congress declared it.
 - i. On January 16, the U.S. and U.N. unleashed a hellish air war against Iraq for 37 days.
 - ii. Iraq responded by launching several ultimately ineffective “scud” missiles at Saudi Arabia and Israel, but it had far darker strategies available, such as biological and chemical weapons and strong desert fortifications with oil-filled moats that could be lit afire if the enemy got too close.
2. American General **Norman Schwarzkopf** took nothing for granted, strategizing to suffocate Iraqis with an onslaught of air bombing raids and then rush them with troops.
 - i. On February 23, “**Operation Desert Storm**” began with an overwhelming land attack that lasted four days, saw really little casualties, and ended with Saddam’s surrender.
 - ii. American cheered the war’s rapid end and well-fought duration, relieved that this had not turned into another Vietnam, but Saddam Hussein had failed to be dislodged and was left to menace the world another day.
3. The U.S. found itself even more deeply ensnared in the region’s web of mortal hatreds.

XV. Bush on the Home Front

1. President Bush’s 1990 **American with Disabilities Act** was a landmark law that banned discrimination against citizens with disabilities.
2. Bush also signed major water projects bill in 1992 and agreed to sign a watered-down civil rights bill in 1991.

3. In 1991, Bush proposed **Clarence Thomas** to fill in the vacant seat left by retiring Thurgood Marshall, but this choice was opposed by the NAACP and the **National Organization for Women (NOW)**, since Thomas was supposedly pro-abortion.
 - i. In early October 1991, **Anita Hill** charged Thomas with sexual harassment, and even though Thomas was still selected to be on the Court, Hill's case publicized sexual harassment and tightened tolerance of it (Oregon's Senator **Robert Packwood** had to step down in 1995 after a case of sexual harassment).
 - ii. A gender gap arose between women in both parties.
4. In 1992, the economy stalled, and Bush was forced to break an explicit campaign promise and add \$133 billion worth of new taxes to try to curb the \$250 billion annual budget.
 - i. When it was revealed that many House members had written bad checks from a private House "bank," public confidence lessened even more.
5. The **27th Amendment** banned congressional pay raises from taking effect until an election had seated a new session of Congress, an idea first proposed by **James Madison** in 1789.

XVI. Bill Clinton: the First Baby-Boomer President

1. In 1992, the Democrats chose **Bill Clinton** as their candidate (despite accusations of womanizing and draft evasion) and **Albert Gore, Jr.** as his running mate.
2. The Democrats tried a new approach, promoting growth, strong defense, and anticrime policies while campaigning to stimulate the economy.
3. The Republicans dwelt on "family values" and selected Bush for another round and **J Danforth Quayle** as his running mate.
4. Third party candidate **Ross Perot** added color to the election by getting 19,237,247 votes in the election (no Electoral votes, though), but Clinton won, 370 to 168 in the Electoral College.
 - i. Democrats also got control of both the House and the Senate.
5. Congress and the presidential cabinet were filled with minorities and more women, including the first female attorney general ever, **Janet Reno**, Secretary of Health and Human Services **Donna Shalala**, and **Ruth Bader Ginsburg** in the Supreme Court

XVII. A False Start for Reform

1. Upon entering office, Clinton called for accepting homosexuals in the armed forces but finally had to settle for a "don't ask, don't tell" policy that unofficially accepted gays and lesbians.
2. Clinton also appointed his wife, Hillary, to revamp the nation's health and medical care system, and when it was revealed in October 1993, critics blasted it as cumbersome, confusing, and stupid, thus suddenly making **Hillary Rodham Clinton** a liability when before, she had been a full, equal political partner of her husband.
3. By 1996, Clinton had shrunk the federal deficit to its lowest level in a decade, and in 1993, he passed a gun-control law called the **Brady Bill**, named after

presidential aide **James Brady**, who had been wounded in President Reagan's attempted assassination,.

- i. In July, 1994, Clinton persuaded Congress to pass a \$30 billion anticrime bill.
4. During the decade, a radical Muslim group bombed the **World Trade Center** in New York, killing six, a terrorist, Timothy McVeigh, had bombed the federal building in Oklahoma in 1995, taking 169 lives, and a fiery standoff at Waco, Texas, between the government and the **Branch Davidians** ended in a huge fire that killed men, women, and children.
5. By this time, few Americans trusted the government, the reverse of the WWII generation.

XVIII. The Politics of Distrust

1. In 1994, **Newt Gingrich** led Republicans on a sweeping attack of Clinton's liberal failures with a conservative "**Contract with America**," and that year, Republicans won all incumbent seats as well as eight more seats in the Senate and 53 more seats in the House, where Gingrich became the new Speaker of the House.
2. However, the Republicans went too far, imposing federal laws that put new obligations on state and local governments without providing new revenues and forcing Clinton to sign a welfare-reform bill that made deep cuts in welfare grants.
 - i. Clinton tried to fight back, but gradually, the American public grew tired of Republican conservatism, such as Gingrich's suggestion of sending children of welfare families to orphanages, and of its incompetence, such as the 1995 shut down of Congress due to a lack of a sufficient budget package.
3. In 1996, Clinton ran against Republican **Bob Dole** and won, 379 to 159, and Ross Perot again finished a sorry third.

XIX. Problems Abroad

1. Clinton sent troops to Somalia (where some were killed), withdrew them, and also meddled in Northern Ireland to no good effect, but after denouncing China's abuses of human rights and threatening to punish China before he became president, Clinton as president discovered that trade with China was too important to waste over human rights.
2. Clinton committed American troops to NAT to keep the peace in the former Yugoslavia and sent 20,000 troops to return **Jean-Bertrand Aristide** to power in Haiti.
3. He resolutely supported the **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)** that made a free-trade zone surrounding Mexico, Canada, and the U.S., then helped form the **World Trade Organization**, the successor to the **General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)**, and also provided \$20 billion to Mexico in 1995 to help its faltering economy.

4. Clinton also presided over historic reconciliation meeting in 1993 between Israel's **Yitzhak Rabin** and Palestinian **Yasir Arafat** at the White House, but two years later, Rabin was assassinated, thus ending hopes for peace in the Middle East.
- XX. A Sea of Troubles
1. The end of the Cold War left the U.S. groping for a diplomatic formula to replace anti-Communism and revealed misconduct by the CIA and the FBI.
 2. Political reporter **Joe Klein** wrote ***Primary Colors***, mirroring some of Clinton's personal life/womanizing, while Clinton ran into trouble with his failed real estate investment in the **Whitewater Land Corporation**.
 - i. In 1993, **Vincent Foster, Jr.** apparently committed suicide, perhaps overstressed at having to (perhaps immorally) manage Clinton's legal and financial affairs.
 3. As Clinton began his second term, the first by a Democratic president since FDR, he had Republican majorities in both houses of Congress going against him.
 4. What would happen next?