

THE ULTIMATE AP US HISTORY REVIEW PACKET



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Discovery and Settlement of the New World 1492-1650

Reasons to Enter the New World

- Search for wealth (exotic goods, spices, perfumes, jewels, drugs, textiles, and gold)
- Religious motives: Crusades, the spread of Christianity
- Advancement of knowledge
- Glory for the countries and explorers
 - French: Forest, Fish, and Furs (3 F's)
 - Spanish: Gold, God, and Glory (3 G's)

Marco Polo: 1215 Land Trade Route – Walks to China, sets up Italian Trade Monopoly, as they are the only people to have access to various eastern goods.

Prince Henry “The Navigator” (Portuguese)

- All water route around Africa
- Caravel (Ship)
- Invented astrolabe and compass
- Started a school to train sailors
- Began slave trade in Europe

Columbus

- Columbus wanted to reach the east (Asia) by sailing west; world not flat
- Bartholomeu Dias completed a voyage around the southern tip of Africa, creating a sailing route to India
- When Columbus was turned down by Portuguese King John II, he went to Spanish Queen Isabella.
- Left in August 1492, with *Niña*, *Pinta*, and the *Santa Maria*.
- Found the West Indies
- Became Admiral of the Ocean Sea.
- After a number of voyages, Columbus still believed he had reached Asia.

Spain's American Empire

- Country named after Amerigo Vespucci
- Spain and Portugal shared this “New World” by Pope Alexander VI. Later, the Treaty of Tordesillas left all but the future Brazil to the Spanish (West of Line) while the Portuguese explored Africa. (Line of Demarcation)
- Vasco de Balboa crossed the isthmus (Panama) to discover the Pacific Ocean (1513)
- Juan Ponce de Leon explored east coast of Florida (Searching for Fountain of Youth)
- Hernán Cortés conquered the Aztec Empire in 1519.
- Ferdinand Magellan set out on a three-year voyage to circumnavigate the world.
- Panfilo de Narvaez explored Gulf Coast of North America
- Alvar Cabeza de Vaca wandered along the north of the Gulf, to Mexico City.
- Francisco Pizarro defeated the Inca Empire in the 1530s.
- Hernando de Soto traveled to the Mississippi River looking for the 7 cities of gold.
- Francisco de Coronado explored the Grand Canyon (1539-1542) for 7 cities of gold.
- 7 Cities of Gold were made up by Indians to keep Spanish explorers from forcing them to convert or killing them

English: threatened by religious and political differences (exploration was delayed)

- John Cabot visited Newfoundland in 1497-98
- Martin Frobisher made three voyages across the Atlantic ocean in the 1570s

- Sir Francis Drake set out on voyage around the globe in 1577 (terrorize Spanish strongholds)
- Humphrey Gilbert made failed attempts at New World settlements (1578, 1579, 1583)
- Walter Raleigh settled Roanoke Island in 1585 (aka, the lost colony). It failed due to lack of support from Great Britain as a result of the Spanish attacks on Britain.
- Elizabeth Dare- first born in America

• **French:** delayed by civil conflicts

- Giovanni de Verrazano explored coast from Carolinas to Nova Scotia (1524)
- Jacques Cartier explored the St. Lawrence River (1534)
- Samuel de Champlin founded Quebec in 1608
- Looking for Northwest Passage, a water route through the Americas to the east

• **Dutch**

- New Amsterdam, New York (Founded by Henry Hudson)
- 1619: slaves came with women, first blacks and indentured servants

• **Indians and Europeans**

- The Natives were seen as savage and primitive, being below all of the Europeans. They often mistreated and sometimes killed the Natives.
- Natives thought the explorers were gods.
- The Spanish intermarried, but pureblooded Spaniards were a higher class.
- The British simply tried to push the Indians west and avoid relations with them.
- The French traded and intermarried with the Indians.

• **Relativity of Cultural Values**

- Europeans thought the Natives as godless, while most had many of their own gods.
- Natives did modify their environment, but not to the extent that the Europeans did.
- Native land was often used for hunting. Also, the land belonged to whoever was using it. It did not matter how long someone else had owned it, when they stopped using the land, someone else could take it for their own use.
- Europeans could not grasp the communal nature of the Natives.
- Warfare: The Natives ambushed their opponent and seized the stragglers, while the Europeans fought in heavily armored masses to annihilate their enemy.

• **Disease and Population Losses**

- Number of Natives declined after the arrival of the Europeans.
- Europeans brought microorganisms that carried diseases like smallpox, measles, bubonic plague, diphtheria, influenza, malaria, yellow fever, and typhoid.
- Millions of Natives died due to diseases.
- Some settlers did die of disease as well.

• **The Protestant Reformation**

- Catholic Church had become very scandalous and fraudulent.
- Catholic Church disrupted by the Protestant Reformation.
- Martin Luther launched a movement in 1517. John Calvin addressed the shortcomings of the Catholic Church.
- Henry VIII broke from Rome because of his desire to be divorced. He created the Anglican Church in 1534, with himself as the head.
- In some lands, business classes tended to support the Protestants.
- Countries like England experienced an increase in trade and industry.

- Lead to religious intentions for colonization in the New World.

English Beginnings in America

- Financial backing was mainly provided from stealing gold from the Spanish. (Sea Dogs)
- English merchants searched for trade routes by land and sea, etc. Only secretly funded and endorsed by Queen Elizabeth I.
- Queen Elizabeth I authorized Sir Humphrey Gilbert to explore and colonize. When he failed to colonize and return, his half-brother Sir Walter Raleigh began the task. He attempted settle Roanoke Island, off the coast of North Carolina, in 1585 and 1587, but supplies didn't arrive in 1588, and no one was found in 1590.
- The Spanish Armada attacked the English fleet in 1588, but they were forced to retreat. This had been the largest naval force ever assembled up to that time. The armada was ultimately destroyed in a storm while returning to Spain. The Spanish could no longer stop the English from entering the New World.
- Full-scale efforts to found English colonies began in 1603, after the death of Queen Elizabeth I, but it was by private merchants and companies seeking profit.

The Settlement of Virginia

- In September of 1605, two groups of English merchants (London Company and Plymouth Company, joint stock companies) petitioned King James I for a license to colonize Virginia. Commercial motives were involved.
- The London Joint Stock Company sent out about 100 settlers who arrived in the Chesapeake Bay area in May 1607 and founded Jamestown, the first permanent English colony in the New World. The company and its settlers were ill prepared for living in the New World. Half of the settlers died the first winter. The only focus for the settlers was gold; they did not bother to find food or build housing.
- More than 6000 settlers were sent, fewer than 2000 were still alive in 1622 (1300 people in 1625). Natives helped, but settlers tried to take what they wanted by force, thus ruining the relationship they once had. Many of the people that were sent were rich gentlemen that did not have the skills to live in a less civilized land.
- John Smith got the colony on their feet with his policy of "no work equals no food". He asked for skilled workers to be brought to America.
- John Rolfe (married to Pocahontas) introduced West Indian tobacco in 1612. This caught on and became very profitable to the settlers, though not for the London Company.
- The London Company, a joint stock company, revised their charter in 1612, extending their control over their own affairs. House of Burgesses was set up so that district representatives could advise the governor on problems (early democracy).
- James I revoked the charter in 1624, and Jamestown became a royal colony.

"Purifying" the Church of England

- Puritans called for more changes in the Anglican Church.
- Other groups: Congregationalists (separatists) supported only small, decentralized local church bodies; Presbyterians control by one controlled by elected laymen

Bradford and Plymouth Colony

- Settlers came for religious freedom
- Created the *Mayflower Compact*, a document which stated the colony would be governed by itself
- Early form of Direct Democracy, would later be used in town meeting in the colonies
- The pilgrims/separatists first migrated to Holland, but then left for Virginia but ended up in Massachusetts. The first 30 years of the Pilgrim story is preserved in William Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation*.
- Learned planting, hunting, and fishing from Squanto, and after a successful harvest, held the first Thanksgiving

Winthrop and Massachusetts Bay Colony

- The Dorchester Puritans organized the commercial Massachusetts Bay Company, mainly for religious freedom. John Winthrop was governor for 20 years. "City on the Hill"
- 10,000 people had arrived by 1640.
- Only male members of the Puritan Church could vote in the elections for governor.
- Sought economic equality

- Education consisted of training ministers at the newly founded Harvard and Yale colleges

Troublemakers: Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson

- Williams arrived in Massachusetts in 1631. Offended property owners because he believed land should be bought from the natives. Ordered to leave in fall 1635 by General Court. Settled Providence, RI in 1636. Believed in separation of church and state.
- Hutchinson arrived in Boston in 1631. She criticized the ministers in the Bay colony. Left Massachusetts with supporters and family for Rhode Island. Later, after husband's death, moved to Dutch colony of New Netherlands (Connecticut). There, natives killed her.

Other New England Colonies

- Maine's title was bought by Massachusetts in 1677.
- New Hampshire became a royal colony in 1680, a buffer zone between French and English colonies
- Reverend Thomas Hooker founded Hartford College in 1636. Helped draft the Fundamental Orders, a type of constitution for the towns in that area. It did not limit voting to church members.
- Hooker colony obtained a royal charter in 1662.

French and Dutch Settlements

- French on St. Lawrence River/Great Lakes. Quebec (1608) and Montreal (1642), as well as in the Mississippi River Valley
- Dutch established themselves in the West Indies. Founded many sites on mainland where Henry Hudson had explored. West India Company purchased Manhattan Island from natives for trading goods.
- Dutch traded with the natives for furs.
- New Sweden was established on the lower Delaware River, but was overrun by the Dutch in 1655.

Maryland and the Carolinas

- Charles I granted Maryland to George Calvert (Lord Baltimore). Wanted a Catholic refuge and wealth. Died just before approval of grant.
- Cecilius Calvert (son of George) could govern as he pleased, but chose to give settlers a voice in the local area to attract settlers. Because of a large majority of Protestants, he created a Toleration Act in 1649, allowing anyone who believed in Jesus Christ. This led to the constitutional basis for freedom of religion.
- Carolina was set up in a nobility system, including serfs, but no one could be found to fulfill the serf positions. A system like that of Virginia and Maryland were set up. Two different societies grew in the area of Charleston and Albemarle, so the colonies were divided in 1712, becoming North and South Carolina.

The Middle Colonies

- English to control the Atlantic coast (Florida to the St. Lawrence River). In 1664, English forces captured New Amsterdam (Dutch settlement).
- Duke of York gave New Jersey to Sir George Carteret, who (in 1674) sold it to two Quakers. Could then practice their religion in peace.
- The Concessions and Agreements of 1677 created an autonomous legislature and guaranteed settlers freedom of conscience, right of trial by jury, and other civil rights.
- William Penn was repaid by Charles II by land that became Pennsylvania. The Duke of York also added Delaware to Penn's holdings.
- Penn considered the colony a "Holy Experiment." Treated the natives fairly, buying the titles to their lands, and stopping exploitation. Promoted Pennsylvania tirelessly.
- 9000 settlers in Pennsylvania by 1685, and 18,000 by 1700. The colony produced many goods for other markets.

Chesapeake Colonies

- Harsh Life
 - Women were widows in seven years average.

- ½ of elderly and children died
- Death rate was high (50%)
- One room houses
- Ate with bare hands
- Barns were bigger than their houses
- Mostly Rural few towns
- Climate
 - Hot, moist
 - Bad water
 - Long growing season = Cash Crops
 - No definite season Changes
 - Climate caused huge insect populations (lots of disease like malaria)
 - DEATH TRAP
- Georgia
 - 1733 James Oglethorpe's dream
 - Hoped that the colony would have sober and industrious farmers
 - Land Grants; 50 acres and nontransferable
 - Rum and other "spirits" were banned
 - Slaves were prohibited; they wanted people to work for themselves
 - Settlers found ways to circumvent all restrictions
 - Rum flowed and slaves were imported
 - 250,000 immigrants immigrated to Georgia- Irish, Scottish, and German.
 - Georgia served as a buffer from the Spanish and the Indians

New England Colonies

- Living Conditions
 - Lived in Family farms
 - Lower Death Rate
 - Mostly Middle Class
 - Education was important (Mandatory 1-8 education for boys)
 - Many towns, not as rural
- Climate
 - Four distinct seasons
 - Short growing season
 - Fewer insects

Types of Colonies

- Royal Colonies were colonies directly by the king. Eventually the king appointed a governor to enforce his rule. (ex: the Carolinas)
- Proprietary Colonies were colonies owned and controlled by one person or group of people. Parliament made most of their decisions. (ex: Delaware)
- Charter Colonies were colonies chartered by the king to a certain group of people for their own control. They made laws without the king's approval. (ex: Connecticut)
- All colonies were later taken over by the King and turned into royal colonies.

The British Colonial System

- Governors
 - Executed local laws
 - Appointed many minor officials
 - Summoned and dismissed the colonial assemblies
 - Proposed legislation to the assemblies
 - Could veto colonial laws
 - Elected by crown in New York and Virginia

- Elected by proprietor in Pennsylvania and Maryland
- Elected by the people in Rhode Island and Connecticut
- Legislature
 - All colonies had a two house legislature- except Pennsylvania
 - Lower House
 - Chosen by qualified voters
 - Had general legislative powers
 - Controlled the purse
 - Upper House
 - Were advisors to the governor. Governor appointed them.
 - Had some judicial and legislative powers
- Judicial
 - Judges were appointed by the King

Indians and Europeans as “Americanizers”

- Colonists and Indians learned from each other. “It is very easy to make an Indian out of a white man, but you cannot make a white man out of an Indian.”
- Natives adopted European technology eagerly. They also took other things like attitudes, tools, clothing, weapons, and alcohol (another factor that hurt them).

Salem Witch Trials

- People, mainly women, in Salem were being accused of witchcraft
- Soon, everyone was accusing their neighbors of being witches in mass panic
- Women such as Sarah Good and Sarah Osborne proclaimed to be innocent, but they were sent to prison regardless
- 19 people were hanged, one man was crushed under a pile of stones

Free Response Questions Can Be Asked from this point on America and The British Empire

The Introduction of African Slavery

- 1619- first there were indentured servants, not slaves.
- Headright System: 50 acres given per person paid to come to America (indentured servants)
- Bacon’s rebellion: Bacon built up an army to raid Indians on the frontier
 - Bacon was a former indentured servant
 - They burned parts of Jamestown in their rebellion
- That with the reluctance of indentured servants to go to the Chesapeake [no more land], planters turned to slavery as a labor source.
- No moral consequences; slavery in Europe, too. European Christians thought it alright to enslave “heathen” people. Seeing Africans inferior because of their skin color, had also been developing in England since the 1500s.
- There was a slave system in the West Indies by the 1650s, ineffective until the 1670s.

Slavery in the South

- After 1677, slaves were imported rapidly into the Chesapeake region,
- The existing slaves multiplied even faster.
- As the slave population increased, laws against them became stricter [whites were scared].
- An important thing to remember about slavery in the South is that most yeomen farmers couldn’t afford slaves – it was only the big planters that had them.
- Slavery developed classes in Southern society



- In the Carolinas there had been more slaves from the start, but they only started importing them directly in 1700, when rice was introduced. Indigo was later added as a crop there. Carolinians also enslaved Indians, which contributed to the outbreak of the Yamasee War in 1715.

- Slavery was legalized in the south during the 1640's-1660's

Slavery in the North –

- Fewer slaves than in the South
- Most northern slaves were concentrated in New York and New Jersey. Less farmland meant less of a need for slaves. Most slaves were also already assimilated Creoles, especially early on. When some slaves did begin to come from Africa, the Creoles didn't like it and looked down on them because they had difficulty adapting. Though some slaves were house slaves or worked in cities, overall, like in the South, most Northern slaves lived in the countryside.

Atlantic Trade Patterns – “Triangular Trade”

- The complex Atlantic trading system that developed as a result of the slave trade during the colonial period is often referred to as *Triangular Trade* – the sale and transport of slaves, the exchange of stuff they made, and the food required to feed them.
- **New England:** England wanted their trees. Selling food to English islands (for the slaves) helped trade with England. By the 1640s, New England was *indirectly* dependent on slave consumption.
- **The islands:** consumed products from New England and then shipped molasses, fruit, spices and slaves back to colonial ports.
- **Africa:** provided slaves, who would be sold by coastal rulers and bought by European slavers, in exchange for rum and manufactured goods.

Effects of the Slave Trade

- Slaves had horrible conditions overseas. Major political and economic consequences for Africa and Europe, leading to rivalries between the powers. This caused changes in the Americas.
- In West Africa, where the coastal rulers served as the essential link between the Europeans and the slaves, slavery caused increased centralization because the trade created powerful kingdoms. Slavery also consequently destroyed existing trading patterns and hurt local manufacturing.
- Slave trade really benefited the Europeans, though it did help out some African rulers – so the powers fought to control it. The Dutch replaced the Portuguese in the 1630s, and the Dutch then lost out to the English, who took over through the Royal African Company in 1672. Even the English monopoly didn't really last though, because by the 1700s most trading was carried out by independent traders.

Mercantilism and the Navigation Acts

- The mercantilist system arose in the early 1600s, when it was believed that there was a finite amount of wealth [if they win, you lose] in the world and that governments had to control production and competition in order to gain the upper hand. It was Britain's attempt to be totally self-sufficient, only depending on her colonies for trade.
- By the late 1600s, the concept developed that colonies could actually extend the amount of wealth available and that countries should exploit their colonies to provide cheap labor and raw materials, which could be processed and then sold back to the colonies at a profit.
- So in England, where they were looking for new sources of revenue, this sort of thinking was applied, resulting in the Navigation Acts, which were passed from 1651 to 1673, and stated that...
 - All goods had to stop in England to check that [initially] ½ the crew was British [later the quota was raised to ¾, and the ships became taxed as well].
 - Foreign trading was banned between colonial ports, and colonists weren't allowed to serve on competitors' ships.
 - Later on lists of *enumerated goods* [goods that could only be sold to England] were made. These lists included items such as cotton, tobacco, and indigo.
- The purpose was to make England benefit from both colonial imports and exports. But, officials soon found out that enforcing the laws was much harder than passing them, because there was lots of smuggling. As a result, Admiralty Courts were established and a Board of Trade and Plantations was formed in 1696 to supervise the governors [but it didn't have any direct powers of enforcement either].
- New England shipbuilding prospered, Southern Colonies had a monopoly on tobacco in England, and England protected colonies from French and Spanish forces.
- These policies resulted in smuggling and salutary neglect

Colonial Political Development and Imperial Reorganization

- After the crises of the 1670s, English officials began paying more attention to the colonies. It was a real mess, administratively – the specifics were all different. Overall, though, the colonies all had governors [councils helped the governors] and legislatures [some of which were two-house].
- So, even though the local institutions varied, colonists everywhere were used to some political autonomy. But, after James II became king, officials decided to clean up the mess and consolidate the colonies under British rule. Massachusetts (1691), New Jersey (1702) and the Carolinas (1729) were made royal colonies.
- Some charters were temporarily suspended and then restored in that area as well. But the big changes were made in Puritan New England, which was considered a smuggling hotbed and was changed into the Dominion of New England in 1686 [New Jersey to Maine]. Sir Edmund Andros, who had immense power, ran the Dominion until the Glorious Revolution in 1688.
- After the Glorious Revolution, colonists decided to rebel too, so they jailed Andros and declared their loyalty to William and Mary. But William & Mary also wanted tighter control, so they didn't give the rebellions their sanction and instead issued new charters, which destroyed many New England traditions.
- To make it worse for New England, they had to fight King William's War against the French and their Indian allies [really a European war – The War of the League of Augsburg – in which France declared war on England because of the Glorious Revolution] from 1689 to 1697.
- All the upheaval contributed to the famous 1692 Witchcraft Trials, where people were executed because of accusations of practicing witchcraft. These ended because: (1) ministers started to disapprove (2) the royal charter was implemented and (3) people in high places were accused.
- After the Witchcraft Trials, people settled down w/the new administration, though many resented the new order. Another war, the War of Spanish Succession [Queen Anne's War in the colonies] was fought, and colonists were encouraged to help out through promises of land grants and offices.

Trends in Colonial Development in the Eighteenth Century

- Colonial development in the 18th century had several key aspects – population growth [mainly due to population increase], ethnic diversity, the increasing importance of cities, the creation an urban elite, rising levels of consumption and the growth of a stronger internal economy.
- So, by the second half of the century, social and economic stratification had increased significantly. Additionally, by that time, much of North America had fallen under European control. These changes, along with new trends in thought such as the Enlightenment and the Great Awakening, transformed the colonies.

Intellectual Trends: The Enlightenment

- Throughout the 18th century a new colonial elite was developing, the Enlightenment, which stressed a belief in rationality and peoples' ability to understand the universe through mathematical or natural laws.
- The Enlightenment also gave the elite a common vocabulary and subjects to discuss, and it also encouraged colleges in the Americas to broaden their curriculums to include subjects like science, law and medicine, which allowed more people to join the educated circles.
- Enlightenment ideals about government, illustrated by John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* (1691), which stated that men had power over their governments and attacked the theory of divine right, were also discussed by the upper classes and did have an effect on American political life.
- To most people, however, the Enlightenment had its greatest effect though the advances in medicine it stimulated, such as the treatment of smallpox through inoculation.

Religious Trends: The Great Awakening

- From the mid-1730s to the 1760s waves of religious revivalism swept through America. These revivalists were almost a counterpoint to the Enlightenment because they stressed feeling over rationalism.
- The Great Awakening began in New England when in 1734 and 1735 Reverend Jonathan Edwards noted that his youthful members reacted to a Calvinist based message [people can only attain salvation by surrendering completely to God's will] which created intense emotion and release from sin.
- The Great Awakening spread greatly when George Whitefield ["the first modern celebrity"] from the Church of England arrived and began touring the colonies and preaching to large audiences. He helped unify the colonies, but he also created a split in religion between the "Old Lights" [traditionalists] and "New Lights" [revivalists]. This eventually led to increased toleration, though.
- The reason for the resistance to the message of the Great Awakening was that it undermined the dependence on the clergy and was also radically egalitarian [which attracted many ordinary people].

Cultural Trends: Public Rituals

- The common cultures of North America were mainly oral, communal and very local, since information traveled slowly and usually stayed within confined regions.
- Colonists couldn't form a common culture through other means; religious and civic rituals served to unite them. For example, attendance at church was perhaps the most important ritual as it was central to community life and was handled in different ways depending on the region. For instance, in Puritan churches and in Virginia, people were seated with respect to their positions in society; but in Quaker meetinghouses the seating was egalitarian.
- Civic rituals also varied. In New England, colonial governments proclaimed official thanksgiving days and days of fasting and prayer. Also, militia-training days served to bring the community together.
- In the Chesapeake, however, important rituals occurred on court and election days, where people came from miles to observe the events.
- In all areas of colonial America, punishment of criminals in public also served to unite the community and to remind everybody of the proper behavior by totally humiliating the criminal.
- A new ritual at the time was the ritual of consumption (of goods). This was actually a new activity back then, since commercial goods were only starting to become available for most people. It became customary to buy cool stuff and show it off. Tea drinking was a big one.
- Additionally, rituals developed for communication and negotiation between settlers and Indians .

Colonial Families

- Families constituted the basic units of colonial society, but their forms and structures varied widely during the 18th century. The types of families included...
 - **Indian** – dramatic changes for the Indians led to reduced numbers by disease. Old customs were often changed under pressure from European ideals, and extended families became more important because of the high mortality rates.
 - **Mixed-Race** – wherever the population contained a small number of European women, mixed race families would appear [like in the backcountry]. These families often resided in Indian villages, and their acceptance in society varied by area.
 - **European** – in the 18th century most families were larger than families today, and they included all the inhabitants of the house. Households worked together to produce goods for use or sale, and the head of the household represented it to the outside world. Most families maintained themselves through agriculture.
 - **African-American** – usually African-American families existed as parts of their European households; most were slaves by the 18th century. Family links depended on the region: families were scarce in the North because there were so few blacks, and in the Chesapeake families were often dispersed [though wide kinship networks formed]. Sometimes these groups united against excessive punishment of members.
- Besides differences in family life based on the type of the family, life in the cities was significantly different from life in the country. City dwellers went to marketplaces [unlike their country counterparts, most made it all themselves] and had more contact with the outside world.

Colonial Politics 1700-1750: Relative Calm

- In some areas, the elite power worked together (Virginia), but in others there was competition for office (New York). *1733 (NY) John Peter Zenger tried for criticizing government actions; lawyer said truth could not be defamatory; he was released, setting a precedent for free press.
- An important trend during the period was an increase in the power of the assemblies relative to the power of the governors [“the power of the purse”]. Still, 18th century assemblies were very different from ones today: they rarely passed new measures, but just saw themselves as acting defensively to prevent the people's rights from being usurped by the governors.
- By mid-century, many colonists had also begun linking their system with the British one [governor=monarch, assemblies=House of Commons] and viewing the assemblies as the people's protectors [even though the assemblies didn't pay attention to the concerns of the poor and were not reapportioned for pop. changes].

Colonial Politics Continued: Internal Crises At Mid-Century

- Around 1850s, things were going pretty well, politically. But after that a series of crises demonstrated the tensions that had been building [ethnic, racial, economic] that had been building in American society and illustrated that the accommodations reached after the Glorious Revolution were no longer adequate.
- One of the earlier crises, the Stono Rebellion, occurred in South Carolina in 1739. One morning, twenty slaves gathered south of Charlestown and stole guns and ammunition from a store and then killed the storekeepers and nearby families before heading

towards Florida, where they hoped to find refuge. Although the slaves were soon captured, this shocked the colonists and laws against blacks were made harsher.

- The hysteria generated by the Stono Rebellion, combined with fears of Spain because of King George's War, manifested itself most strongly in New York in 1741 when whites suspecting that a biracial gang was conspiring to start a slave uprising [the New York Conspiracy] began a reign of terror. Assemblies were unable to stop disorder.
- The land riots in New Jersey and New York certainly seemed to confirm that – for instance, the most serious riots, which occurred in 1765/1766 around the Hudson River, occurred because in the 1740s New Englanders had arrived in the area and had started illegally squatting on the lands rented out to tenants by large landowners. After a family sued and the courts supported them, the farmers rebelled for a year.
- Additionally, in the Carolinas the Regulator Movements occurred, in which backcountry farmers [mainly Scottish and Irish immigrants] rebelled against the provincial governments because they felt they lacked influence and that the governments were unfair.

Conflicts and Wars

- King Phillip's War-1675
 - Natural population increase led to increased need for land
 - Settlers began to surround the land of the Pokanoket Indian tribe
 - King Phillip, leader of the Pokanoket Indians, led raids on the white settlements
 - This led to increased attacks by other Algonquian tribes
 - Eventually more settled areas were threatened and the colonists began to respond with more force.
 - In August 1675, King Phillip died and the war drew to a close
 - Many colonists were lost in this war. The economies of the New England colonies did not fully recover until the revolutionary war
- Bacon's Rebellion
 - Nathaniel Bacon led a revolt against Jamestown in 1676.
 - West farmers, mad at the government for not protecting them against the Indians, burned Jamestown to the ground
 - Fought by colonists against both the Indians and the colonial government of Virginia

Prelude to a Revolution (1754 – 1774)

Changes in Colonial Outlook

- So how was it that the happy colonists changed their minds and, after over a century of peaceful subordination to Britain, began fighting for independence in 1776?
- Many factors affected their change of opinion. It was in the 1750s that the colonists first began looking away from their internal politics and paying attention to British policies, and the story of the 1760s and early 1700s is really a series of events that, one by one, widened the split.
- But it really all began with the **Seven Years War** [a.k.a. King George's War, the French and Indian War], which ended in **1763** and left North America transformed.

The Seven Years War

- Anyhow, the **Seven Years War** informally began in **July 1754** in the Ohio Valley when an inexperienced George Washington attacked the French, who were building a fort. He was sent to remove the French from Fort Duquene. Fort Necessity was built to protect the troops. The French kicked his sorry butt, so he surrendered, but the incident still managed to eventually spark a major war in Europe and in America.
- Right before the war actually started, in **June 1754**, delegates from several colonies had met for the **Albany Congress**, which had the goals of (1) convincing the Iroquois [who had always used their neutrality as a diplomatic weapon against all the sides involved] to join them and (2) coordinating colonial defenses. Neither goal was met because the governors of the individual colonies feared losing their autonomy.
- So Washington had screwed up big time, and throughout **1755** the British [under **Gen. Braddock**], who decided to attempt to kick the French out of N. America, continued to get beaten by French & Indian forces. Their only success was the deportation of the French from Nova Scotia [they sent them to Louisiana].
- The French won many of the war's early battles.

- After news of one particularly disastrous battle in **1756** the British and French formally declared war in Europe as well. Things still went badly in America, partially because the British and colonial forces just didn't get along. But in **1757** the new secretary of state, **William Pitt**, managed to encourage the colonial forces to enlist by offering a compromise [British would supposedly refund assemblies for their losses].
- Consequently [and also because of events in Europe] things improved until finally in **1763** France surrendered. According to the **Treaty of Paris**, France lost all her N. American possessions. France retained some fishing rights in Canada as well as Haiti. England got Canada, the Ohio River Valley, and Spanish Florida. Spain received Louisiana.

British-Colonial Tensions During the Seven Years War

- Both the Seven Years War itself and its aftermath increased British-colonial tensions. During the actual war, these factors contributed to initial anti-British feeling in the colonies:
 - The colonials favored Indian-style guerilla tactics; the British marched in formation.
 - Colonial militias served under their own captains but the British wanted to take charge.
 - The colonials had no military protocols; the British were big on all that stuff.
 - The colonials didn't want higher taxes to help pay for the war but the British felt the colonials should pay for their own defense.
 - The colonial officers were casual but the British wanted servants w/ them, etc.
- Clearly, different styles of fighting led to significant resentment on both sides.

1763: A Turning Point

- Both the British and colonists were strongly affected by the end of the war. For Britain, its conclusion meant that (1) they had a much larger and safer colonial empire, (2) they had a much larger debt, and (3) they felt even more contempt for the colonists.
- For the colonies, the war had (1) united them against a common enemy for the first time and (2) created anger against the British, who were viewed as overly harsh commanders who had disdain for the colonists.
- The end of the war also led to another key event. In **Pontiac's Rebellion** (1763) Indian leader Pontiac united an unprecedented amount of tribes due to concern about the spread of colonists and their culture.
- Although the colonists eventually triumphed, the British issued the **Proclamation Line of 1763**, which was a line that the colonists couldn't settle past, to prevent further conflicts. This was the "First Strike" against the colonists, and can be considered as the beginning of the Revolutionary War.

English Attempts to Reorganize their Empire

- Anyhow, due partially to their increasing debt and experiences in America, following 1763 the British decided to reorganize [again]. *Their 1st reorganization, the Dominion of New England, had only lasted from the late 17th century until the Glorious Revolution.
- In **1761**, even before the end of the war, the British allowed for **Writs of Assistance** [officers allowed to board and inspect ships and confiscate goods not taxed] to be used in the colonies. **James Otis** brought a case against this [protection of property over parliamentary law] but he lost.

- Then, from **1763** to **1765** George Grenville passed four very irritating pieces of legislation...

- **Sugar Act** (1764) – existing customs regulations were revised, new duties were placed on some foreign imports, and stronger measures were taken against smuggling. Seems just like Navigation Acts, which were accepted by the colonists, but this time the measures were explicitly designed to raise revenue [as opposed to channeling trade through Britain]. James Otis came up with the slogan "No Taxation without Representation," which rallied the colonists.
- **Currency Act** (1764) – colonial paper money was banned for trade [by 1769 it was decided col. money would have no value at all]. This was passed because British officials felt they were being ripped off because colonial money had such erratic values, but it greatly irritated colonial merchants, who lost out because their money was made useless.
- **Quartering Act** (1765) – required a raise in colonial taxes to provide for housing of soldiers in barracks near colonial centers.
- **STAMP ACT** (1765) – see following page
- Though the acts were a natural consequence of the war, which created a large debt for Britain, they greatly annoyed the colonists and led to ever increasing resistance...

- Other Industries Restricted
 - **Wool Act 1699**
 - **Hat Act 1732**
 - **Molasses Act 1733**
 - **Iron Act 1750**

Different Theories of Representation

- Greenville's acts illustrate the different theories of representation. While Greenville and the English believed that Parliament represented all British subjects by definition regardless of where they lived [**Virtual Representation**], colonists believed that they needed members that specifically represented their regions.
- Another ideology that was beginning to become popular in the colonies was that of the **Real Whigs**, who stated that a good government mainly left people alone and that government should not be allowed to encroach on people's liberties and on their property.
- Although at first not many people interpreted British actions according to the Real Whig ideology, over time this point of view affected increasing numbers of colonists.

Colonial Response to the Sugar and Currency Acts

- The Sugar and Currency Acts could not have been implemented at a worse time, because the economy was already in the midst of a depression following the shift of the war to Europe. So merchants were all the more annoyed by the new taxes.
- Nevertheless, while individual colonists protested the new policies, lacking any precedent for a unified campaign Americans were uncoordinated and unsure of themselves in 1764. Eight colonial legislatures sent separate petitions to Parliament [all ignored], but that was it.
- The most important individual pamphlet relating to the Sugar Act was *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* by **James Otis Jr.**, which discussed the main ideological dilemma of the time – how could the colonists justify their opposition to certain acts without challenging Parliament's authority over them?

1765: The Stamp Act Crisis

- Initially, when the Stamp Act was passed, the response was pretty underwhelming as well. It seemed hopeless to resist. But **Patrick Henry**, a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, was not prepared to give up easily and instead wrote the **Virginia Stamp Act Resolves**.
- The resolves were passed [though some of the most radical sections were taken out]. The parts that were adopted essentially reasserted that the colonists had never given up the rights of British subjects, which included consent to taxation. This position was that of most colonists throughout the 1760s – they wanted some measure of independence and their rights, but not independence.
- Ideologically, during this time, America's leaders were searching for some way to maintain self-government but still remain British subjects. But because of Britain's unwillingness to surrender on the issue of Parliamentary power this simply wasn't going to work.
- But resistance to the Stamp Act was soon more than ideological arguments about Parliamentary power. Organizations began forming to resist the taxes, such as...
 - **Loyal Nine** – in August 1765 this Boston social club organized a demonstration that also included the lower classes. They also hung an effigy of the province's stamp distributor, which caused him to publicly promise not to do what he was supposed to. Another demonstration, however, occurred shortly after that – but this time it was aimed at Governor Thomas Hutchinson, and concerned the elites [this illustrates the internal divisions between the demonstrators – for the elite it was political; for the laborers it was economic].
 - **Sons of Liberty** – so, to attempt to channel resistance into acceptable forms an inter-colonial association, the Sons of Liberty, was formed. Although they could influence events, however, they couldn't control them totally.
- Anyhow, by 1766 resistance was occurring on three different fronts: the Sons of Liberty [mass meetings, public support], a **non-importation agreement** organized by the merchants, and the **Stamp Act Congress**, which met in New York to draft the Stamp Act Resolves. The Stamp Act Congress was the first time the colonists united against Parliament and England, setting the stage for later meetings in the colonies.

1767: The Townshend Acts

- Then, in **March 1766** Parliament repealed the Stamp Act, partially because of the non-importation agreements, which turned London merchants against the Act. But the main reason for its repeal was the appointment of **Lord Rockingham** as prime minister instead of Greenville.

- Rockingham felt the law was a bad idea, but he still believed Parliament had the rights to tax the colonies and consequently passed the **Declaratory Act** [we can tax you if we want to], which was pretty much ignored in the midst of the celebrations of the Stamp Act's repeal.
- The fragility of the Stamp Act victory was exposed by another change in the ministry. When William Pitt got sick, **Charles Townshend** became the dominant force and decided to impose some more taxes.
- The **Townshend Acts** (1767) were on trade goods [paper, glass, tea, etc.] but were different from the Navigation acts because they (1) applied to items imported from Britain and (2) were designed to raise money to pay for the salaries of royal officials [this is no good...remember, the power of the purse].
- Additionally, the acts established an **American Board of Customs Commissioners** and vice-admiralty courts at several colonial cities. While the trials were supposed to be fair, the colonists were not being judged by their peers, but they were tried in England without a jury of colonists.

Colonial Response to the Townshend Acts

- This time there was no hesitation. Many essays were written, but **John Dickinson's** *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania* best expressed colonial sentiments – Parliament could regulate colonial trade but not use that power to raise revenue.
- The Massachusetts Assembly called for unity in the face of the Acts and circulated a joint petition of protest, which the ministry ordered them to recall, giving the other assemblies the incentive to join forces against it. Recall was rejected, and the governor dissolved the assembly.
- Boycotting was used to prevent Britain from controlling as much trade in the colonies.
- Another important aspect of colonial resistance was the second **non-importation movement**, which was led by the **Daughters of Liberty**, who encouraged home spinning bees, etc. Although the boycotts were not complete [some merchants, who were now in the midst of a boom, broke the agreements] they still had a significant effect, and in **April 1770** the Townshend duties were repealed except for the tea tax.
- Even though the rest of the Townshend Acts [just not the taxes] were still there, it didn't seem like such a big deal since the bulk of the taxes had been removed.

1770: The Boston Massacre

- On the same day **Lord North** [the new prime minister] proposed repealing the Townshend duties, the rather misnamed **Boston Massacre** occurred in which five civilians were killed. The source of the problem was the decision to base the Board of Customs Commissioners in Boston.
- Ever since the customs people came, mobs targeted them – consequently, two regiments of troops were assigned to Boston. They constantly reminded people of British power and also took jobs from Boston laborers, which really annoyed them.
- So on **March 5, 1770** laborers began throwing snowballs at soldiers, which led to shooting [even though it was not allowed]. This was a tremendous political weapon for the patriots [nevertheless they didn't approve of the crowd action that generated the problem and consequently tried the soldiers fairly].
- Five civilians died, of which the most famous is Crispus Attucks
- John Adams was the lawyer for the British soldiers in their trial.

1770 – 1772: The Calm Before the Storm

- From 1770 to 1772 superficial calm prevailed in the colonies. Still, some newspapers began publishing essays that used Real Whig ideology to accuse Britain of scheming to oppress the colonies. It was a conspiracy! But nobody really advocated *independence* [yet].
- So patriots continued to view themselves as British subjects. They devised systems in which they would have their own legislatures but remain loyal to the king, but this was directly contradictory to British conceptions of Parliament's power.
- But the calm ended in **fall 1772**, when the British began implementing the part of the Townshend Act about governors being paid from customs revenues. In response to this, a **Committee of Correspondence** [led by **Samuel Adams**] was created in Boston to gather publicity for the patriot cause.

1773: The Tea Act and Boston Tea Party

- By 1773 the only Townshend duty still in effect was the tea tax. Though some colonists were still boycotting it, many had given up. But then, in **May 1773** Parliament passed the **Tea Act**, which was designed to save the East India Co. from bankruptcy.
- The **Tea Act** made East India Company's tea the only legal tea in America and enabled the company to sell directly to the colonies, which would allow them to price tea competitively with smugglers. Though this would result in cheaper tea, it was seen as another

attempt to make them admit that Parliament could tax them by leaders. The Tea Act created a monopoly for the East India Company, which was frowned upon by the colonists.

- This act led to the famous **Boston Tea Party** on **December 16, 1773**, where approximately 10,000 pounds [money] of tea were dumped into the water.

1774: The Coercive “Intolerable” and Quebec Acts

- In response to the Tea Party, the **Coercive Acts** included the...
 - **Port Bill** – the port of Boston was shut down until the tea was paid in full [enforced by Massachusetts Gov. Thomas Gage]. Purpose was to set example for other colonies.
 - **Government Act** – annulled what was left of the Massachusetts Charter [had already gone through several incarnations] and destroyed all colonial power in the legislature. Limited town meetings as well.
 - [new] **Quartering Act** – this now forced colonial assemblies to either build barracks or have citizens house the soldiers themselves.
 - **Administration of Justice Act** – soldiers who killed colonists were to be tried in British courts [i.e. allowed to get away with it]. “Extraterritoriality.”
- The **Quebec Acts** were passed around the same time – they annoyed colonists because they allowed Catholicism in formerly French territories and also allowed the French colonists to go past the Declaration Line and into the Ohio River Valley.
- The colonists felt as though all their worst fears about the British plot had been confirmed, and the colonies agreed to send delegates to Philadelphia in **September 1774** for the **Continental Congress**. There was no turning back...

American Revolution

The Revolutionary War Begins

- The “Coercive” or “Intolerable” Acts had proven to be just what their name implied, so the colonies sent delegates to a **Continental Congress** in **September 1774** in order to discuss measures to protest the acts.
- When the congressmen met on **September 5, 1774** they had three goals: **1) To define American grievances 2) To develop a resistance plan 3) To define their constitutional relationship with Britain.**
- “**Constitutional Association**” organized more boycotts of British goods, the King proclaimed the colonies in a state of rebellion.
- **Lexington and Concord**, April 19, 1775 - General Thomas Gage in Boston sent an expedition to confiscate provincial military supplies at **Concord**. Paul Revere, Dr. Samuel Prescott, William Dawes alerted the minutemen. There was a skirmish at Lexington where a lone shot (**Shot Heard around the World**) was fired. Then at **Concord** the British were met with even more resistance.
- **Battle of Bunker Hill (Breed’s Hill)** - a turning point for the Americans. The British suffered heavy losses.
- **January 1776 Thomas Paine** released his book, *Common Sense*, which mocked King George III, criticized monarchy and had an enormous impact on the colonists’ feelings about Britain.
- In **Philadelphia of 1775** a more radical group of John Adams, Sam Adams, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and John Hancock met to form the **Second Continental Congress** to appoint George Washington the commander in chief of the colonial army, and to send one last plea to the king known as the **Olive Branch Petition**.
- On **June 7** some congressmen introduced a motion towards **Declaration of Independence**. Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston were the committee to draft the declaration.
- **July 4, 1776, The Declaration of Independence**, it stated the right of the people to overthrow a tyrannous government, and based the theory of republican government. It also listed the “**injuries and usurpations**” of the King and the British government.
- **Battle of Saratoga** – Huge American victory, French saw the colonists had a chance to win the war, and they saw an opportunity to injure their long time enemy. French offered munitions and supplies, as well as trained leaders and men like Lafayette, and the great French navy. General Burgoyne was captured.
- **Battle of Trenton** – Fought on December 26 in 1777. Very important American victory. Two divisions, led by Maj. Gen. Sullivan and Maj. Gen. Greene, attacked the British after Washington’s famous crossing of the Delaware. A third division never made it due to poor weather. The British army at Trenton was composed mainly of Hessians.
- **Yorktown**- Cornwallis moved to the peninsula in hopes of rearming and gaining more supplies. The French navy (Admiral De Grasse) prevented Cornwallis from escaping. Cornwallis was then forced to give up his sword and surrender.

- **Treaty of Paris-** 1) Britain would recognize the colonists as an independent nation. 2) Boundaries were established at the Great Lakes, Mississippi River, and the 31st North Parallel. 3) America gains fishing rights in Newfoundland. 4) British troops abandon forts and leave at convenient speed. 5) America pays the Tories or loyalists for property damage.
- Parts 4 and 5 of the treaty were hard to enforce.
- **War Economy:** Altogether the colonies spent about \$5.8 million in hard currency on the war. The colonists bought \$7-8 million in war bonds. The states issued \$200 million in paper money. This money met demands for food and other supplies. Foreign contributions equaled \$8 million, which mostly came from France. Congress issued more than \$240 million, which caused inflation.
 - Robert Morris – superintendent of finance, helped borrow money from Europe, stabilized currency to help pay debts. He helped to save the economy during the war.

Constitution and New Republic

- **Articles of Confederation**
 - Ratified in 1781
 - **Strengths:** ended the Revolutionary War with the Treaty of Paris, kept the states together, settled the question of western land claims
 - **Weaknesses:** nine states were needed to ratify a bill, all states needed to accept an amendment, no foreign policy, each state had its own currency, federal government couldn't tax, no Federal Army, lack of national power over the states
 - **Western Land Cession of 1781-** Argument over western lands – Maryland thought the land west of the states should be owned by the federal government while Virginia thought the land should be split up and given to the states bordering the lands. Maryland won and the articles were ratified
 - **Land Ordinance of 1785-** divided land into townships, 36 sections each one square mile, each section was 640 acres, minimum price was \$1
 - **Annapolis Convention** – 5 states showed up to look at new changes for the government
 - **Shay's Rebellion (1786)-** farmers led by Captain Daniel Shays rebelled because their farms were being foreclosed and they demanded cheaper paper money, lighter taxes, and suspension of mortgage foreclosures – troops broke up the mob. Following the Rebellion Congress realized they needed to amend the articles.
 - **Northwest Ordinance of 1787-** dealt with making territories: congress would appoint governors and judges; when area had 5000 voters then they could write temporary constitutions and elect own officials; when area had 60000 settlers then they could write state constitutions and apply for statehood.
- **Creation of State Governments**
 - **Political Organizations-** provided for an elected legislatures, executive and judicial system. Power is legislatures.
 - States had Bill of Rights.
- **Social Reform-** practices of primogeniture (inheritances), entails (preventing heirs from getting rid of land), and quitrents were abolished.
 - Greater religious freedom
- **Slavery-** some states began to move away from it
 - Pennsylvania abolished in 1780, New York in 1799, and New Jersey in 1804
- **Women-** some increases in women rights
 - Increased authority in divorce
 - Increased education-raised literacy-more schools

The Constitution

- **Philadelphia Convention of 1787:** delegates met to discuss ratifying the Articles; resulted in new Constitution
- **Famous People:** George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, Ben Franklin, etc.
- **Virginia Plan:** written by James Madison; called for a bicameral legislature with representatives proportional to the population; supported by the large states
- **New Jersey Plan:** written by William Patterson; called for unicameral legislature with equal representation for each state; supported by the small states
- **Great Compromise (Connecticut Compromise):** compromise between Virginia and New Jersey plans; called for bicameral legislature, one part with representation proportional to the population (House of Representatives), the other with equal representation (Senate)

- **3/5 Compromise:** States with slaves wanted slaves to count for population when counting reps but not taxes, so everyone compromised and 3/5 of a slave was worth 1 white man when counting for both
- **Bill of Rights:** Federalists argued the constitution would provide for all rights of the people, that no Bill of Rights was needed, and used a loose interpretation; Anti-federalists argued the constitution would NOT provide for all rights of the people, that a Bill of Rights WAS needed, and used a strict interpretation; Bill of Rights was added and the Constitution was ratified
- **Elastic Clause:** this was added and said the federal government could do everything “necessary and proper” to help the country...led to arguments about strict or loose interpretations of the Constitution and Federalist Papers and the papers the anti-federalists wrote
- **Ratification:** Needed 9 states to pass, 9th state was New Hampshire. Last state to ratify was Rhode Island in May 1790.
- Other ideas included the electoral college and the judicial branch,

Federalist Era

The Early Republic (1789 – 1800)

- The Federalists [i.e. people who supported the Constitution and a strong national government] controlled the First Congress in April 1789, where they worked on:
 - Congress passed the **Revenue Bill of 1789**, which put a 5% tariff on some imports.
 - **Bill of Rights** – Madison wrote 19 Amendments for the Constitution, 10 of which were ratified on **December 15, 1791** and became known as the **Bill of Rights**. The Bill of Rights helped rally support for the new government and lessen Anti-Federalist opposition.
 - **Organization of the executive** – Congress agreed to keep the departments established under the Articles Of Confederation [War, Foreign Affairs/State, Treasury] and add the attorney general and postmaster general. The President could remove heads of executive departments [he picked them w/Congress approval].
 - **Organization of the judiciary** – The **Judiciary Act of 1789** defined the jurisdiction of the federal judiciary and established a 6 member Supreme Court, 13 district courts and 3 courts of appeal. Also, it allowed appeals from state to federal courts with connected issues. The first Chief Justice was Henry Clay
 - Important court cases: *Ware v. Hylton* (1796) where the Supreme Court declared a state law unconstitutional for the first time; *Hylton v. US* (1796) where the Supreme Court review the constitutionality of an act of Congress for the first time; *Chisholm v. Georgia* (1793) which established that states could be sued in federal courts by citizens of other states.

Domestic Policy under Washington

- Washington was elected to be the first President. He was cautious, knowing he was setting precedents for the future. He chose the heads of the executive departments: **Alexander Hamilton** (Treasury), **Thomas Jefferson** (State), **Henry Knox** (War), and **Edmund Randolph** (Attorney). He also established the Cabinet by using the heads of the executive departments collectively as the chief advisers.

Hamilton’s Financial Plan

- **Report on Public Credit** (1790) – Hamilton proposed that Congress assume state debts, combine them w/the national debt, and redistribute the burden of the debt equally throughout the states. Madison objected because: (1) gave the central government too much power and (2) Virginia already paid. A compromise allowed for the passage of the Assumption Bill in return for the location of the capital [on the Potomac].
- **National Bank**– Hamilton recommended the chartering of a national bank, which would circulate currency and collect and lend money to the Treasury. But did the Constitution allow the creation of the Bank?
 - **Strict constructionists** (Jefferson, Randolph, and Madison): if the Constitution doesn’t say it, then you can’t do it;
 - **Loose constructionists** (Hamilton) used the elastic clause (the “necessary and proper” clause”) and implied powers of Congress. In the end Washington agreed, the bill was passed and it helped the economy.
- **Whiskey Rebellion** in Pennsylvania – farmers protest the excise tax on whiskey; Washington led the army to put down the rebellion. Washington’s action had long-term effects because it demonstrated that the national government would no longer tolerate violent resistance to its laws.

The Development of Political Parties

- **Democratic-Republicans** – political party formed by Jefferson and Madison; supported the common man (agrarian interests), and best government was the one that governed the least and favor France, focused on westward expansion
- **Federalists** – created by Hamilton, favor Britain and a strong central government, aristocratic society rule the government, preferred economic interests
- Washington tried to stay out, but it got more complicated when issues in foreign affairs further divided the two camps.

The French Revolution and Foreign Affairs

- In 1789 most Americans supported the FR, but it got bloodier and bloodier and then, in **1793**, France declared war on Britain, Spain, and Holland. The US had conflicting interests: **1)** On one side, the **1778 Treaty of Alliance** with France called for US intervention but **2)** the US had bonds to Britain and also depended on British imports.
- **Citizen Genêt** – in April 1793 he traveled to America to recruit Americans merchants to become privateers. The US responded w/a declaration of neutrality, and Washington deported Genêt.

Jay's Treaty

- Meanwhile, Washington sent **John Jay** to London to negotiate w/the British about several pressing issues: **(1)** British seizures of American merchant ships, **(2)** the forts still in the American Northwest, **(3)** a commercial treaty and **(4)** impressments of American sailors.
- **Jay's Treaty** - Britain only agreed to get rid of the forts and some trade restrictions. In return England could have tariffs on American goods, English exports got most favored status and the US agreed to compensate for pre-revolutionary debts. Ratified in **June 1795**.
- **Pinckney's Treaty** - the US could navigate on the Mississippi and allowed to trade at New Orleans

The Election of 1796

- The Jay's Treaty controversy further divided the Federalists and Democratic-Republicans
- **Farewell Address** – Washington warned against political parties and entanglement in European affairs (No Entangling Alliances) and wars.
- John Adams and Thomas Pinckney represented the Federalists and Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr represented the Democratic-Republicans. Adams became President and Jefferson the Vice President.

The Adams Administration

- Adams let others lead too often, which led to inconsistency.
- **XYZ Affair** - Because of Jay's Treaty, the French started seizing American ships carrying British goods. Adams sent representatives over in 1798 to negotiate a settlement, but French agents (X, Y, Z) demanded a bribe before negotiations with French Foreign Minister Talleyrand could begin. This affair outraged the public and Congress got rid of the Treaty of Alliance with France.
- In 1798 the Federalist Congress passed the **Alien and Sedition Acts**, meant to limit immigrants in government and regulate them in times of war. The **Naturalization Act** lengthened the residency requirement and had all resident aliens register; the **Alien Acts** allowed for the detention of enemy aliens during wartime and allowed the President to deport dangerous aliens; the **Sedition Act** controlled free speech against the government.
- In response, Jefferson and Madison drafted the **Virginia (Madison) and Kentucky (Jefferson) Resolutions**, which outlined the states' rights argument to null federal laws within their borders.

Race Relations at the End of the Century

- **Indian Trade and Intercourse Act (1793)** - the government would supply Indians w/animals, tools, and instruction in farming in an attempt to assimilate them into white society.
- **Midnight Appointments** – Adams appointed justices to new court positions on the eve of Jefferson's inauguration.

Age of Jefferson (1800-1808)

· "Revolution" of 1800: Presidential Election

- Tie for President
 - 73 for Jefferson, 73 for Burr
 - Deadlock in the House
 - Hamilton detested Burr, helped Jefferson gain votes from Federalists
 - Jefferson President, Burr Vice President

- Jefferson referred to his election as the “Revolution of 1800” because it marked the restoration of a limited and frugal government. Besides his beliefs in a simple, limited central government, Jefferson called for unity in his First Inaugural Address.
- In reality, though, Jefferson was consolidating the Democratic Republicans hold on power by refusing to recognize appointments Adams made in the last days of his presidency and by placing Democratic Republican’s in vacant seats formerly held by Federalists. The election of a Democratic Republican Congress in 1800 completed the Democratic Republican victory.
- Led to 12th Amendment
- Presidential and Vice Presidential ballots were separated

· **The Federalist Contribution**

- March 4, 1801: Jefferson took presidential oath in new national capital (Washington D.C)
 - Goal: “pure republicanism:
- Federalist era had ended
- Constitution is their monument
- Self-controlled and moderated until 1798
- When they saw they were losing control, they fought to stay in power any way they could
- Jefferson presided over a regime that conformed to great achievements of the Federalist Era
- Peaceful change of power

· **Thomas Jefferson: Political Theorist**

- Jefferson was cut out for politics
- Jefferson thought humans beings basically selfish
 - Also thought blacks inferior to whites
- Democracy seemed not so much an ideal as a practical necessity
 - Did not like focusing on the virtues of the rich and well-born
- Believed *all* government a necessary evil at best
 - Wanted US to remain a society of small independent farmers
 - Little political organization
- Objections to Hamilton
- Commercialization and centralization of the country
 - Complicated society, would need more regulation
- Pro-British orientation
 - Thought English society immoral and decadent
- British government corrupt
- Federalists and Anti-Federalists took opposite positions on France

· **Jefferson as President**

- Opening remarks of inaugural address
 - Majority and minority have rights
 - Declared himself against “entangling alliances” for economy in government
- Promised to
 - Pay off the national debt
 - Preserve the government’s credit
 - Stimulate both agriculture and commerce
- Stressed cooling of partisan passions
- Demonstrated sincerity
- Helped repeal whiskey tax and other excises
- Made sharp cuts in military and naval expenditures to keep a balanced budget
- National debt reduced from \$83 million to \$57 million (over the eight years in office)
- Naturalization Act of 1798 was repealed
 - Five-year residency restored
- Allowed the Sedition Act and the Alien Act to expire in 1801 and 1802
- Played down ceremonial aspects of presidency

- Pomp and ceremony distasteful to him
- Very low-key
- “Pell-mell”
 - “The principle of society with us is the equal rights of all... Nobody shall be above you, nor you above anybody, *pell-mell* is our law.”
- Made effective use of his close supporters
 - Congress
 - Cabinet
- Election of 1804
 - Got 162 of 176 electoral votes
 - Beat Pinckney
- Very partisan
 - Cabinet was only those from his party
 - Used power of appointment to reward friends and punished enemies

· **Jefferson’s Attack on the Judiciary**

- Stubborn prejudices
 - Kings
 - British system of government
 - Judges – entrenched judicial power
- Judiciary Act of 1801
 - Six new circuit courts
 - Presided over by 16 new federal judges and
 - Attorneys
 - Marshals
 - Clerks
 - Repealed by Republicans
 - Jefferson held onto signed commissions (not delivered)
- Marshall Court
 - *Marbury v. Madison* (1803)
 - Appointee William Marbury wanted writ of mandamus (Latin for “we order”) directing new secretary of state, James Madison, to give him his commission
 - Went to Supreme Court
 - John Marshall decided against Marbury
 - Congress could not legally give the Supreme Court the right to issue writs of mandamus in such circumstances
 - ESTABLISHED POWER of SUPREME COURT to invalidate federal laws that conflicted with the Constitution
 - *McCulloch v. Maryland*
 - Legalized the National Bank
 - Prohibited states from taxing federal property
 - *Gibbons v. Ogden*
 - The commerce clause of the Constitution granted the US Congress the power to regulate interstate trade
 - *Fletcher v. Peck*
 - Supreme Court can rule a state law (Georgia in this case) unconstitutional
 - Jefferson went after Federalist-dominated courts
 - District Judge John Pickering
 - Removed by Senate
 - Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, Samuel Chase
 - Acquitted

· **The Barbary Pirates**

- Jefferson’s first term was a parade of triumphs
- Leader was Stephen Decader
- Fought small naval war with the Barbary pirates without damage to American interests or prestige

- European powers paid pirates annually for protection
 - Algiers
 - Tunis
 - Tripoli
- Jefferson didn't agree, didn't pay
 - Tripoli declared war in May 1801
 - Jefferson dispatched a squadron to the Mediterranean
- *Philadelphia* was destroyed after running aground
 - The US negotiated a better deal, though payments continued until 1815

· **The Louisiana Purchase**

- Jefferson's major achievements were related to American West
- Mississippi River mouth and New Orleans important to controlling land west of the Appalachian Mountains
 - Louisiana was given back to French by the Spanish
 - French were under Napoleon Bonaparte
 - French had 20,000 troops in Caribbean
 - Planned to use Louisiana as food source for West Indies sugar
 - April 1802: Jefferson urged his foreign minister to buy the land, or get a piece of land for a port
 - October 1802: Spanish revoked the right of deposit at New Orleans
 - James Monroe sent to buy New Orleans and Florida for \$10 million
 - French thought imperialism in New World was too costly; new campaign in Europe
 - Wanted to sell all of Louisiana
 - Took \$15 million for entire section of land
 - Treaty required to obtain land: Louisiana Purchase
 - ·Question of constitutionality
 - ·Borders and content of land uncertain
 - French accepted payment in US bonds, which were sold to European investors
 - Contributed to reelection of Jefferson and downfall of Federalism

· **Federalism Discredited**

- Fall of Federalism led to the idea of Northern secession from the Union
 - Led by former secretary of state Timothy Pickering
 - Very little support
 - Burr would run for governor of NY, then all other northern states would leave the Union
 - Burr lost
 - Plan failed
 - Hamilton had campaigned against Burr
 - Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel
 - Against Hamilton's principles, but thought honor was at stake
 - Met with pistols on July 11, 1804, at Weehawken, NJ
 - Hamilton made no effort, was killed
- Large national loss

· **Lewis and Clark**

- Jefferson wanted to find water route connecting upper Mississippi to the Pacific
- 1803: \$2500 from Congress for exploration
- Expedition
 - Commander: Meriwether Lewis (Chosen by Jefferson)
 - Companion officer: William Clark (Chosen by Lewis)
 - For purposes of science, economy, and politics
 - 48 experienced men
 - Started near St. Louis (spring 1804)
 - Went up Missouri River
 - Went to N. Dakota

- Fort Mandan
- Spent winter

- Passed Great Falls of the Missouri
- Over Continental Divide at Lemhi Pass (SW Montana)
- Descended to Pacific

- Clearwater and Colombia Rivers

- Headed back in spring of 1806
- Reached St. Louis on September 23

- Brought back artifacts, collections, maps
- Made peace with Indians
- Other parties did not accomplish so much
 - Pike: Colorado
- Louisiana admitted in 1812
 - 75,000 people

Indian Resistance

- The craze for expansion set off by the Louisiana Purchase certainly did not bode well for the Indians, who, due to continual land losses, were finding their traditional lifestyles difficult to maintain \
 - Disease was also a big problem
- Two Shawnee brothers, Prophet and Tecumseh led a revolt against American encroachment by creating a pan-Indian federation. Prophet, who claimed to have been born again, began the movement with a religious POV by stressing a return to traditional moral values
 - No more alcohol
- By 1808, the pair was talking more about American aggression than about religion. Tecumseh took over and began traveling about to unify Indians in resistance against the Americans.
- Battle of Fallen Timbers – we gain Ohio.
- William Henry Harrison defeated the Indians at the Battle of Tippecanoe. We got Indiana.
- Tecumseh led the Indians [who became British allies] against the Americans in the War of 1812 until his death at the Battle of the Thames, which marked the end of Indian unity.

Jeffersonian Democracy

- Success
 - partly due to Jefferson's personality
 - Favored old fashioned citizen rooted in the soil
 - Accomplished writer
 - Proved he could establish and maintain a stable regime
 - Drew line between own opinions and those of majority (priority)
 - Commercial classes shared in bounty alongside farmers
 - Jefferson undermined the Federalists

Domestic Concerns Vex Jefferson

- Difficulties arose from extent of Republican victory
 - 1805: Federalists had no ideas, leader, or numbers
 - encouraged factionalism in Republican party
- Napoleon produced new problems
 - US was neutral
- Physical ailments
- Domestic troubles resulted from the elements in his makeup that explain his success
 - His facility in adjusting his principles to practical conditions
 - His readiness to take over the best of Federalism
- John Randolph of Roanoke
 - Republican

- Clashed first with Jefferson in 1804
 - Yazoo land frauds

· **The Burr Conspiracy**

- Aaron Burr
 - Caused problems for Jefferson
 - Flirted with treason
 - Approached British minister in Washington
 - Offered western part of US
 - British didn't go along with plan
- Joined General James Wilkinson
 - Secretly in pay of Spain
- 1806:
 - Burr and Wilkinson raise small force at Blennerhassett Island (Ohio River)
 - 6 dozen men moved down the river under Burr
 - Wilkinson betrayed Burr to Jefferson at the last minute
 - Burr captured in February 1807, charged with high treason
- Burr found not guilty
 - Liked by Chief Justice Marshall
 - Exiled in Europe
- Burr affair a blow to Jefferson's prestige

· **Napoleon and the British**

- War in Europe stimulated American economy
 - Shipbuilding
 - Foreign trade
 - Summer of 1807: stalemate in war
 - British controlled seas
 - Napoleon controlled land
 - Resorted to commercial warfare
- Rule of War of 1756
 - British denied right of neutrals to engage in trade during time of war from which they were barred by mercantilistic regulations in time of peace
 - As a result, Americans brought goods first to US
 - Large jump in re-exported goods
 - British later halted American reexport trade

· **The Impressment Controversy**

- British law said any able-bodied subject could be drafted for service in the Royal Navy
 - Americans had largest merchant fleet, suffered most from impressments
 - British didn't care if the men were British or not
 - America's lax immigration laws compounded problem
 - American merchant trade better
 - 10,000 British-born sailors were serving on American ships
 - Jefferson allowed these to be impressed
 - When it was proved the men were Americans, they were released
- Jefferson thought it wise to stand up for one's rights, but didn't want war
- Jefferson's goals included non-involvement w/European conflicts – in this, he was successful until 1805. After that, American commercial ties made it impossible to avoid entanglement in the European conflicts of the time.
- It all began with the renewal of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe in May 1803
 - US and Britain once again had friendly relationships
 - This helped US commerce for 2 years, since it allowed America to become the chief supplier of food the Europe.
- But after the British victory at the Battle of Trafalgar in October 1805 the Royal Navy tightened its control, a situation that worsened when Britain and France began blockading e/o trade to break the stalemate

- This was terrible for US trade.
- So in February 1806 Congress passed the Non-Importation Act
 - Banned British manufactures from entering American ports, to protest British impressment. The act was more a warning than anything else, as it didn't ban the really important goods.
- Still, after failed attempts at negotiation the US-British relationship went down the drain, especially after the *Chesapeake* affair in June 1807.
 - Inside US waters, the British ship *Leopard* fired on the *Chesapeake* after it refused to be searched for deserters. The ship was then boarded and four men were seized.
- This enraged Americans but also illustrated US military weakness, which prevented war. Instead, Jefferson closed American waters to the British, increased military spending, invoked the Non-Importation Act in December 1807 and then followed with the Embargo Act.
- A short-term measure meant to avoid war, the Embargo Act forbade all US exports to other countries. This was bad because
 - It killed the US economy (high unemployment), esp. in NE and led to smuggling,
 - It did not really hurt Britain overall as the people it affected (factory workers) had no role in government,
 - It did not really hurt France because there was already was British blockade on Europe. Its only positive effect was that it encouraged domestic manufacturing.
- Effects
 - Resented and resisted by large segment of population
 - Cut trade and profits
 - Exports fell from \$108 million in 1807 to \$22 million in 1808
 - Imports fell \$138 million to \$57 million
 - Led to smuggling
 - Canada
 - Northeastern states
 - American ships left
 - Returned when law repealed
 - Lawbreakers were difficult to punish
- Jefferson was
 - Too proud to suffer indignities
 - Too parsimonious to make powerful navy
- **Non-Intercourse Act**
 - Replace Embargo Act
 - Forbade trade only with Great Britain and France
 - Authorized president to end the boycott against either nation when and if it stopped violating American rights
- Jefferson had successful terms, but ended on sour note

War of 1812

The Prelude to War

- Jefferson's goal: non-involvement with European conflicts (successful until 1805). After that, American commercial ties made it impossible to avoid entanglement.
- Renewal of Napoleonic Wars in Europe in **May 1803** [US and Britain friendly again]. America became the chief supplier of food to Europe.
- **Battle of Trafalgar, October 1805** – Britain and France began blockading e/o trade to break the stalemate (terrible for US trade)
- Britain violates US rights by: (1) impressment of US sailors (2) interfering w/US trade in the West Indies (3) searching and seizing US ships.
- **Non-Importation Act, February 1806** – banned British manufactures from entering American ports, to protest British impressment. It was more a warning because it didn't ban important goods.
- **Chesapeake Leopard Affair, June 1807** – Inside US waters, the British ship *Leopard* fired on the *Chesapeake* after it refused to be searched for deserters. The ship was then boarded and four men were seized. Caused great resentment among Americans but also illustrated US military weakness. Jefferson closed American waters to the British.
- **Embargo Act-** A short-term measure meant to avoid war, the Embargo Act forbade all US exports to other countries. This was a bad move because: (1) it killed the US economy (high unemployment) especially in New England and led to smuggling, (2) it didn't hurt Britain or France. Its only positive effect was that it encouraged domestic manufacturing.

- Presidential Election of 1808 – **James Madison** ran for the Democratic Republicans, and Pinckney and King ran for the Federalists. This time the Federalists gained some seats in Congress. Madison won.
- **Non-Intercourse Act of 1809** – reopened trade with everyone except Britain and France and promised if either country stopped violating US rights they would open trade with them again.
- **Macon’s Bill #2, 1810** – reopened trade with all countries and promised that if either Britain and France stopped violating US rights the US would stop trading with the other nation. Napoleon complied but continued to seize US ships.
- **Battle of Tippecanoe, 1811** – indecisive battle between Indians and US troops. Harrison tried to buy land but this caused fighting between Indians and settlers.

The War of 1812

- By 1812, war seemed almost inevitable due to constant violation of US rights in the seas.
- **Presidential Election of 1812** – Dewitt Clinton vs. Madison. Madison won by a few electoral votes.
- “War Hawks” (lead by Henry Clay) pressed for war, Britain made last efforts to fix the situation in spring but it was too late.
- Congress soon voted over war – and on **June 19** Madison signed the bill and the war began.
- The US was unprepared:
 - The Democratic Republicans debt reduction program had reduced the army and navy to essentially nothing.
 - Only some enlisted in the national army. People saw it as “Mr. Madison’s War” and didn’t want to enlist from the start
 - Financial problems due to lowered revenue/import taxes because of the embargo and war
 - Regional disagreements – state militias wouldn’t leave their state.

Invasion of Canada

- The US decided to try and invade Canada: 1) **General William Hull** – surrendered at Fort Detroit 2) invasion from Niagara failed because the NY militia refused to leave its state borders.
- By 1814 the British had blockaded almost every American port, which led the US government to the brink of bankruptcy.
- **Battle of Put-in-Bay, September 10, 1813** – US naval victory and control over Lake Erie. General was Oliver Hazard Perry.
- **Battle of the Thames (Canada) – General William Henry Harrison** led his state militia (Indiana) against the British, Shawnee and Chippewa forces. Tecumseh was killed, which destroyed Indian unity.
- After Napoleon’s defeat at Waterloo, the British concentrated their resources on America. The British burned Washington DC to the ground after we burned York.
- Francis Scott Key composed “**The Star Spangled Banner**” after seeing the English attack on Fort McHenry.
- **Andrew Jackson – The Battle of Horseshoe Bend, March 1814** – the Creek Indians were defeated – Treaty of Fort Jackson, they had to give up 2/3rds of their land
- **Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815** – the British were defeated but the war had officially ended by then. A decisive victory for Jackson, which later won him the presidency.

Peace and the Effects of the War of 1812

- **Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814** – negotiated by JQ Adams and Henry Clay. There was no mention of any of the issues that actually started the war – all the treaty did was restore to **Status Quo**.
- The war:
 - reaffirmed American independence and further convinced the US to stay out of European politics.
 - destroyed Indian resistance leading to American expansion in the South and West
 - It exposed American military weakness and made clear the importance of better transportation systems. In 1815 Madison centralized control of the military and began building a line of coastal forts, and work on the National Road
 - destroyed the Federalist Party – **Hartford Convention** opposed the war and proposed to limit power of Congress to make war, to admit new states, to impose embargoes, to limit the president’s term and to eliminate the 3/5 clause. (But this was after the war was over)
 - Most importantly, the war stimulated domestic manufactures.

The Trans-Mississippi West

Management of the Western Territories

- After the Treaty of Paris the US assumed that all the land East of the Mississippi (ex. for the land held by the Spanish) was theirs, but they realized they would still have to negotiate w/ local tribes, so the US went ahead and planned out an organization for the Northwest Territories (Mississippi River, Great Lakes, Ohio River boundaries) in a series of ordinances:
 - **Land Ordinances of 1784/1785** – these laws described the process by which land would pass from public to private hands...(see **CONSTITUTION AND NEW REPUBLIC**)
 - **Northwest Ordinance of 1787** – these laws described the process by which territories would become states...(see **CONSTITUTION AND NEW REPUBLIC**)
 - Ordinances or no ordinances, though, in 1787 the US still hadn't formed an agreement w/several Indian tribes, who attacked pioneers. Consequently, in 1789 the Northwest Territory's first governor, Arthur St. Clair, attempted to negotiate a treaty, but failed, setting off a war with a western confederacy of tribes.

Relations with Indians

- At Fort Stanwix, NY in 1784, American diplomats negotiated a treaty w/chiefs claiming to be representing the Iroquois, and in 1785/1786 they did the same for the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Cherokee in Hopewell, South Carolina. Although in 1786 the Iroquois said the treaty had been made by imposters and threatened to attack, the US called their bluff, realizing the treaty stood by default. By 1790, New York State had, by purchasing land from individual Iroquois nations, reduced the Confederacy to scattered reservations.
- In the Southwest the US also regarded the treaties as license to send settlers into Indian lands, but this provoked the Creeks, who hadn't signed **Hopewell treaty**, into declaring a war that didn't end until 1790.
- After the collapse of Iroquois power, tribes that had previously allowed the Confederacy to speak for them began demanding direct negotiations with the US. At first they were ignored, as they couldn't use their old diplomatic strategy of pitting powers against each other [only the US was left].
- The US suffered some initial defeats but in August 1794 the confederacy was defeated at the **Battle of Fallen Timbers**. The **Treaty of Greenville** of 1795 subsequently gave the US the right to settle much of Ohio but also (finally) recognized the principle of Indian sovereignty. This was after the articles were replaced by the Constitution.
- As Americans increasingly pushed west, the former occupants inevitably were forced onwards as well. Although the Constitution acknowledged Indian sovereignty and government, relations w/ Indian leaders followed international protocol.
- The US used treaty making to acquire Indian land – through either military or economic pressure the Indians were forced to sign new treaties, giving up more and more land. Some Indian resistance continued after the War of 1812, but it only delayed, not prevented, the US.
- Many Indian nations attempt to integrate themselves in the market economy. For example, some lower Mississippi tribes became cotton suppliers and traders. This turned out badly, though, b/c the trading posts would extend debt to chiefs that would later be used to force them off the land.
- Jackson decided not to interfere b/c it was a state matter [really b/c he just wanted to kick out the Indians anyway] and allowed the Indians to be forced out w/ funds from the **Indian Removal Act of 1830**. The Choctaws were moved first, then the Creeks.
- Finally the Cherokees [who were divided – some wanted to give up and exchange their land for western land, most didn't want to give up] were marched by military escort in the **Trail of Tears** in 1838 after their lobby to the Senate failed.
- Removal was a disaster for the Indians – many became dependent on the government for survival, internal conflicts arose, as did problems with existing tribes.

Sectionalism

The South

- Less affected than other sections by urbanization, European immigration, transportation, revolution, industrialization
- Predominantly agricultural because cotton still king – increased importance of slavery – and experimentation with crop rotation and fertilizers

Slavery

- Importance because: the increased importance of cotton in the South strengthened the hold of slavery on the region and Westward shift of cotton cultivation expanded slavery
- Slave trade made for big business/profit, separated families of slaves, and as cost of slaves increased, ownership concentrated (wealthy, elite)

- **Missouri Compromise (Compromise of 1820)** – In 1820, House Speaker Henry Clay proposed the Missouri Compromise – Maine would enter as a free state [it was taken out of Massachusetts] and Missouri would enter as a slave state, but in the rest of the Louisiana Territory north of 36°30' slavery was prohibited.

Immigration in the 1830s and 1840s

- Scotch-Irish immigrants – coming to America because of the potato famine back home – 2nd largest group here
- German immigrants – coming to America because of the political revolution

Manufacturing in the South

- Though discouraged by southern society, considerable manufacturing developed in the forms of small flour and lumber mills, rope-making plants, commercial cotton presses, iron and coal were mined in Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and raw material and waterpower in Appalachian slopes made textile manufacture possible

Industrial North

- Rapid growth of industry in many different areas: factory systems, coalfields in Pennsylvania, and steam-helped growth
- Some inventions were the sewing machine, the vulcanization of rubber, the cylinder press, the screw-making machine, the friction match, the lead pencil, and the apparatus for making soda water
- Labor: there was an increase demand; skilled laborers earned good wages as small manufacturers; the expanding frontier attracted agricultural labor and reduced pool for industrial labor; unskilled workers were not paid enough to support family; immigration increased conflict between natives and immigrants in social, racial, and economic areas
 - Labor systems included the Lowell System, in which women were hired to work in the factories and stayed in housing provided by the company, as well Samuel Slater, who created villages around his factories.

Sectional Economy

- Manufacturing
 - American production began with copies of British or other European designs, but before long Americans were creating their own machines [ex. Matthew Baldwin, steam locomotives, by 1840 exported internationally].
 - The **American System of Manufacturing** was created, which involved using precision machinery to produce interchangeable parts that didn't require adjustment to fit. **Eli Whitney** promoted the system in 1798 w/ respect to rifles, and by the 1820s the US had contracts w/firms to produce machine made firearms. The system soon spread to mainstream manufactures, leading to an outpouring of consumer goods.
 - The biggest industry was textiles and the expansion of cotton cultivation. The big innovation was machine-spun textiles in mills, a system that especially took hold in NE [Lowell, Massachusetts]. The Lowell system used unmarried women aged 15 to 25 to manufacture their goods.
 - Mass produced textiles led to the ready-made clothing industry [by 1820s/1830s most clothing was mass produced], either via factories or by the putting-out system, and retail clothing stores appeared in the 1820s.
- Farming
 - Agriculture still remained the backbone of the economy in the market economy era. Each areas of the country began to specialize its production, as follows:
 - New England – due to a lack of space and bad terrain, commercial crop farming became increasingly impractical in NE beginning in the 1820s. Instead, NE families improved their livestock, specialized in dairy/vegetable/fruit production [financed through land sales, which really was the greatest source of profit], moved west, or gave up on farming altogether.
 - Old Northwest/Western Territories – this region took over the commercial crop farming from NE. Large, flat farms were formed, and the mechanization of agriculture helped enormously. In 1831 **Cyrus McCormick** invented the reaper, which he patented in 1834 and began making in a factory, and in 1837 **John Deere** invented the steel plow.
 - South – after 1800, the South shifted from a more diverse agriculture to one based almost entirely on cotton. This was due to Eli Whitney's invention of the **cotton gin** in 1793, which separated short-staple [the easy to grow kind] cotton from its seeds efficiently. Although the South was in international markets, it remained a rural society, w/most of the wealth in land and slaves, and couldn't shift to manufacturing or commerce [business decisions made in North].

- Overall, specialization benefited many, but also made it more difficult for farmers to start up [high land prices] and therefore increased the # of tenant farmers.

The Nullification Crisis

- In early 1828, before the election, an anti-Adams Congress decided to propose a new, higher tariff, which passed later that year (the **Tariff of Abominations**)
- South Carolina began protesting the tariff and declaring their right to nullify it. Calhoun, the VP, wrote and left unsigned the *South Carolina Exposition and Protest*
- In the Senate, Robert Hayne [SC] argued Daniel Webster [MA] in the 1830 Webster-Hayne Debates [“Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable” – DW].
- Jackson believed the ultimate authority rested with the people, not with the states. Jackson turned away from Calhoun, obviously on the state sovereignty side, and began to rely more on Secretary of State Martin Van Buren.
- In 1832, Congress tried to make the problem go away by reducing some of the duties but keeping them on iron, cottons and woolens, but it wasn’t good enough for South Carolina.
- In November of 1832, a South Carolina state convention nullified both tariffs and made it illegal to collect them within state boundaries. Jackson passed the **Force Act**, which gave the president authority to call up troops and to collect duties before ships reached the state, while at the same time recommending tariff reductions to give SC a chance to back down.
- Calhoun resigned as VP and became a South Carolina Senator. Working with Clay, they eventually came up with the compromise **Tariff of 1833**, which reduced duties over a 9-year period. SC was satisfied and repealed its nullification law [but nullified the Force Act, which Jackson ignored].

Railroads and the Sectional Conflict

- Increased production and cheap transportation boosted the western farmers’ income and standard of living.
- Since the west was dependent of the North’s railroad system, cultural ties began to appear and more hostility between southern and western states and territories arose and caused the west to be a force to preserve the union.
- South might have preserved its influence in the Northwest if it had pressed forward its own railroad-building program.
- Very few southern states had good means of transportation, and relied heavily on the Mississippi River.
- The backwardness in railroad construction was the attitude of the leaders of the south; they were no more interested in commerce than in industry.

1820-1860

• Religion: Second Great Awakening

- Ended the idea of predestination
- Religious revivals occurred across the country
- It was based off of Calvinist ideals or Puritanism (less liberal views)
- Reverend Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College, was one of the leaders
- Revivalism in New York:
 - Led by Charles G. Finney in upstate NY
 - Lyman Beecher was another important preacher of the time who also fought for the abolition movement, he was the father of Harriet Beecher Stowe
 - Appealed to people’s emotions and fears of hell
 - The whole notion was very appealing to middle class citizens
- Baptists and Methodists:
 - South and western frontier
 - Circuit preachers like Peter Cartwright
 - Preaching at outdoor revivals/camp meetings
 - In 1850, these two groups were the most prominent Protestant religions
- Millennialism:
 - They believed the world would end with the second coming of Christ

- William Miller, a preacher, predicted October 24th, 1844 as that day
- After the false prediction, the Millerites became the Seventh-Day Adventists
- Mormons:
 - aka, Church of Latter Day Saints, established by Joseph Smith in 1830
 - existed eventually and mainly in Navu, Illinois until Smith was killed by a mob
 - Brigham Young brought the Mormons to the New Zion in Utah
 - practiced polygamy (many marriages) leading to tension with the government
 - They were despised because of their success
 - Women were given more roles of leadership in the church

A Democratic Culture

In Search of Native Grounds

- Early nineteenth century literary groups such as Boston’s Anthology Club and the Friendly Club in New York consciously set out to “foster American genius” and to encourage the production of a distinctively American literature.
- James Fenimore Cooper, a novelist before 1830, began writing with *The Spy* (1821), *The Pioneers* (1823), and *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826). His work marked a shift from the classicism of the 18th century, to the romanticism of the early 19th century.
- New York City was the literary capital of the country.
- Artists of the time period were: John Singleton Copley, Charles Willson Peale, Gilbert Stuart, Jonathon Fisher, Charles Octavius Cole, and J. William Jennys.

The Romantic View of Life

- “Romantics” believed that change and growth were the essence of life, for individuals and for institutions. They valued feeling and intuition over pure thought, and they stressed the difference between individuals and societies rather than the similarities.
- Romantic writers include: Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Wordsworth, and Thomas Carlyle.
- Transcendentalism, a New England creation, emphasized the indefinable and the unknowable. It was a mystical, intuitive way of looking at life that subordinated facts to feelings.

Emerson and Thoreau

- Ralph Waldo Emerson, born in 1803, was educated at Harvard, and became a minister.
- In 1832, he gave up his pulpit and became the leading transcendentalist thinker.
- He favored change, believed in progress, and thought that strong leadership was essential. Also, he disliked powerful governments.
- Henry David Thoreau also went to Harvard, and objected to many of society’s restrictions on the individual.

- He tested his theory that a person did not need to depend on society for a satisfying existence. His famous story from this experience was *Walden Pond*.
- He protested the Mexican War by refusing to pay his Massachusetts poll tax; he was arrested for this, but was only in jail for a day.
- Like Emerson, Thoreau refused to participate in practical reform movements.

Edgar Allan Poe

- He was born in Boston 1809, son of poor actors who died before he was 3, and John Allan raised him.
- Poe was a lifelong alcoholic and occasional taker of drugs; he married a child of 13. He was obsessed with death and died at the age of 40.
- Poe responded strongly to romanticism. He wrote “The Pit and the Pendulum” and “The Cask of Amontillado”.

Nathaniel Hawthorne

- Born in 1804, Salem, Massachusetts. He was fascinated by the past, particularly by the Puritan heritage of New England and its continuing influence on his own generation.
- He wrote *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), and *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851).
- He was appreciated in his own day and widely read, and made a modest amount of money from his work.

Herman Melville

- New Yorker, born in 1819. His father died when Melville was 12. He left school at 15 and worked as a bank clerk, and in 1837 he went to the sea.
- In 1846, he published *Typee*, which gave descriptions of his bizarre experiences, which suited the taste of a romantic age. He wrote a sequel, *Omoo* in 1847. Also, he wrote *Moby Dick*.
- Like Hawthorne, Melville could not accept the prevailing optimism of his generation.
- He kept writing until his death in 1891, but his work was virtually ignored.

Walt Whitman

- Born on Long Island in 1819. At 13 he left school, and worked for a printer. He was an ardent Jacksonian and later a Free Soiler.
- Wrote poems that made up the book, *Leaves of Grass* (1855), which was the most romantic and by far the most distinctly American write of his age.
- He died in 1892, and was widely appreciated.

The Wider Literary Renaissance

- Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, in 1835 became professor of modern languages at Harvard. His fame came from his poems: “The Village Blacksmith”; “Paul Revere’s Ride”; *The Courtship of Miles Standish*.

- Longfellow was the most talented of a group of minor New England writers who collectively gave that region great intellectual vitality.
- Historians of this time period were all New Englanders, who include; George Bancroft, William Hickling Prescott, and John Lothrop Motley.
- Southern literature was even more markedly romantic than that of New England. Some authors include; John Pendleton Kennedy and William Gilmore Simms.

Domestic Tastes

- Architecture flourished in the northern cities chiefly as a result of the work of Charles Bulfinch, who was inspired by British architects.
- In the 1830s and 1840s new techniques made it possible to weave colored patterns into cloth by machine.
- Wood-turning machinery added to the popularity of the elaborately decorated “Gothic” style of architecture.
- Americans of the period were purchasing native art. George Catlin, who painted hundreds of pictures of Indians and their surroundings, all rich in authentic detail.
- The best genre painters were William Sidney Mount of New York and George Caleb Bingham of Missouri.
- In 1839 the American Art-Union was formed in New York to encourage native art. The organization had to disband after a New York court outlawed the lottery in 1851, but in 1854 a new Cosmopolitan Art-Union was established in Ohio.
- Beginning in the late 1850s, the prints (or lithographs) of the firm of Currier and Ives brought a crude but charming kind of art to a still wider audience.

Education for Democracy

- Schools were privately run and charged fees. Children were between ages 5 and 10. Attendance was not required and fell off sharply once children learned to read and do their sums well enough to get along in day-to-day life. Teachers were usually young men.
- The common school movement led to free tax-supported schools, which all children were expected to attend. This movement had two effective leaders; Henry Barnard and Horace Mann.
- Mann drafted the 1837 Massachusetts law creating a state school board and then became its first secretary.
- By the 1850s every state outside the South provided free elementary schools and supported institutions for training teachers.
- The most compelling argument for common schools was cultural; they brought Americans of different economic circumstances and ethnic backgrounds into early and mutually beneficial contact with one another.

Reading and the Dissemination of Culture

- Industrialization made it easier to satisfy this new demand for culture, though the new machines also tended to make the artifacts of culture more stereotyped.
- The first penny newspaper was the *New York Sun* (1833). Penny newspapers relied on sensation, crime stories, and society gossip to attract readers, but they covered important national and international news too.

- In the 1850s the moralistic and sentimental novel entered its prim. The most successful writers in this genre were women. These authors include: Susan Warner, Maria Cummins, Fanny Fern, and Grace Greenwood.
- The desire for knowledge and culture in America is well illustrated by the success of the mutual improvement societies know as lyceums. The movement began in Great Britain; in the United States its prime mover was Josiah Holbrook.
- The lyceums conducted discussions, established libraries, and lobbied for better schools. Many of the nation's political and intellectual leader's, such as Webster, Emerson, Melville, and Lowell, regularly graced their platforms.

The State of the Colleges

- Unlike common schools, private colleges had at best a precarious place in Jacksonian America. There were too many of them and many of these institutions were short-lived. One reason was that there were too few students.
- Since students were hard to come by and class work was considered relatively unimportant, discipline was lax. Official authority was frequently challenged, and rioting was known to break out over such weighty matters as the quality of meals.
- For the future of higher education, some college officials recognized the need for a drastic overhaul of their institutions. Many reforms occurred like making more specified colleges, and enrolling women.

Civic Cultures

- In the cities members of the "learned professions," especially lawyers, were generally accepted as the arbiters of taste in literature and art.
- American cities had a vitality and diversity that foreign visitors both celebrated and decried.
- Life in the towns was by some standards crude; many of the people were pushy, crass, and dedicated to the accumulation of wealth.

Scientific Stirrings

- American interest in science and contributions to its advancement had declined in the early nineteenth century from the levels achieved during the Revolutionary era.
- State-sponsored geological surveys provided at least temporary livings for the European-trained geologist James Hall and the botanist Asa Gray.
- Dr. William Beaumont became the world's leading expert on the human gastric system in 1833.

American Humor

- Seba Smith was one of the first to exploit the comic aspects of Jackson.
- James Russell Lowell author of *Biglow Papers* that began appearing in 1847.
- The outcome of the nation's experiment in combining democracy and cultural aspiration remained in doubt; most Americans took their laughs where they could find them.

Expansion and Slavery

Tyler's Troubles

- Tyler and Clay did not get along and for this Clay was chiefly to blame.
- In Congress, Clay announced a comprehensive program that ignored Tyler's states' rights view of the Constitution. Most important was his plan to set up a new Bank of the United States.
- Tyler vetoed the Congress's new Bank bill. This resulted in the resigning of the entire Cabinet, except Secretary of State Webster.
- Tyler attempted to build a party of his own, but failed to do so.
- Tyler did sign the new Tariff Act of 1842, raising duties to about the levels of 1832.

The Webster-Ashburton Treaty

- Webster remained in the Cabinet to settle the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick.
- In 1842, Lord Ashburton came to the U.S. to settle these disputes with Webster. Compromise came easily and the Treaty became known as the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, which allowed for the British to have a small part of territory for a military road.
- During this time British dependence on foreign foodstuff was increasing, along with Americas need for British capital.

The Texas Question

- In the Transcontinental Treaty of 1819 with Spain, the boundary of the U.S. excluded Texas. But with the ratification of the treaty in 1821, Stephen Austin had begun to settle in the area with other Americans.
- By 1830 there were 20,000 Americans in Texas and 2,000 slaves.
- President John Quincy Adams offered Mexico \$1 million for Texas, and Jackson was willing to pay \$5 million, but Mexico would not sell.
- In 1830 Mexico prohibited further immigration of Americans into Texas, but it was impossible to enforce.
- Once the Mexican government began to restrict them, the Texans began to seek independence. During this time, a force of men under Colonel William B. Travis held the city in a mission called the Alamo, for ten days they held their ground, but they were eventually all killed. A similar slaughter was at Goliad.
- On March 2, 1836, Texas had declared its independence. But it was not a part of the Union yet.
- Texas went on its own way to develop friendly ties with Britain, which alarmed Southerners. The Senate rejected the treaty for annexation of Texas.

Manifest Destiny

- Each year of national growth increased the power and confidence of the people, and every forward step revealed a wider horizon. However, politicians did not sense the new mood in 1844.

- John L. O’Sullivan capture the new mood in a sentence, he wrote in 1845, with “the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions.”

Life on the Trail

- Indians were not something to be worried about; they were just dirty, lazy, and thieving.
- Women helped more with the hard work and labor, and men came to help with watching the children and cooking.
- Women had the most difficult time on the trail, and did not expect such great hardships.

California and Oregon

- By 1840 Americans had settled in California, which was Mexican territory. And in the Oregon country, which the U.S. and Great Britain jointly claimed.
- The Oregon Trail began at the western border of Missouri and followed the Kansas River. In 1843 nearly 1000 pioneers made the long trip.
- Jackson tried to buy the San Francisco region. Calhoun called San Francisco the future New York of the Pacific and proposed buying all of California from Mexico.

The Election of 1844

- The Whigs nominated Clay unanimously and ignored Texas in their party platform.
- Democrats had James K. Polk as their nominee. He opposed high tariffs and was dead set against establishing another national bank. Also he believed in taking Texas and favored expansion.
- The election was close, but Polk got New York’s votes and gave him the win.
- After this election, Tyler promptly called on Congress to take Texas by joint resolution. Polk accepted the arrangement and in December 1845 Texas became a state.

Polk as President

- He persuaded Congress to lower the tariff of 1842 and to restore the independent treasury.
- Oregon was the first order of business. He arranged a treaty with Lord Aberdeen, which divided the Oregon territory along the 49th parallel. The Senate approved in June 1846.

War with Mexico

- One reason for the popularity of the Oregon compromise was that the country was already at war with Mexico and wanted no trouble with Great Britain.
- Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor into Texas to defend the border. However, that border was in dispute. Texas claimed the Rio Grande; Mexico insisted that the boundary was the Nueces River.

- Polk then sent John Slidell to Mexico to try to obtain the disputed territory by negotiation. He authorized Slidell to cancel the Mexican debt in return for recognition of the annexation of Texas and acceptance of the Rio Grande boundary. But the Mexican government refused to receive Slidell.
- General Taylor eventually had his troops established on the southern bank of the Rio Grande.

To the Halls of Montezuma

- Polk was in disagreement with Taylor and Winfield Scott's military campaigns. In the end, Scott's campaign worked out and led to many Mexicans being killed or wounded.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

- Following the fall of Mexico City, there was a confused state of affairs, and Nicholas P. Trist, chief clerk of the State Department, was unable to open negotiations with Mexican peace commissioners until January 1848.
- In February Trist ran off a 65-page letter to the president, refusing to be recalled, and proceeded to negotiate. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was completed later on. By its terms Mexico accepted the Rio Grande as the boundary of Texas and ceded New Mexico and Upper California to the U.S.
- When Polk learned that Trist ignored his orders, Trist was put under arrest and fired from his State Department job.

The Fruits of Victory: Further Enlargement of the United States

- The Mexican War won quickly and at relatively small cost in lives and money, brought huge territorial gains.
- Gold strikes were becoming popular in 1848. An era of continental prosperity and harmony had dawned.

Slavery: The Fire Bell in the Night Rings Again

- Prosperity was plentiful, but harmony did not, for the expansion brought the nation face to face with the divisive question of slavery.
- The question whether slavery was right or wrong could only come up in Congress indirectly, for the Constitution did not give the federal government any control over slavery in the states.
- Southerners found the Wilmot Proviso to be insulting, because it would not allow slavery in the Mexican territory.
- To resolve the territorial problem, two compromises were offered. One would extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific. The other was "popular sovereignty" which allowed the settlers to decide whether or not they would have slavery.

The Election of 1848

- The Whigs nominated Zachary Taylor for president. The Democratic Party nominated Lewis Cass. The Free Soil party nominated Van Buren.
- Voters chose Zachary Taylor for president.

The Gold Rush

- October 1849 a constitution was drawn up that outlawed slavery in the new territory.
- The decision to admit California as a state was a controversial topic, because southerners did not want them admitted as a free state.

The Compromise of 1850

- Henry Clay, on January 29, 1850, made the proposal of the Compromise of 1850.
 - California became the 31st state.
 - The rest of the Mexican cession was divided into two territories, New Mexico and Utah.
 - Texas received \$10 million to pay off its debt in return for accepting a narrower western boundary.
 - The slave trade in the District of Columbia was abolished as of January 1, 1851. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 was amended to provide for the appointment of federal commissioners with authority to issue warrants, and to compel citizens to assist in the capture of fugitives.

The Sections Go Their Ways

The South

- The South was less affected than other sections by urbanization, European immigration, the transportation revolution, and industrialization.
- The region remained predominantly agricultural; cotton was still king, slavery the most distinctive southern institution.
- New farming techniques were being discovered.

The Economics of Slavery

- The increased importance of cotton in the South strengthened the hold of slavery on the region.
- Slave trading became a big business. And as a result the prejudice against slave traders abated as the price of slaves rose.
- The South failed to develop locally owned marketing and transportation facilities, and for this slavery was at least partly responsible.

The Sociology of Slavery

- Most owners felt responsibilities toward their slaves, and slaves were dependent on and in some ways imitative of white values.
- Slaves were without rights; they developed a distinctive way of life by attempting to resist oppression and injustice while accommodating themselves to the system.

- The Nat Turner revolt in Virginia in 1831 was the most sensational of the slave uprisings; 57 whites lost their lives before it was suppressed.
- Slavery did not flourish in urban settings, and cities did not flourish in societies where slavery was important.
- Southern whites considered the existence of free blacks undesirable, no matter where they lived.

Psychological Effects of Slavery

- Many blacks seemed to accept the whites' evaluation of their inherent abilities and place in society.
- Slaves had strong family and group attachments and a complex culture of their own, under the noses of their masters. By achieving a sense of community, it helped to sustain the psychic integrity of individuals.
- Large majority of owners respected the most fundamental personal rights of their slaves.

Manufacturing in the South

- Small flour and lumber mills flourished.
- The availability of the raw material and the abundance of waterpower along the Appalachian slopes made it possible to manufacture textiles profitably in the South.
- The South did not develop an industrial society in the 1860s; the textile manufacturers depended on the North for machinery, for skilled workers and technicians, for financing, and for insurance.

The Northern Industrial Juggernaut

- The development of rich anthracite coalfields in Pennsylvania was important in helping the factory system thrive.
- By 1850 the U.S. led the world in the manufacture of goods that required the use of precision instruments, and in certain industries the country was well on the way toward modern mass production methods.
- New natural resources were discovered and made available by the westward march of settlement and the expansion of agriculture produced an ever-larger supply of raw materials for the mills and factories.
- Industrial growth led to a great increase in the demand for labor. Skilled artisans, technicians, and toolmakers earned good wages and found it relatively easy to set themselves up first as independent craftsmen, later as small manufacturers.
- Immigration increased rapidly in the 1830s and 1840s.
- Improvements in transportation, population growth, and the absence of internal tariff barriers meant an expanding market for manufactured goods.

A Nation of Immigrants

- Jobs created by industrial expansion attracted European immigrants by the tens of thousands.
- Unskilled immigrants caused serious disruptions of economic patterns wherever they appeared.

How Wage Earners Lived

- Low wages and crowding that resulted from the swift expansion of city populations produced slums. Slum streets were littered with garbage and trash. Recreational facilities were almost nonexistent. Police and fire protection in the cities were inadequate.
- The depression of the late 1830s led to the demise of most trade unions.
- The early 1850s was a time of revival for the unions. Many strikes occurred, and a few new national organizations appeared.

Progress and Poverty

- Reformers conducted investigations, published exposes, and labored to help the victims of urbanization and industrialization. They achieved little.
- By the mid-nineteenth century Americans were convinced that all men were equal, and indeed all white men had equal political rights. But socially and economically, the distances between top and bottom were widening.

Foreign Commerce

- The nation remained primarily an exporter of raw materials and an importer of manufactured goods, and in most years it imported more than it exported. Cotton continued to be the most important export.
- Ships were being constructed to be able to hold more, and to be faster.

Steam Conquers the Atlantic

- The steamship, and especially the iron ship, which had greater cargo-carrying capacity and was stronger and less costly to maintain, took away the advantages that American shipbuilders had held since colonial times.
- Combinations of competition, government subsidy, and technological advance drove down shipping rates.
- Without this cheap means of transportation, thousands of poor immigrants would simply have remained at home.

Canals and Railroads

- Erie Canal was completed in 1825. In 1830 there were 1277 miles of canal in the U.S.
- The first railroads were built in England in the 1820s. In 1830 the first American line carried passengers over a 13-mile track.
- The first railroads did not compete with the canals for inter-sectional traffic. Engineering problems held back growth. But modifications in the design of locomotives enabled the trains to negotiate sharp curves.

Financing the Railroads

- Railroad building required immense amounts of labor and capital at a time when many other demands for these resources existed.
- Private investors supplied about three-quarters of the money invested in railroads before 1860, more than \$800 million in the 1850s alone.

- Towns, counties, and the states themselves lent money to railroads and invested in their stock.
- Frequently, the capitalists who promoted railroads were more concerned with making money out of the construction of the lines than with operating them.
- At the same time that the country was first developing a truly national economy, it was also producing its first really big-time crooks.

Railroads and the Economy

- New tools and machines appeared in time to ease the labor shortage. The first was the steel plowshare, invented by John Deere.
- Still more important was the perfection of the mechanical reaper; the major figure in the development of the reaper was Cyrus Hall McCormick.
- The railroad had an impact on the American cities; also it stimulated other kinds of economic activity.
- Cheap transportations had a revolutionary effect on western agriculture.

Railroads and the Sectional Conflict

- Increased production and cheap transportation boosted the western farmer's income and standard of living.
- Pioneers quickly became operators of businesses and consumers, buying all sorts of manufactured articles that their ancestors had made for themselves or done without.
- Southerners of means were no more interested in commerce than in industry; their capital found other outlets.

The Economy on the Eve of Civil War

- Every economic indicator surged forward: manufacturing, grain and cotton production, population, railroad mileage, and gold production, sales of public land.
- Unemployment increased. People called this abrupt downturn the Panic of 1857. Then the war came, and a new set of forces shaped economic development.

The Coming of the Civil War

The Slave Power Comes North

- The new fugitive slave law encouraged more white Southerners to try to recover escaped slaves.
- Abolitionist often interfered with the enforcement of the law. Most white Northerners were not prepared to interfere with the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act themselves.

Uncle Tom's Cabin

- Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). Stowe was neither a professional writer nor an abolitionist. But the Fugitive Slave Act had roused her conscience.
- Southern critics pointed out that Stowe's picture of plantation life was distorted, her slaves atypical.
- Uncle Tom's Cabin touched the hearts of millions. Some became abolitionist; others, still hesitating to step forward, asked themselves as they put the book down: Is slavery just?

Diversions Abroad: The "Young America" Movement

- The "Young America" spirit was partly emotional, a mindless confidence that democracy would triumph everywhere.
- The U.S. had no intention of going to war to win independence for the Hungarians.
- The rapid development of California created a need for improved communication with the West Coast.
- The expansionist mood of the moment also explains President Fillmore's dispatching an expedition under Commodore Matthew C. Perry to try for commercial concessions in the isolated kingdom of Japan in 1852.

Douglas: "The Little Giant"

- Stephen A. Douglas was the most prominent spokesman of the Young America movement. He was the Henry Clay of his generation.
- His law practice was large and prosperous. Politics suited him to perfection.
- The foundations of Douglas's politics were expansion and popular sovereignty. He supported the Mexican War to the hilt. His success in steering the Compromise of 1850 through Congress added to his reputation.
- In 1851, he set out to win the Democratic presidential nomination. At the 1852 Democratic convention Douglas had no chance. The delegates chose a dark horse, Franklin Pierce. The Democrats won an easy victory.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act

- Franklin Pierce was generally well liked by politicians, and his career had included service in both houses of Congress.
- Douglas proposed what looked like a routine bill organizing the land west of Missouri and Iowa as the Nebraska Territory. He agreed to divide the region into two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, and then to repeal part of the Missouri Compromise that excluded slavery from the land north of 36° 30'. Whether the new territories should become slave or free, would be left for the decision of the settlers.
- Protests could not defeat the bill. The bill became law late in May 1854. The bill repealed the Missouri Compromise.

Know-Nothings and Republicans

- Two new parties were formed. The American or "Know-Nothing," party, so called because it grew out of a secret society whose members used the password "I don't know." They were primarily nativists. They disliked blacks and considered them inherently inferior beings. In the North most opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

- The formation of the Republican party, was made up of former Free Soilers, Conscience Whigs, and “Anti-Nebraska” Democrats. This was a purely sectional organization.
- They presented themselves as the party of freedom. They were not abolitionists, but they insisted that slavery be kept out of the territories.

“Bleeding Kansas”

- Almost none of the settlers who went to Kansas owned slaves and relatively few of them were primarily interested in the slavery question.
- Both northern abolitionists and southern defenders of slavery were determined to have Kansas.
- By January 1856 two governments existed in Kansas, one based on fraud, the other extralegal.
- President Pierce encouraged the proslavery settlers to assume the offensive by denouncing the free-state government located at Topeka.
- A certain amount of violence was normal in any frontier community, but it suited the political interests of the Republicans to make the situation in Kansas seem worse than it was. Accounts of “bleeding Kansas” filled northern newspapers.
- The main responsibility for the Kansas tragedy was by the Pierce administration. Under popular sovereignty the national government was supposed to see that elections were orderly and honest.

Senator Sumner Becomes a Martyr for Abolitionism

- Charles Sumner of Massachusetts made a name for himself in New England as a reform interested in the peace movement, prison reform, and the abolition of slavery.
- Sumner was not very well liked, and was attacked by Congressman Preston S. Brooks of South Carolina.
- Northerners viewed the affair as illustrating the brutalizing effect of slavery on southern whites and made a hero of Sumner.

Buchanan Tries His Hand

- The Republican Party dominated much of the North in 1856. It nominated John C. Fremont.
- The Democrats cast aside the ineffectual Pierce, and settled on James Buchanan.
- The American party nominated ex-president Fillmore.
- Buchanan won, taking the populous states, Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois.

The Dred Scott Decision

- In 1834 John Emerson joined the army as a surgeon. In 1838 he returned to Missouri. Accompanying him on these travels was his body servant, Dred Scott, a slave.
- In 1846, after Emerson’s death, Scott and his wife brought suit to the Missouri courts for their liberty. They claimed that residence in Illinois, where slavery was barred, had made them free.

- After many years of litigation, the case reached the Supreme Court. They declared that blacks were not citizens, and as a result, Scott could not sue in a federal court. He was not given the right to be free.
- The Dred Scott decision convinced thousands that the South was engaged in an aggressive attempt to extend the peculiar institution so far that it could no longer be considered peculiar.

The Lecompton Constitution

- The proslavery leaders in Kansas had a constitutional convention at Lecompton, but the Free Soil forces had refused to participate in the election of delegates.
- The president, instead of rejecting the Lecompton proslavery constitution, he asked Congress to admit Kansas to the Union with this document as its frame of government.
- Kansas could not be admitted into the Union until it had a population of 90,000.

The Emergence of Lincoln

- Born in Kentucky in 1809. He had almost no formal schooling.
- In 1834 he was in the Illinois legislature as a Whig and was there until 1842. In 1846 he was elected to Congress.
- He was well liked by people, being known for an expert ax man and champion wrestler.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates

- He became a Republican after not winning the nomination in the Whig party.
- In July, Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of seven debates. The debates were well attended and widely reported.
- The two employed different political styles, each calculated to project a particular image.
- Neither wanted to see slavery in the territories or thought it economically efficient, and neither sought to abolish it by political action or by force.
- Douglas tried to make Lincoln look like an abolitionist. And Lincoln tried to picture Douglas as proslavery and a defender of the Dred Scott decision.
- The campaign of 1858 marked Douglas's last triumph and Lincoln's last defeat.

John Brown's Raid

- In October 1859, John Brown led a group of 18 white and black followers to Harpers Ferry. He planned to seize the federal arsenal there and arm the slaves.
- No slaves came to join them. And as a result Federal troops commanded by Robert E. Lee soon trapped Brown's men.
- Southerners reacted to Harpers Ferry with irrationality, some with a rage similar to Brown's.
- Brown was speedily convicted and sentenced to death by hanging.
- Brown became to the North a hero and to the South a symbol of northern ruthlessness.

The Election of 1860

- Legislatures in state after state in the South cracked down on freedom of expression, made the manumission of slaves illegal, banished free blacks, and took other steps that Northerners considered blatantly provocative.
- Stephen A. Douglas was probably the last hope of avoiding a rupture between North and South. He was the Democratic northerner, while John Breckenridge was the Democratic southern
- Republicans took a look at nominating Lincoln, who was a man of humble origins, self-educated, self-made, and a common man but by no means an ordinary man.
- Lincoln avoided campaigning and made no public statements. Lincoln would have still won the election, even if his opponents could have combined their votes in each state.

The Secession Crisis

- South Carolina legislature ordered an election of delegates to a convention to decide the state's future course. On December 20, the convention voted unanimously to secede basing its action on the logic of Calhoun.
- By February 1, 1861, the six other states of the lower South had seceded also.
- The new southern Confederacy set vigorously to work drafting a constitution, choosing Jefferson Davis as provisional president.

The War to Save the Union

Lincoln's Cabinet

- Lincoln seemed concerned with organizing his Cabinet, not about the secession.
- William H. Seward was secretary of state. And Senator Salmon P. Chase was secretary of the treasury.

Fort Sumter: The First Shot

- Most Republicans did not want to surrender Fort Sumter or Fort Pickens.
- Lincoln took the moderate step of sending a naval expedition to supply Fort Sumter with food. Unwilling to permit this, the Confederates opened fire on the fort on April 12. After 34 hours, Major Robert Anderson and his men surrendered.
- Lincoln took the position that secession was a rejection of democracy. A war against slavery would not have been supported by a majority of Northerner. Slavery was the root cause of secession but not of the North's determination to resist secession.

The Blue and the Gray

- Northern control of the merchant marine and the navy made possible a blockade of the Confederacy, a particularly potent threat to a region so dependent on foreign markets.
- Northern manufacturers needed southern markets, and merchants depended heavily on southern business.

- Both sides faced massive difficulties in organizing for a war long feared but never properly anticipated.
- President Jefferson Davis represented the best type of southern planter. He supported the transcontinental railroad idea and spoke in favor of the annexation of Cuba and other Caribbean areas.

The Test of Battle: Bull Run

- At the branch of the Potomac River called Bull Run, Union troops led under General Irvin McDowell attacked a force of Confederates commanded by Pierre G.T. Beauregard. The Southerners drove the Union soldiers back. However, the inexperienced southern troops were too disorganized to follow up their victory.
- After Bull Run, Lincoln devised a broader, more systematic strategy for winning the war.
- McClellan was the North's first military hero.

Paying for the War

- Northern shops and factories were producing guns, ammunition, wagons, uniforms, shoes, and the countless other supplies needed to fight a great war.
- At the beginning of the war Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase underestimated how much it would cost.
- Public confidence in all paper money vacillated with each change in the fortunes for the Union armies, but by the end of the war the cost of living in the North had doubled.

Politics as Usual

- Most Democrats supported measures necessary for the conduct of the war but objected to the way the Lincoln administration was conducting it.
- In 1861 the most prominent Radical senator was Charles Sumner.
- Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus in critical areas and applied martial law freely.

Behind Confederate Lines

- In 1862 the Confederate Congress passed a conscription act that permitted the hiring of substitutes and exempted many classes of people from the war.
- Outfitting the army strained southern resources to the limit.
- No battle was lost because of a lack of guns or other military equipment, although shortages of shoes and uniforms handicapped the Confederate forces on some occasions.

War in the West: Shiloh

- Most of the Plains Indians sided with the Confederacy, principally because of their resentment of the federal government's policies toward them.

- Johnston struck at Shiloh, the Confederates fell back toward Corinth, exhausted and demoralized. Grant was shaken by the unexpected attack and appalled by his losses.

McClellan: The Reluctant Warrior

- McClellan, instead of trying to advance across the difficult terrain of northern Virginia, he transported his army by water to the tip of the peninsula formed by the York and James river in order to attack Richmond for the southeast.
- His weaknesses were both intellectual and psychological. He believed it more important to capture Richmond than to destroy the army protecting it.
- McClellan talked big, but did not like to fight.

Lee Counterattacks: Antietam

- While McClellan was regrouping the shaken Union Army, Lee once again took the offensive. However, Lee's invasion had failed; his army had been badly mauled; the gravest threat to the Union in the war had been checked.
- Soon Lee was back behind the defenses of Richmond, rebuilding his army.

The Emancipation Proclamation

- The "victory" at Antietam Creek gave Lincoln his opportunity to make public the Emancipation Proclamation. Which said all slaves in areas in rebellion against the United States "shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."
- Southerners considered the Emancipation Proclamation an incitement to slave rebellion.
- Most anti-slavery groups thought it did not go far enough.
- When the Emancipation Proclamation began actually to free slaves, the government pursued a policy of "containment," which kept the exslaves in the South.
- Conscription was passed by congress to draft men between the age of 20 and 45.

The Draft Riots

- After the passage of the Conscription Act, draft riots erupted in a number of cities.
- The Emancipation Proclamation did not entirely account for the draft riots. The new policy neither reflected nor triggered a revolution in white thinking about the race question.

The Emancipated People

- To blacks, both slave and free, the Emancipation Proclamation served as a beacon. Even if it failed immediately to liberate one slave or to lift the burdens of prejudice from one black back.
- As for the slaves of the South, whenever the "Army of Freedom" approached, they laid down their plows and hoes and flocked to the Union lines in droves.

African American Soldiers

- By 1862, the need for manpower was creating the pressure to allow blacks in the army.
- Enlisting so many black soldiers changed the war from a struggle to save the Union to a kind of revolution.
- The higher death rates among black soldiers were partly due to the fury of Confederate soldiers.

Antietam to Gettysburg

- General Ambrose E. Burnside replaced McClellan. Burnside was aggressive, but had supply problems and bad weather that delayed his plans.
- Burnside's attacks failed at Fredericksburg and thereafter General Joseph Hooker replaced him.
- Hooker had some victories, but did not last, when the Confederates won control at Gettysburg General George G. Meade took command.
- Meade let the opportunity pass to crush the Confederates.

Lincoln Finds His General: Grant at Vicksburg

- Grant's major aim was to capture Vicksburg. Although Lincoln disliked these plans. But Grant was successful and was named lieutenant general and given supreme command of the armies for the U.S.

Economic and Social Effects, North and South

- The southern railroad network was gradually wearing out. Efforts to increase manufacturing were only moderately successful because of the shortage of labor, capital, and technical knowledge.
- In the North, after a brief depression in 1861 caused by the uncertainties of the situation and the loss of southern business, the economy flourished.
- Congress passed a number of economic measures long desired but held up in the past by southern opposition.
- The Homestead Act of 1862 gave 160 acres to settlers who would farm the land for 5 years.
- The Pacific Railway Act 1862 authorized subsidies in land money for the construction of a transcontinental railroad.
- The National Banking Act of 1863 gave the country a uniform currency.
- The war undoubtedly hastened industrialization and laid the basis for many other aspects of modern civilization.

Women in Wartime

- Many southern women took over the management of farms and small plantations when their men folk went off to war.
- Large numbers of women also contributed to the northern war effort. Many took jobs in textile factories.
- Elizabeth Blackwell, the first American woman doctor of medicine founded the New York Infirmary for Women and Children.

Grant in the Wilderness

- Grant's strategy as supreme commander was simple, he would attack Lee and try to capture Richmond. General William Tecumseh Sherman would assist him in this plan.
- Grant thought that war could be won by grinding the South down beneath the weight of numbers.

Sherman in Georgia

- Sherman was in some ways like Grant. He believed in total war.
- Sherman's victories staggered the Confederacy and the anti-Lincoln forces in the North.
- At last the South's will to resist began to crack. Sherman entered Savannah on December 22; his troops captured Columbia, South Carolina by February.
- In Virginia, Grant's vise grew tighter day-by-day while the Confederate lines became thinner and more ragged.

To Appomattox Court House

- Lincoln took his second inaugural address on March 4.
- The Confederate troops could hold out no longer, and on April 9 Lee and Grant met by prearrangement at Appomattox Court House.
- Grant outlined his terms. Which required that the Confederate soldiers lay down their arms and they could return to their homes in peace.

Winners, Losers, and the Future

- The war was finally done. It caused enormous property losses, especially in the Confederacy, and slavery was dead.
- The physical damage would be repaired and the human resources would be restored.

Reconstruction and the South

- John Wilkes Booth shoots Lincoln on April 14 while watching performance at Ford Theater
- Murder part of complicated plot organized by pro-southerners
- National mood hardened

Presidential Reconstruction

- Civil War caused less intersectional hatred than expected
- Although civilian property seized or destroyed, southerners treated with forbearance
- Former Confederate president, Jeff Davis captured and tried for treason but let out on bail

- Only Major Henry Wirz, commander of Andersonville Military Prison executed for war crimes
- Senator Sumner and Congressman Stevens insisted Confederates “committed suicide” and should be treated like “conquered provinces.”
- Lincoln ignored and reappointed provisional governors
- Plan proposed which stated that if 10% of southerners took a loyalty oath, they could set up a state government, with exception to high confederate officials. The state must be republican in form, recognize freedom of slaves, and provide for black education. This was known as the 10% plan.
- Radicals disliked plan because of moderation and it enabled Lincoln to determine Union policy toward the recaptured
- Another policy, the Wade Davis Bill, stated that a constitutional convention would be held only after majority of southern states take the oath. It barred Confederates from voting and demanded that confederate debts would be repudiated. Lincoln pocket vetoed this bill.
- Johnson became Lincoln’s running mate in 1864. He was a Unionist Democrat, had been a congressman, governor, and ambitious but unsure of himself.
- Johnson got strength from poor whites and farmers and extolled the common man and attack aristocrats.
- Objectives included free homesteads, public education, and absolute social equality. Liked states rights but had contempt of blacks
- Amnesty proclamation was proposed no 10% oath and excluded Confederates from pardon.
- By December of 1865, all southern states organized a government that ratified the 13 Amendment and elected senators and representatives

Republican Radicals

- Radicals demanded civil and political equality for blacks, in which Senator Sumner led
- Another group, led by Thaddeus Stevens and Ben Wade prepared to accept half of the improvements to win support
- Moderate Republicans wanted to protect ex-slaves and guarantee rights but no full political equality
- 13th Amendment increased representatives and made the 3/5 Compromise meaningless
- Several men who served in Confederacy still elected to House or Senate which sat poorly with northerners
- Black Codes enacted by southern governments to control ex slaves in a state of bondage, which was designed to get around the 13th Amendment, alarmed the North
- Most codes permitted blacks to sue and testify in court with own race, they could earn certain properties, but could not bear arms, be employed in anything other than farming and domestic service
- Blacks were given labor contracts
- Republicans rejected Johnsonian Reconstruction
- Created joint committee, head by William Fessenden to study admittance to union, which held hearings that provided evidence of mistreatment of blacks
- Congress expanded Freedmen’s Bureau to care for refugees in which Johnson vetoes
- The Civil Rights Act declared blacks were citizens and denied states power to restrict rights to testify, to make labor contracts, and hold property. Johnson vetoes but it was repassed, marking the first legislation that became law over veto.
- Johnson issued pardons to those excluded from amnesty
- States rejected bills granting black vote
- Radicals demanded equal and extra rights, right to vote and protection against southern pressure

The Fourteenth Amendment

- The 14th Amendment was a radical measure that granted political rights and reduced state power. It defined broad citizenship, stated that laws could not abridge privileges of citizens, called for due process of law, if any state denied right to vote, representatives could be reduced, former Confederates were barred from office, and Confederate debts were repudiated.

The Reconstruction Acts

- The First Reconstruction Act in March 1867 divided the Confederacy into 5 military districts each with a general to protect civil rights, maintain order, and supervise justice
- Southerners were required to adopt new constitutions with black vote and the disfranchising of Confederacy
- The Act was unworkable and vague
- A 2nd Act called for the military to register voters and supervise election
- A 3rd Act clarified the procedures
- The South resisted and stayed away from polls
- After Congress changed again to say the majority of voters, all states qualified in July 1870

Congress Takes Charge

- There were more efforts by the North to bring ex-Confederates to heel
- A series of measures passed in 1866 to 1868 increased Congress power over the army, Cabinet members, and lesser officers. The Supreme Court was reduced and jurisdiction over civil rights changed
- Republicans attempted to remove Johnson when he violated Tenure of Office Act in 1868, which prohibited the president from removing officials who had been appointed with consent of Senate, and Johnson had dismissed Secretary of War Edwin Stanton.
- While Radicals pressed charges, the Senate failed by a single vote to convict Johnson
- This weakened the president

Fifteenth Amendment

- Republicans nominated General Grant, supported by blacks and whites for presidency while Democrats nominated Seymour, the former New York governor, supported by whites
- Grant won electoral college while the popular vote was close
- White majority opposed Radicals
- Congress blossomed with suffrage amendments
- The 15th Amendment, placed in 1869, forbade all states to deny vote to anyone based on race, color, or previous condition in servitude, saying nothing about the basis of sex
- The South ratified quickly until March 1870 when most states had
- The voters approved black suffrage to show partisan advantage, unfairness of double standard of voting, contribution of black soldiers to war, and hope of an end to Republican strife
- A stronger amendment could not be passed

“Black Republican” Reconstruction: Scalawags and Carpetbaggers

- Former slaves did go into political positions but they were neither numerous or influential
- The real rulers of the black Republicans were white, which included scalawags who were southerners cooperating with Republicans only to advance own interests, and carpetbaggers, who were northerners going south as idealist to help the freed, employees, and settlers with mixed motives
- Big thieves were always white and had as disregard of public interest while embezzling sums. One example is Tweed Ring in NYC who took large sums of money
- There was an ignorance and political inexperience of former slaves
- The Black Republicans accomplished a great deal while financing repair and expanding social services, as well as hospitals, asylums, and free education
- Before civil war, the south spent little money on education and public service
- The Freedmen’s Bureau established 4000 schools
- White supremacy returned, along with corruption and inefficiency in politics

The Ravaged Land

- Wartime left the South desperately poor and confused
- For the former slaves to complete their independence, they had to earn a living and some land
- Thaddeus Stevens wanted to seize Confederate properties and supply the ex slaves
- Congress threw open 46 million acres of poor-quality federal land in the South to blacks under the Homestead Act, but few settled there
- Former slaves had to either agree to work for owners or go out on own
- Output of cotton and other staples declined after slavery abolished
- The decline was due to the fact that former slaves chose to no longer to work like slaves
- Whites criticized black laziness and shiftlessness
- Emancipated slaves earned 30% more than provided by former owners
- Male authority increased while separate spheres were established

Sharecropping and the Crop-Lien System

- Before Reconstruction Acts, owners tried to farm with gang labor, paying wages to ex-slaves but money was scarce and capital never adequate. Interest rates high.

- Kept former slaves under white direction and wanted to be independent
- Sharecropping emerged, in which planters broke up estate into small units and established a black family on each. The planter provided housing, agricultural implements, animals, seed, and other supplies while the family farmed the land
- Crop was divided between them unless the landlord only provided housing and land
- One successful example of the system was Daniel Trotter, a Louisiana black who worked for several years and saved money to buy a plantation. Few possessed this determination and luck
- In 1880 blacks owned less than 10% of land in south
- Fencing laws and mostly the lack of capital to finance the sharecropping caused problems
- The crop-lien system was developed to protect investments, in which leaders insisted grower concentrate on marketable cash crops
- System injured everyone, causing dependence on credit
- Progress slow in the south until 1870s when cotton production was revived
- Tobacco industry expanded
- Coal and iron deposits created Birmingham
- Still, South's share of national output of goods declined during Reconstruction

The White Backlash

- Key to radical south lay in hands of wealthy merchants and planters, former Whigs
- Southern Republicans used the Union League of America, a club, to control the black vote. They enrolled freedmen in droves and marched them to the polls
- Terrorist societies, such as the Ku Klux Klan, Knights of White Camellia, and the Pale Faces emerged
- The Klan wanted to drive blacks out of politics by frightening the impressionable and chastising. They spread rumors and published broadsides to persuade freedmen not to participate in politics
- Murdered many
- Congress passed three Force Acts which placed elections under federal jurisdiction and imposed fines and prison on those convicted of interfering with franchising.
- Klan contributed to destruction of Radical regimes in South
- White violence led to fear of black retaliation and to more brutal attacks
- Self-hatred was displaced, guilt suppressed, aggression justified, and individual became mob
- Blacks stayed home on election day
- Northerners had little respect for blacks and their interest in racial equality flagged
- Prewar Republicans stressed common interest of workers, manufacturers, and farmers, but by 1870s they leaned toward southern argument of discipline of laborers to allow enterprises to run efficiently

Grant as President

- The north concentrated on expansion of industry and development of the west
- Controversies arose over tariff policy, with agricultural interests seeking reductions and handling of greenback money, with debtor groups and manufacturers favoring expansion of supply of dollars, and merchants and bankers wanted retirement of greenbacks to return to sound currency
- President Grant failed to live up to expectations since he had dislike of political maneuvering and belief that popular will could be seen in Congress.
- While Grant was honest, he failed to deal effectively with economic and social problems as well as inability to cope with corruption
- Scandals emerged including the Whiskey Ring affair, which implicated Grants secretary, Babcock, and costed millions and defalcations of Secretary of War Belknap in Indian affairs
- The Liberal Republican party, who were alarmed by corruption, nominated Horace Greeley for president in 1872. They had a laissez-faire liberalism, were for low tariffs and sound money, and against measures benefiting particular groups
- Democrats had also nominated Greeley, but Grant triumphed
- The Liberals hurt the Republicans in Congress, as Democrats carried the House
- By end of 1875 only three south states still under Republican control

The Disputed Election of 1876

- Republicans nominated Governor Rutherford Hayes of Ohio
- Democrats picked Governor Samuel Tilden of New York, a wealthy lawyer
- Republicans prepared to use their control of election machinery in states expected they would lose to throw out Democratic ballots to alter results
- Showed Hayes the winner while Democrats protested

- Neither House or Senate agreed to allow the counting of ballots by the other
- On January 29, 1877, Congress created an electoral commission to decide the disputed cases, with senators, representatives, and justices with one judge, David Davis
- As Davis had to resign, Associate Justice Joseph Bradley got the vacancy
- Evidence presented before the commission revealed corruption of election
- Judge ready to vote in favor of Tilden, but republicans subjected him to political pressure and awarded Florida's votes to Republicans, giving it to Hayes
- Commission assigned all the disputed electoral votes
- Tempers flared in Congress, where some spoke of filibuster that would leave the country with no president at all on March 4

The Compromise of 1877

- Many southern Democrats were willing to accept Hayes as president if he would promise to remove troops and allow the southern states to manage internal affairs by themselves
- Ex-Whig planters and merchants hoped that by supporting Hayes they could restore the two-party system
- A great compromise between sections was at work at the Wormley Hotel in Washington on February 26
- Electoral vote was counted and Hayes was declared elected
- Although Hayes did recall the last troops and appointed a former confederate general postmaster general, the alliance of ex-Whigs and north Republicans did not flourish
- The compromise ended Reconstruction and inaugurated a new political order in the South with Democrats
- It would shape destinies of four million freedmen who were condemned to lives of poverty, indignity, and little hope
- The U.S. continued its march toward wealth and power

In the Wake of War

- America transformed their agriculture, trade, manufacturing, mining, and communication
- Immigration increased while cities grew
- Farm production rose when invigorated by new marketing methods and increased machinery
- Railroads were stimulated and the flow of gold and silver from the west along with petroleum gave rise to new industries

New Problems, New Solutions

- Politics were divorced from meaningful issues of the day
- Graduated income tax was enacted during Civil War and then reenacted in 1894 to maneuver tariff reform but then declared unconstitutional
- Politicians clinged too long to outworn issues and neglected new principles to solve problems

The Triumph of Self-Interest

- The resources of the U.S. and high value of work and achievement made people materialistic
- There was a glorification of money and products
- After failure of Reconstruction, many believed strongly in a government policy of noninterference, or laissez faire
- People tolerated grossest kind of waste and cared little about corruption, as long as no one interfered with their own profit
- This age was called the Gilded Age by Mark Twain, stating it was dazzling on the surface, base metal below
- Charles Darwin influenced the theory of evolution among Americans, stating nature was governed by natural selection of those individuals best adapted to survive in environment
- Yale professor William Graham Sumner used the survival-of-the-fittest analogy, called social Darwinism, the belief that activities of people were governed by Darwinian principle that the fittest always survived if allowed to exercise their capacities without restriction
- Most people were sincere citizens who believed in competition, and thought nation would prosper if all were free to seek own fortunes

Congress Ascendant

- Succession of weak presidents made Congress dominate the government
- Senate, containing many millionaires, often overshadowed the House of representatives due its long tenure of its members

- The House was disorderly and inefficient
- Political parties seldom took clearly opposing positions
- Democrats separated from Republicans more by geography, religion, ethnicity, and emotion rather than economic issues
- Fundamental division between two parties was sectional
- The South was heavily Democratic, along with powerful business leaders and New England and well-to-do cultured Northerners was mostly Republican
- Personalities of political leaders often dictated voting patterns of individuals and groups
- Bulk of people distributed ballots fairly evenly between parties
- Between 1876 and 1896 Republican party controlled both houses, but the presidency for only one 2-year period

The Political Aftermath of War

- Waving the bloody shirt in the House was a tactic that reminded the electorate of northern states that men who had taken South out of the Union and precipitated the Civil War had been Democrats
- Used tactic to divert attention of northern voters from his own shortcomings, which was successful
- Republicans in order to build up organization in South appealed to black voters, requiring black vote and to win conservative white support by stressing economic issues
- After the Civil War, the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) put pressure on Congress to aid veterans with disabilities and then later for all former Union soldiers
- Another issue involved tariffs. Most did not believe in eliminating duties on imports. Manufacturers desired protective tariffs and their workers were convinced wage levels would fall if goods entered untaxed
- Farmers supported protection
- Congressman William McKinley stated high tariffs foster the growth of industry and create jobs
- Tariff was a political issue because technology was advancing so rapidly that industries no longer required protection from foreign competitors
- Many Republicans endorsed tariff reform in principle, but most demanded high rates for industries in own districts and traded votes
- New tariff bills became occasion for lobbying and outrageous politicking rather than public interest
- Currency reform was another political question
- Greenbacks did not command full confidence of people and threatened inflation
- Strong sentiment developed to withdraw greenbacks and return to bullion standard
- During Reconstruction, prices actually declined sharply which injured debtors and farmers
- The National Greenback party and Greenback Labor party supported currency inflation
- Most western Republicans favored expansion of the currency and the conservative Democrats favored deflation
- In 1874, a bill to increase greenback supply was defeated by Congress and President Grant
- Many congressman introduced proposals to coin large amounts of silver
- Last political issue was civil service reform
- The federal bureaucracy needed overhauling, government took on more functions, need for professional administration increased, number of federal employees rose, corruption flourished, collection of tariff duties full of corruption
- There was a succession of ineffective presidents and Congress that concentrated on private bills was inefficient
- Both parties ridiculed civil service reformers because they believed patronage was lifeblood of politics and they could not function without loyal workers

Blacks After Reconstruction

- Minorities were treated with contempt in postwar decades
- President Hayes had said a new Era of Good Feelings had dawned and that citizens have been deprived of right of suffrage but did nothing to remedy the situation
- President Garfield had no policy at all
- President Arthur gave patronage to anti-black groups
- President Cleveland opposed mixed schools
- Both parties had hypocritical statements about equality and constitutional rights
- In 1890s, southern states began to deprive blacks of vote, poll taxes formed economic barrier, and literacy tests completed the work
- Almost every Supreme Court decision after 1877 nullified or curtails the blacks rights
- In Hall v. De Cuir, Court threw out state law forbidding segregation on riverboats
- In the Civil Rights Cases, in 1883, it was declared that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional
- 14th Amendment guaranteed rights against states, not by individuals
- In Plessey v. Ferguson, Court ruled that places of public accommodation, segregation was legal as long as facilities of equal quality were provided

- Separate schools, prisons, hospitals, recreational facilities and cemeteries were segregated
- Most Northerners supported the government
- White rule halted progress in public education for blacks
- The Peabody Fund and Slater Fund supported blacks schools after 1877
- Schools only survived because they taught a philosophy that they were second-class citizens and were to become farmers and craftsmen

Booker T. Washington: A “Reasonable” Champion for Blacks

- Educated Northerners generally accepted black inferiority as fact
- By denying blacks education and jobs, dominant race could use blacks ignorance and poverty to justify inferiority
- Southerners redressed racial pride, some tried to revive African colonization movement, led by Bishop Henry Turner, and some called for full civil rights, better schools, and fair wages to fight discrimination led by T. Thomas Fortune, founder of Afro-American League in 1887
- Segregation helped numbers of south blacks to have jobs due to reluctance to supply services to blacks
- Booker T. Washington was born a slave in 1856 and laboriously obtained education, while supporting himself
- He founded Tuskegee Instituted in Alabama
- He was convinced that blacks must lift themselves up by own bootstraps but also accommodate themselves to white prejudices
- He supported self-improvement and asked whites to lend blacks a hand in efforts, called the “Atlanta Compromise”
- He was capable of influencing countless unobtrusive ways of the fate of blacks
- Blacks responded to compromise with mixed feelings
- Although it might relieve burdens, they would have to give up rights in return for promises of future help
- Surrendered personal dignity and lost hopes of obtain justice
- Blacks had to choose between confrontation and accommodation
- The Atlanta Compromise could be considered a form of subtle black nationalism and accommodation
- Washington accepted separate but equal facilities but also lobbied against restrictive measures, marshaled money to fight cases in courts, and organized the black vote

White Violence and Vengeance

- Southern whites had tried to replace legal subjugation of slavery with psychological subjugation through terror
- From 1890 through 1910, nearly hundred blacks lynched each year
- White fears excited by rumors of black males as rapists and predators
- While blacks were run out of public spaces, women took an increasingly prominent role as spokespersons in religious and reform associations
- Public activities of those like Rebecca Strowd contradicted feminine domesticity, but they affirmed middle-class sensibilities
- They wanted white men to uphold Christian brotherhood, and to do their duty in protecting women
- Few male sharecroppers, industrial workers, and many working-class women were unpersuaded of domesticity

The West After the Civil WAR

- Many parts of region had large percentage of foreign-born residents
- There were large populations of Spanish-speaking Americans of Mexican origin over Southwest and Chinese and Irish were pouring into California, along with Germans in Texas
- The West contained several bustling cities such as San Francisco, which became commercial and financial heart of Pacific Coast
- Denver, San Antonio, and Salt Lake City were smaller but also growing
- Economy was agricultural and commercial
- West epitomized the social Darwinist
- Although blacks migrated to Kansas for better treatment, they still encountered bad treatment, as well as in California
- About 4 or 5 thousand a year Chinese migrated to the U.s, until negotiation of Burlingame Treaty in 1868, which provided cheap labor for railroad construction crews. Annual influx more than doubled
- When Chinese began to compete with native workers, resentment went up and riots broke out in San Francisco
- In 1879, California constitution denied right to vote to any native of China along with the insane and criminals
- Protests reached such a peak that Congress prohibited all Chinese immigration for 10 years

The Plains Indians

- By Hayes inauguration, Indians had been shattered as independent peoples and they were later penned up on reservations
- In 1860, eastern tribes were living peacefully in Indian Territory (Oklahoma)

- In the west, in such areas as deserts of Great Basin, in the mountains, and on grass-covered plains between the Rockies, many Indians dominated the land
- The most important lived on the High Plains
- The Plains tribes, Blackfeet, Sioux, Dakotas, Cheyenne, Wyoming, and Comanche, had a generally uniform culture
- All lived by hunting bison, which provided food, clothing, and shelter
- Although they seemed the epitome of freedom, pride, and self-reliance, Plains Indians began to fall under white power
- The adopted products of more technically advanced culture such as cloth, metal tools, and weapons
- The whites gave the Indians the very important horse, which became vital to Indians of Plains, as they could now run down buffalo, move more easily, and acquire more possessions
- The Indians adopted the cavalry sword and the rifled which added to their effectiveness as hunters and fighters
- Horses and guns caused problems as buffalo began to diminish and warfare became bloodier
- After start of gold rush, tribes were pushed aside
- In 1841, Tomas Fitzpatrick, a mountain man, founder of Rocky Mountain Fur Company, scout for settlers and soldiers during Mexican War, summoned a great council of tribes at Horse Creek
- Indians respected Fitzpatrick, and he persuaded each tribe to accept definite limits to hunting grounds in exchange for furs and annual payments
- This policy was called concentration and was to cut down on intertribal warfare and to enable government to negotiate separately with each tribe
- The U.S. maintained that each tribe was a sovereign nation but Indians had admitted defeat by agreeing to meet in council and tribal chiefs had only limited power

Indian Wars

- Government showed little interest in honoring agreements with Indians
- Gold rush into Colorado in 1859 sent prospectors across Plains to drive Indians from land guaranteed them
- Most Plains Indians rose up against whites with guerrilla warfare after federal troops had been pulled out of West
- In 1864, party of Colorado militia fell on Cheyenne community at Sand Creek and killed many and was marked the Chivington massacre as people were scalped and mutilated
- In return, Indians slaughtered dozens of white families, ambushed small parties, and fought skirmishes against troops
- Indians had a triumph in December 1866, when Oglala Sioux, under Red Cloud, wiped out 82 soldiers under Captain Fetterman
- In 1867, the government changed its concentration policy to confining Plains Indians to two small reservations in Black Hills and other in Oklahoma
- Many Indians refused to abide and became destructive
- Indian leadership was poor but made superb guerrillas as they expertly led pursuers into ambushes
- Had Indians been guaranteed reasonable amount of land and adequate subsidies they might have accepted the situation
- Americans displayed lack of talent for administration
- The Department of Interior systematically cheated the Indians
- Indian Ring in Department typically stole funds and supplies intended for reservation Indians
- Yale paleontologist Othniel Marsh, wishing to dig for fossils on Sioux reservation, asked for permission of Indians. Red Cloud agreed if he sent samples of inadequate food the government was supplying. Marsh, appalled, sent list of charges against the agents
- General Sheridan, in command of Indian country, was no lover of Indians but he understood why they behaved as they did
- Grant wished to place reservations under army control, but Indians opposed
- In 1869, Congress created a nonpolitical Board of Indian commissioners to oversee Indian affairs, but was not effective
- In 1874, gold was discovered in Black Hills Indian reservation, as miners invaded area and the Sioux went on the warpath
- As they concentrated in region of Bighorn River, there columns of troops arrived against them
- Commander of one, General Terry, sent a Cavalry under Colonel Custer with orders to locate Indians camp and block escape
- Custer decided to attack directly with tiny force, underestimated number of Indians
- At Little Bighorn, he found himself surrounded by 2500 Sioux under Rain in the Face, Crazy Horse, and Sitting Bull. Custer and all his men died, as battle became "Custer's Last Stand"
- Later, short of rations and soldiers, made them surrender and return to reservation

The Destruction of Tribal Life

- Fighting slackened due to building of railroads and destruction of buffalo, as slaughter began
- Railroads made Army more efficient force and supplies and troops could be moved easily
- Lines also decimated buffalo by running excursion trains for hunters
- In 1871 to 1872, Grand Duke Alexis of Russia head a hunt, supported by "Buffalo Bill," which was full of professional buffalo killers
- Disappearance of bison left Plains Indians starving, homeless, and purposeless

- By 1887, tribes of mountains and deserts also gave up fight
- The Nez Perce, led by Chief Joseph, outwitted federal troops in a campaign until their surrender in October 1877. They settled on bottoms of Indian Territory in Oklahoma
- Last Indians to abandon battle were the Apaches, who yielded on capture of their leader, Geronimo
- Large numbers of disinterested people, believed only practical way to solve Indian problem was to persuade Indians to abandon culture and live on family farms to become civilized
- The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 split tribal lands into individual allotments and land could not be disposed of for 25 years. Funds were appropriated for education and training to adopt habits of civilized life to be granted U.S. citizenship
- Sponsors of Act thought they were effecting a fine reform
- Law was statement of policy rather than set of specific rules
- Dawes Act had disastrous results in long run
- White men tricked many Indians into leasing their allotments for pittance and authorities often taxed Indian lands at excessive rates
- In 1934, after much of the land had passed into white hands, government returned to policy of encouraging tribal ownership of lands

The Lure of Gold and Silver in the West

- Natural resources of nation exploited
- Americans regarded West as limitless treasure to be grasped as rapidly as possible
- Thousands of gold-crazed prospectors fanned out through Rockies, Fraser River country of British Columbia, Tuscan, Sierras, and Great Plains
- Any strike called for desire for sudden wealth and promoted a flock to the site
- Towns sprang up overnight but then expectations faded due to high prices, low yields, hardship, violence, and deception
- Booms collapsed and towns died
- Areas of Fraser River, Pikes Peak, and Nevada, where Comstock Lode yielded largest amount of ores, were sites of attraction
- Miners raced to Idaho panhandle
- There was a rush to Snake River valley and then one in 1863 to Montana
- Black Hills in Sioux lands inundated in 1874 to 1876
- Miners adopted the get-rich-quick philosophy, willingly enduring privations and laboring hard, never thinking about future generations
- Mining towns attracted every kind of shady character and produced gambling dens, dance halls, saloons, and brothels
- Law enforcement was constant problem
- During President Grants administration, Virginia City was at peak of prosperity, producing \$12 million a year in ore
- In 1873, after discovery of the Big bonanza, a rich ore more than 50 ft thick, future of Virginia boundless
- Finds in Black Hills district led to growth of Deadwood
- West continued to yield much gold and silver, but big corporations produced nearly all of it
- Stockholders of large corporations made off with share of wealth not the prospectors who made the discovery
- Mining of gold and silver not much different from mining of coal and iron, which also needed large capital investments
- Though marked by violence, fraud, greed, and lost hopes, the gold rushes had valuable results
- It produced the new metal itself, which bolstered financial position of U.S., needed goods to Europe were paid for, gold and silver cause increased interest in the West, and a new literature appeared, describing mining camps and life of prospectors. One example is Mark Twain's *Roughing It*
- Each strike brought permanent settlers, farmers, cattlemen, storekeepers, teamsters, lawyers, and ministers
- Trails helped to support the towns
- In every mining town, schools, churches, and newspapers sprang up
- Mines also sped up political organization of West
- Colorado, Nevada, Arizona, Idaho, and Montana became territories through 1861 to 1864
- Framework for future development was early established

Big Business and the Land Bonanza

- It was presumed that the Homestead Act of 1862 had ended speculator and the large landholder and that the West would be dotted with 160-acre family farms
- Most landless Americans were too poor and could not afford all the supplies needed for a farm
- Industrial workers had neither the skills nor inclination to become farmers
- Speculators often managed to obtain large tracts
- 160 acres were not enough to raise livestock or use for agriculture
- The Timber Culture Act of 1873 permitted individuals to claim an additional 160 acres if they agreed to plant ¼ of it in trees within 10 years, which did prove helpful to some

- Private interests gobbled up and destroyed many of great forests of the Rockies and Sierras
- Timber and Stone Act of 1878 allowed anyone to acquire ¼ section of forest land for \$2.50 an acre if unfit for civilization, in which lumber companies hired dummy entry-men to obtain land
- Too many people were eager to exploit nations land for own profit
- After Civil War, Congress reserved 47.7 million acres of public land in South for homesteaders but this policy was reversed and land thrown open
- Frontier farmers found soil rich but climate made agriculture difficult. Blizzards, floods, grasshopper plagues, and fires caused problems along with droughts and searing summers
- Immensity of land, farm machinery and rail connections encouraged corporation controlled “bonanza” farms. One example including Liver Dalrymple in Dakota Territory which cultivated wheat
- Bonanza farmers could buy supplies wholesale and obtain concessions from railroads
- Most bonanza farms failed in dry years of late 1880s
- Those farmers who diversified their crops were better off
- The region became the breadbasket of America after the Civil War, producing wheat and other cereal crops, along with beef and pork

Western Railroad Building

- Further exploitation of land resources resulted from subsidizing western railroads
- Homesteaders always lost to railroads
- Development of western railroads was essential for farmers, miners, and cattle ranchers
- Unless government was willing to build lines itself, some system of subsidy was essential
- Grants were a sensible way of financing construction, which avoided direct outlays of public funds
- Federal land grants to railroads began in 1850 to the Illinois Central
- Land went to aid the construction of the Union Pacific-Central Pacific line, the Atchison, Southern Pacific, and Northern Pacific
- The Pacific Railway Act of 1862 established pattern for the grants. It gave builders or railroads 5 square miles of public land on each side of right-of-way for each mile of track laid. Land allotted in alternate sections, forming a checkerboard pattern
- It was presumed that this benefited entire nation since half of land remained with public
- Lands were not opened to homesteaders
- President Cleveland put a stop to restriction of homesteaders living on indemnity lands in 1887
- Land-grant lines encouraged the growth of West and provided cheap transportation
- Operators tended to be corrupt with the money obtained from land grants
- Central Pacific in 1860s was controlled by 4 businessmen
- The Central Pacific, who employed Civil War veterans and Irish immigrants, and Union Pacific, who employed Chinese immigrants, were given loans in form of government bonds along with grants
- The Central Pacific construction, led by Crocker and being built in the Sierras, was being pushed with speed
- Efforts paid off as mountains conquered and meeting of rails at Promontory, Utah on May 10, 1869 took place
- The wasteful way in which Central Pacific build hurt road severely, being ill constructed and burdened with debt
- Only transcontinental railroad built without grants was the Great Northern, led by James Hill and the only one to survive the depression of 1890s

The Cattle Kingdom

- Cattlemen and sheep raisers dominated huge areas of High Plains, making millions as they exploited the acres of its grass
- Texas longhorn far from ideal cattle and hard to capture, but they existed in Texas by the millions
- Industrial growth in East caused increase in demand for food
- Railroad network made it possible to move cattle cheaply
- Anyone could drive cattle across unoccupied and federally owned land without paying a fee
- In 1866, number of Texans drove herds northward toward Missouri and Charles Goodnight and Oliver Loving drove a heard in a great arc west to Colorado
- Drovers, inspired by Joseph McCoy and others, led herds north by the Chisholm trail to Kansas Pacific line at Abilene and earned excellent profits
- Cattle sold to ranchers, feedlot operators, and eastern meatpackers
- Produced the American cowboy, which life consisted of endless hours on trail surrounded by beasts. They were mixed lot with Mexican vaqueros and African Americans, along with local Texans, veterans, miners, and others. They had a life of solitude but were strong, silent, and courageous. Few grew rich
- Major cattle towns like Abilene and Wichita had saloons, gambling dens, and dance houses
- Violence was common but the shooting up of cattle towns was fictitious and the police force was well organized

Open-Range Ranching

- Cattlemen discovered Texas stock could survive winters of Plains
- They introduced pedigreed Hereford bulls
- Grasses offered ranchers great value
- Open-range ranching required ownership of no more than a few acres along watercourse
- Without access to water, it was impossible to pasture stock on range
- Cowhands took out homestead claims along watercourses in region and expanded the area the rancher dominated
- Group of ranchers acted together
- Fortunes could be made as demand for meat was rising and transportation became cheap
- Capitalists from East and Europe poured funds into business
- Large outfits such as Nebraska Land and Cattle Company, controlled by British investors, and Union Cattle Company of Wyoming dominated the business, just as they had over mines
- At first, ranchers did not reduce public resources
- Major John Wesley Powell, in his *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the U.S.* (1879), suggested that western lands be divided into irrigable lands, timber lands, and Pasturage lands. On pasturage lands were to be a certain amount of acres and units were to be organized into districts in which ranchers had right to make own regulations

Barbed-Wire Warfare

- Congress's refusal to change land laws encouraged fraud
- Desert Land Act in 1877 allowed anyone to obtain 640 acres in arid states for \$1.25 an acre if owner irrigated part of it
- 95% of claims of land were said to be fraudulent
- Overcrowding became a problem that led to killings
- Leading ranchers banded together in associations to deal with overcrowding, quarantine regulations, water rights, and thievery
- Although associations devised effective rules, functions would be better in form of the government
- To keep other ranchers' cattle separated into sections, they began to fence huge areas
- Joseph F. Glidden, a farmer, invented barbed wire in 1874
- Miles of new fencing had been strung across Plains, across roads and around communities
- "Barbed-wire wars" resulted, which put rancher against rancher, and cattleman against sheep men
- Associations tried to punish anyone who cut wire
- Barbed wire destroyed the cattlemen's own way of doing business and prevented the cattle of free movement
- Drifting piled up against wire and died by thousands during winter
- Boom times ending as overproduction drove down prices of beef, expenses on rise, and range overgrazed
- Dry summer of 1886 left stock in poor condition
- As blizzards raged and temperatures plummeted during winter that year, 80 to 90 percent of cattle died
- This left the companies bankrupt and independent operators became sold out
- Industry now on smaller and more efficient scale
- Fencing enclosed land that ranchers actually owned
- By late 1880s bonanza days of West over
- The furs, metals, forests, cattle, and grass had been snatched up by first comers
- Big companies taking over all West's resources
- Conquest of frontier was appealing evasion as it transformed harmful actions and policies of nation into expression of human progress
- Civilization changing as nation becoming more powerful, richer, and larger
- East was increasingly dominating economy of entire nation

An Industrial Giant

- U.S. not producing for Great Britain and Germany
- Value of American manufactured products rose from 1.8 billion in 1859 to 13 billion in 1899
- Growth not confined to Northeast
- Economy based on grain and lumber became a mainly urban-centered industrial economy in Wisconsin

Essentials of Industrial Growth

- Manufacturing flourished due to discovery of new natural resources which attracted a population
- Growth added to national market, and protective tariffs shielded market from competition

- Dominant spirit encouraged progress but also produced Robber Barons
- Search for wealth led to corrupt business practices such as stock manipulation, bribery, and cutthroat competition, along with monopolies
- European immigrants provided labor needed by expanding industry
- For many, American was a land of opportunity, but emigrating meant a struggle for survival
- It was a period of rapid advance in science, and technicians created new machines, processes, and power sources that increased productivity
- Many farm families displaced from homes and made farmers dependent on distant markets and economic forces they could not control
- Packaged cereal appeared on American breakfast table
- Commercial canning of food was spurred by automatic line canning factory
- Bonsack cigarette-rolling machine created new industry
- George Eastman created mass-produced, roll photographic film and efficient Kodak camera
- The typewriter was perfected by Remington company in 1880s
- Inventions had mixed blessings

Railroads: The First Big Business

- Railroads the most significant element in economic development and made railroad executives the most powerful in the country
- By 1900, nation had 193,000 miles of track
- Emphasis put on organizing integrated systems after 1865
- Lines had high fixed costs: taxes, interest, maintenance, and salaries
- Railroads had to carry as much traffic as possible to earn profits so they spread out feeder lines to draw business to main lines
- In 1867, the New York Central passed into hands of Cornelius Vanderbilt, who already controlled lines running from Albany to New York City. He merged the properties
- In 1873, he integrated Lake Shore and Michigan Southern into empire
- Thomas Scott was fusing roads. By 1869, the Erie extended from New York to Cleveland, Cincinnati, and St. Louis. In 1874, Baltimore and Ohio rail one also obtained access to Chicago
- Transcontinental's were trunk lines from the start, as builders needed connection to eastern markets
- Dominant system builder of Southwest was Jay Gould, who was soft-spoken but ruthless and aggressive
- Gould took over Kansas Pacific and consolidated it with Union Pacific and Missouri Pacific
- Although he wanted profit, his grasp of importance of integration was sound
- Southern trunk lines such as Louisville and Atlantic Coast Line, was controlled by northern capitalists
- Trunk lines made it important to standardize many of their activities as well as other aspects of life
- Time zones developed in 1883 by railroads
- Standard track gauged established in 1886
- Standardized car coupling and braking mechanisms, signal systems, and accounting were essential to efficiency
- Lines sought to work out fixed rates for carrying different types of freight, charging more for valuables than for bulky products like coal
- Agreed to permit rate concessions to shippers
- Railroad management becoming a kind of profession with certain standard ways
- Railroads stimulated economy indirectly, by speeding up development and creating jobs along with technological advances
- To speed settlement of new regions, land-grant railroads sold land cheaply
- They offered reduced rates to those wishing to farm and set up bureaus of immigration
- In 1869, George Westinghouse invented the air brake, which increased size of trains and their speed
- Sleeping car invented in 1864 by George Pullman
- To pull heavier trains, a call for a stronger and more durable rail was wanted, which led to steel
- Close tie developed between railroads and telegraph network
- Roads allowed Western Union to string wires along their rights-of-way, and transported without charge, in return for free telegraphic service

Iron, Oil, and Electricity

- Transformation of iron manufacturing affected the nation
- Big change came in development of ways to mass-produce steel
- Steel, which combines hardness of cast iron with toughness of wrought iron, served for every purpose, from bridges, buildings, railroad tracks, machine tools, boiler plates, to barbed wire
- Steel could not be used for bulky products until invention of Bessemer process in 1850s, perfected by Henry Bessemer along with William Kelly
- Bessemer process and open-hearth method introduced commercially in 1860s

- The huge supplies of iron ore in the U.S. and coal made the growth of steel possible
- Pittsburgh became the iron and steel capital of the country
- Petroleum industry expanded more than iron and steel
- Edwin Drake drilled the 1st successful well in Pennsylvania in 1859
- Technological advances came rapidly as refiners learned to “crack” petroleum and introduced gasoline, an anesthetic, coolant for refrigerators, and new waxes
- There was a great increase in crude oil which drove prices down
- Larger plants using expensive machinery and employing skilled technicians became more important
- The telephone and electric light business was introduced
- Alexander Bell invented the telephone in 1876 and by 1900 there were almost 800,000 telephones in country
- American Telephone and Telegraph Company dominated the business
- At Menlo Park, Thomas Edison built the prototype of modern research laboratory where he took out more than 1000 patents, involving the phonograph, motion-picture projector, storage battery, and mimeograph
- Edison’s most important achievement was the electric light bulb
- He would soon be able to illuminate entire towns
- In 1882, his Edison Illuminating Company opened a power station in New York City
- Central stations sprung up everywhere
- Substitution of electric for steam power in factories was liberating
- Small, safe electric motors replaces dangerous mazes of belts and wheels
- By early twentieth century, almost 6 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity were being produced annually

Competition and Monopoly: The Railroads

- Deflation affected agricultural goods as well as manufactures, which lasted until 1896 or 1897
- Falling prices kept a steady pressure on profit margins and led to increased production and intense competition
- Competition caused sided effects that injured economy and society
- Railroad managers found it impossible to enforce rate schedules and maintain regional associations
- Competition cut deep into railroad profits, causing lines to seek increase in volume and reduced rates on selective basis
- Railroads gave rebates to large shippers which let industries dominated their business
- Railroad officials disliked rebating but found no way to avoid it
- Railroads also issued passes to favored shippers, built sidings at plants of importance without charge, and gave freely of landholdings
- To make up for losses forced on them by competition, railroads charged higher rates at way points along tracks where no competition existed
- It cost more to ship a product a short distance than a longer one
- Although cheap transportation stimulated the economy, few people benefited from cutthroat competition
- Small shippers suffered and discrimination speeded the concentration of industry in large corporations
- Worst suffered were the roads themselves because they had a loss of revenue resulting from rate cutting and inflated debts
- Samuel Tilden, the Democratic presidential candidate named the “the Great Forecloser” because he reorganized bankrupt railroads
- Major roads responded by building or buying lines to create interregional systems, but their cost led to more bankruptcies
- Representatives of bankers consistently opposed rate wards, rebating, and other practices
- Control of railroad network became centralized

Competition and Monopoly: Steel

- Iron and steel industry was also intensely competitive
- Kingpin of industry was Andrew Carnegie who decided to specialize in iron business
- In 1875, Carnegie built the J. Edgar Thomson Steel Works, employing chemists and other specialists
- He was a merciless competitor and sold rails by paying commissions to railroad agents
- By 1890 Carnegie Steel Company dominated industry
- Makers of finished steel products became alarmed and considered pooling their resources and making steel themselves as Carnegie threatened to manufacture the finished goods
- Carnegie believed that great wealth entailed social responsibilities
- J.P. Morgan soon bought him out and in 1901 Morgan put together United States Steel, the world’s first billion dollar corporation. Combination included Carnegies Federal Steel Company, American Steel and Wire Company, and National Tube company
- U.S. steel capitalized at 1.4 billion

Competition and Monopoly: Oil

- Fierce competition leading to combination and monopoly was shown in petroleum industry
- Production of crude oil fluctuated constantly without regard for need
- By 1870s, chief oil-refining centers were Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and New York City
- The Standard Oil Company of Cleveland was founded by John D. Rockefeller in 1870
- He exploited technical advancements and employed fair means and foul to persuade competitors to sell or join
- By 1879, he controlled 90% of nations oil refining
- Associates of Rockefeller the most efficient
- Standard Oil obtained rebates and drawbacks, and cut prices locally to force small business to sell
- Bribery a Standard practice
- Although bold and daring, Rockefeller was too orderly and enjoyed battles
- Rockefeller competed ruthlessly not to crush others but to persuade them to join with him
- He established a new type of organization, the trust. He took over dozens of companies scattered across the country, but difficulties arose
- Stock of Standard of Ohio and others, was turned over to nine trustees who were empowered to exercise supervision all properties
- In exchange, stockholders received trust certificates
- Device brought order and competition almost disappeared
- Standard Oil Trust not a corporation
- The trust, which formerly signified a fiduciary arrangement for protection of interest of individuals incompetent or unwilling to guard them themselves, became monopoly
- A monopoly's function was to centralized management in interest of efficiency

Competition and Monopoly: Retailing and Utilities

- Utilities such as telephone and electric lighting industries formed monopolies
- Since industries depended on patents, Bell and Edison had to fight mighty battles in the courts with rivals seeking to infringe on their rights
- Competition in electric lighting business raged for years among Edison, Westinghouse, and the Thomson-Houston Electric Company
- In 1892, Edison and Thomson-Houston companies merged forming General Electric
- Competition lead to dominance by a few companies
- Life insurance expanded, being stimulated by development of the group policy, the "tontine," by Henry Hyde
- Agents gave rebates and companies stole crack agents from rivals and raided new territories
- By 1900, three giants dominated the industry of life insurance
- In retailing, period saw growth of urban department stores
- Alexander Stewart, John Wanamaker, and Marshall Field built emporiums
- These department stores advertised heavily and high volume made for large profits

American Ambivalence to Big Business

- Expansion of industry and concentration into fewer hands changed way people felt about role of government in economic and social affairs
- The only regulations enforced by government was banking laws, tariffs, internal-improvements, and granting land to railroads
- Such laws were intended to release human energy and increase freedom
- Tariffs stimulated industry and created new jobs, railroad grants opened up new regions for development
- Growth of industry and finance organizations and increasing complexity of economic relations frightened people but made them greedy for more
- James Bryce described changes in *The American Commonwealth* in 1888
- Generally, monopolists did not raise prices unreasonably and prices tended to fall until 1890s when consumer's millennium arrived
- There was fear that monopolists were destroying economic opportunity and threatening democratic institutions
- As observers pondered the wrong and evils of money-piling tendency of country, business leaders rose their own defense
- Carnegie insisted that rich must use their money which would produce the most beneficial results for the community
- Many clergymen denounced unrestrained competition
- New class of professional economists tended to repudiate laissez-faire

Reformers: George, Bellamy, Lloyd

- Henry George, a journalist published *Progress and Poverty*, an attack on misdistribution of wealth in the U.S. in 1879. He argued that labor was the true and only source of capital. He proposed a property tax that would confiscate unearned money by land

- This single tax, which was never adopted, would bring in much money to allow government to establish schools, museums, theaters, and other services
- Edward Bellamy wrote a utopian novel, called *Looking Backward, 200-1887*. It described an America that was completely socialized, all economic activity planned. He said the ideal socialist state would arrive without revolution or violence
- Henry Demarest Lloyd attacked monopoly and wrote *Wealth Against Commonwealth* in 1894 to denunciate Standard Oil Company by preparing masses of facts and examples of their evil-doing. Lloyd also attacked the application of Darwin's concept of survival of fittest to economic and social affairs and condemned laissez-faire policies
- Popularity of these books indicated that monopoly worried many
- None of the readers seriously considered trying to apply ideas

Reformers: The Marxists

- In 1877, a Marxist Socialist Labor party was founded
- First attempt to explain Marx's ideas was Laurence Granlund's *The Cooperative Commonwealth* in 1884
- Granlund claimed capitalism contained seeds of its own destruction and states should own all means of production
- Competition was established anarchy, middlemen were parasites, and speculators were vampires
- Leading voice of Socialist Labor Party was Daniel De Leon, an editor, who was a doctrinaire revolutionary
- He excoriated American labor unions in *The People*, insisting workers could improve lot only by adopting socialism and joining Labor party, but paid little attention to practical needs of working people

The Government Reacts to Big Business: Railroad Regulation

- Strict regulations of railroads due to agitation by the National Grange of Patrons of Husbandry
- The Grange, founded in 1867, by Oliver Kelley, was created to provide social and cultural benefits for isolated rural communities
- As Grangers won control of state legislatures, they established maximum rates and outlawed discrimination, along with commission to enforce laws
- Railroads protested, insisting they were deprived of property without due process of law
- In *Munn v. Illinois* (1877), a case involving grain elevator whose owner refused to comply with state warehouse act, the Supreme Court upheld constitutionality of kind of act. Any business that served public, was subject to state control
- Regulation of railroads by states inefficient
- In *Wabash* case, Court declared an Illinois regulation outlawing long-and-short-haul evil unconstitutional. Illinois could not regulate interstate shipments
- Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887, stating that all charges made by railroads shall be reasonable and just. It also declared rebates, drawbacks, and other practices unlawful. Railroads required publishing schedules of rates. The Act also established an Interstate Commerce Commission, the first federal regulatory board, to supervise railroad affairs
- Act not radical nor effective, and contradicted itself but did challenge laissez-faire
- Commission could not fix rates, only bring roads to court

The Government Reacts to Big Business: The Sherman Antitrust Act

- The first antitrust laws originated in southern and western states with little industry
- Federal action came in 1890 with passage of Sherman Antitrust Act which declared any combination in form of trust or otherwise was in restraint of trade or commerce among states and foreign nations. If someone formed a combination, they were fined and sent to jail
- Act suppose to restore competition but was rather loosely worded as it was to calm public clamor for action instead of breaking combinations
- In *United States v. E. C. Knight Company* in 1895, the Court held that the American Sugar Refining Company had not violated the law by taking over competitors and stated that Trust was not restraining trade
- In several cases in 1898 and 1899, the Court ruled that agreements to fix prices or divide markets did violate Sherman Act, which resulted in mergers

The Labor Union Movement

- At time of Civil War only small percentage of workforce was organized and belonged to unions
- The Union was the workers response to the big corporation: a combination designed to eliminate competition for jobs and to provide efficient organization for labor
- There was a growth of national craft unions after 1865 and the National Labor Union was founded in 1866
- Most of their leaders were visionaries who were out of touch with practical needs, while opposing wage system and strikes. Their main objective was worker-owned cooperatives
- The Knights of Labor was founded in 1869 by group headed by Uriah Stephens, who was a reformer of wide interests

- Terence Powderly was Stephens successor
- They were like Jacksonians, and supported political objectives that had no direct connection with working conditions, currency reform, and curbing of land speculation
- By pooling their resources, they could advance up economic ladder and enter capitalist class
- Labor should own and operate mines, factories, and railroads
- They developed a concept closely resembling modern industrial unionism
- They welcomed blacks, women, and immigrants, along with accepting unskilled workers and artisans
- The Knights demanded 8-hour day and later, higher pay
- Between 1882 and 1886, successful strikes against western railroads, brought recruits by thousands, but its national leadership was unable to control local groups
- Public was alienated by acts of violence and intimidation
- When a striker was killed in fracas at McCormick Harvesting Machine Company, anarchists called a protest meeting at Haymarket Square. Police intervened and someone hurled a bomb into their ranks, killing 7 policemen and others injured

The American Federation of Labor

- As people began to associate the Knights with violence and radicalism after their supposed doing at Haymarket Square, their membership declined
- Knights place taken by the American Federation of Labor (AFL), a combination of national craft unions
- Its leaders, Adolph Strasser and Samuel Gompers, were originally interested in utopian social reforms
- The soon concentrated on organizing skilled workers and fighting for “bread-and-butter” issues such as higher wages and shorter hours
- Unions, like the AFL, were a kind of club as well as means of defending and advancing their members material interests
- Their chief weapon was the strike
- Federation worked for 8-hour days, employers liability, and mine-safety laws, but avoided direct involvement in politics
- In 1901, the AFL membership passed million mark

Labor Militancy Rebuffed

- The stress of the AFL on the strike reflected the increasing militancy of labor
- Workers felt threatened from all sides: growing size and power of employers; substitution of machines for human skills; invasion of foreign workers willing to accept substandard wages
- The employer behaved like a tyrant, by discharging them when they organized unions, hired scabs to replace strikers, and failed to provide protection of against injury
- Deflation, technological change, and competition kept industrialists under pressure
- When labor was scarce, employers resisted demands for higher wages by arguing that price of labor was controlled by productivity; when it was plentiful, they justified reducing wages by referring to law of supply and demand
- In 1877, a great railroad strike convulsed the nation when violence broke out on the Baltimore and Ohio system in response to wage cut. President Hayes sent troops to restore order
- In 1892, a violent strike broke out among silver miners at Coeur d’Alene, Idaho and another when strikers attacked guards brought to Andrew Carnegie’s Homestead steel plant. This was a struggle between capital and labor in steel industry
- A walkout of members of Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, destroyed unionisms as effective force in steel industry and set back progress all over country
- Activities of radicals turned public against steelworkers
- Boss of the Homestead was Henry Frick, a foe of unions, determined to teach employees a lesson. He decided to bring in strikebreakers and employed Pinkerton detectives
- Most important strike was when workers at George Pullman’s Palace Car factor walked out in protest against wage cuts. Some workers belonged to American Railway Union, headed by Eugene Debs. Union refused to handle trains with Pullman cars after many weeks. Owners refused to run trains unless made up of full complement cars. Resulting railroad strike tied up trunk lines. Cleveland agreed to send troops to preserve order. When Debs defied to end walkout, he was jailed and strike was broken

Whither America, Whither Democracy?

- More of nations wealth and power in fewer hands and industries dominated were mostly by bankers
- Centralization increased efficiency, while public benefited from productive efficiency of new empires, and their living standards rose
- Trend toward giantism raised doubts as ownership was in fewer hands and those who possessed huge fortunes could influence government
- Crushing of Pullman strike demonstrated power of courts to break strikes and courts seemed only concerned with protecting the powerful

- Federal government based its injunction of Pullman strike by the Sherman Antitrust Act, arguing that Union was combination in restraint of trade

American Society in the Industrial Age

- Industrialization that followed Civil War affected every aspect of American life
- New machines, improvements in transportation and communication, and corporations made deep impressions on shape and character of society
- Growth of cities and influx of immigrants had effects on world they inhabited

Middle-Class Life

- Middle-class culture took best aspects of romanticism—the enshrinement of human potential, restless striving for personal betterment, zest for competition and excitement, and tempered them with passion for self-control and regularity
- American society and culture underwent process of incorporation, as predominant form of business seeped into American consciousness
- Middle-class family lost some of its moral fervor and gained a new substantiality
- Transition can be found in Louisa Lacott's *Little Women*
- Families were smaller
- Family relations were stiff and matters pertaining to sexuality were prudish
- There was a commercial explosion in the dissemination of contraceptive devices and practice of abortion
- Children were carefully supervised but interference with love life of children for any materialistic or social reason was seen as improper
- Women remained in home and men worked away from home
- Members of diffused groups of shopkeepers, manufacturers, skilled craftsmen, and farmers lived in varying degrees of comfort
- About a quarter of all urban families employed at least one servant
- Family life defined in terms of tangible goods: clothes, furniture, books, lamps, and all manner of bibelots, naming it the “culture of consumption”
- Thorstein Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class* attacked middle-class culture in 1899

Skilled and Unskilled Workers

- Wage earners felt full force of industrial tide, beneficial and unfortunate
- Number of workers manufacturing and mining multiplied
- More efficient methods of production enabled them to increase output, rising standard of living
- Working day was shortening by 1880s
- Skilled industrial workers were well off in most cases, but unskilled laborers could not earn enough to maintain a family decently
- Industrialization created more problems for workers
- Skilled workers improved positions relatively
- Mechanization undermined artisans and bargaining power
- Machines more than workers controlled pace of work and its duration
- Pace of work and anger involved in working with machinery increased
- Personal contact between employer and hired hand tended to disappear and became more businesslike
- Blue-collar workers rose in industrial hierarchy but bigness made it difficult to rise from ranks of labor
- Industrialization tended to accentuate swings in business cycle as depression made unemployment a problem

Working Women

- Women supplied part of industrial working force but now more were working outside homes
- In all fields, women were paid substantially lower wages than men
- Women found many new types of work as they were majority of salespersons and cashiers in department stores
- Because of the Cult of True Womanhood, managers considered women more polite, easier to control, and more honest
- Educated, middle-class women also dominated nursing, as they were considered to have the needed characteristics of selflessness, cleanliness, kindness, and sensitivity
- Women did replace men as teachers in most grade schools as well as clerks, secretaries, and operators in government departments and business offices

- Men with knowledge that these positions required, had better opportunities
- Department store clerks and typewriters earned more money than unskilled factory workers, and conditions were more pleasant
- Opportunities for promotion for women rare and posts in fields remained in hands of men

Farmers

- Independent farmers and agricultural way of life were being left behind in race for wealth and status
- Number of farmers and volume of production rose, but place in economy was declining
- Industry was expanding far faster and population passing the countryside
- Farmers suffered a decline in status as they seemed provincial and behind the times
- This angered farmers and waves of radicalism swept agricultural regions, giving rise to demands for social and economic opportunities that broke down rural laissez-fair prejudices
- Farmers not at all affected by economic developments in same way
- There was a decline in prices and those in newly settled areas were worse off
- The Granger movement led to many cooperative experiment sin marketing of farm products and in purchases
- Except as a social organization, the Grange had little importance in eastern states, where urban markets made farmers prosperous
- By late 1880s farmers in old Middle West also became better established when depression hit and they were able to weather bad times by taking advantage of lower transportation costs, better farm machinery, and new fertilizers to increase output and change production goods
- On agricultural frontier from Texas to Dakotas, and throw sates of old Confederacy, famers less fortunate
- The crop-lien system in south kept many in penury, while Plains life was succession of hardships
- Frontier families had to work hard and endure hazards along with isolation
- All burdens magnified on prairies and High Plains, as life was hard for farm women who had to perform farm chores

Working-Class Family Life

- Standard of living of people was greatly different among same group
- Differences related to health, intelligence, wife's ability, degree of values, luck, and spending of money
- Family incomes varied greatly among workers who received similar wages
- 2 families were admirable, probably similar in social attitudes and political loyalties but with different standards of living

Working-Class Attitudes

- Reports of the working people's feelings about matters concerning their jobs revealed a wide spectrum of opinion
- There was a great deal of dissatisfaction among industrial workers
- There was a feeling of bitterness and distrust of employers
- Causes of discontent included poverty and rising aspirations
- Workers confused about their destiny
- Although rich were growing richer and more people were growing rich, ordinary workers were better off too
- Gap between rich and ordinary was widening

Working Your Way Up

- Americans believed their society offered great opportunities for individual advancement
- There was a considerable mobility in urban areas
- The way to move up in the world was to move on
- Mobility was accompanied by some economic and social improvement, as manual laborers rose to middle-class status or moved into a skilled job
- Progress was result of economic growth of nation and energy and ambition of people
- Public education also gave a boost to mobility
- In 1860s, half of children getting formal education, but not at any one time, while sessions were short and teachers were not well trained
- Steady growth and improvement took place thereafter
- Attendance in public schools increased and public expenditures for education quadrupled
- Industrialization created demands for vocational and technical training
- Secondary education still assumed to be only for those with special abilities and the rich
- Fewer than 300,000 of 14.3 million children attending public and private schools had progressed beyond 8th grade
- In 1880, Calvin Woodward opened a Manual Training School in St Louis and soon more schools were offering courses in carpentry, metalwork, sewing, and other crafts

- Because manual training attracted industrialists, organized labor suspicious
- By 1910, the AFL lobbying with National Association of Manufacturers for more trade schools
- Education helped young people to rise, but rags to real riches was uncommon
- Business leaders grew up in well-to-do middle-class families, better educated, and members of Protestant church
- Workers continued to subscribe to such middle-class values as hard work and thrift for hope

The “New” Immigration

- Industrial expansion increased need for labor which stimulated immigration
- The launching of the English liner Great Ester opened a new era in transatlantic travel
- Although immigrants traveled in steerage, crossing became less hazardous and speedy with the steamship
- Competition drove down costs and advertising stimulated traffic
- Improvements in transportation produced changes in economies of European countries
- Cheap wheat from other countries poured into Europe bringing disaster to farmers in Europe
- Spreading industrial revolution and farm machinery led to collapse of peasant economy of central and south Europe, which meant loss of self-sufficiency, fragmentation of landholdings, and unemployment
- Political and religious persecutions pushed others into migration, but main reason remained the desire for economic betterment
- Industry absorbed increasing number of newcomers
- Many entered the country by way of NYC
- Before 1882, when, in addition to Chinese, criminals, and persons mentally defective or liable to become public charges were excluded from entry, it was unrestricted
- Medical inspection was perfunctory
- Private agencies served as link between new arrivals and employers looking for labor
- Until Foran Act of 1885 outlawed practice, few companies brought in skilled workers under contract, advancing their passage money and collecting installments from paychecks
- Nationality groups organized immigrant banks that recruited labor, arranged transportation, housed newcomers, and found them jobs
- The *padrone* system of Italians and Greeks was typical, as the *padrone*, someone who agreed to supply gangs of unskilled workers to companies for lump sum, signed on immigrants unfamiliar with American wage levels
- Effects of industrialization in Europe caused shift in sources of immigration from northern and western to southern and eastern sections

New Immigrants Face New Nativism

- The “new” immigrants, like “old” Irish of 1840s were mostly peasants
- Americans thought them harder to assimilate
- Italian immigrants made hard and willing workers, but were not much concerned with being part of community
- There were some “birds of passage,” but immigrant who saved in order to bring family more typical
- Cultural differences among immigrants were often large and had effects on relations with Americans and other immigrants
- Certain groups found it more difficult to adjust because of their different traditions
- German American and Irish American Catholics had different attitudes that caused them to clash over matters of Catholic University
- There were clashes among Catholic, Protestant German Americans, and Greek American groups
- Many “older” Americans concluded that new immigrants incapable of becoming good citizens and should be kept out
- During 1880s, social workers, economists, and church leaders, worried by poor immigrants, began to believe some restriction was needed
- Charitable organizations complained their resources were being exhausted by the needs
- Social Darwinists and those with pseudoscientific ideas about racial purity found immigration alarming
- They decided that peoples of southern and eastern Europe were racially inferior to Anglo—Saxon types
- Workers, fearing competition of people with low living standards, spoke out against immigrants
- Employers were not disturbed by influx but by late 1880s, many alarmed about radicalism of immigrants
- Nativism, which had been under the Know-Nothing party, now flared again
- Nativists disliked Catholics and other minority groups
- Largest nativist organization of period was American Protective Association, founded in 1887, which existed primarily to resist Catholics
- Protestant majority treated immigrants as underlings, tried to keep them out of jobs, and discouraged them from climbing ladder
- Neither labor leaders nor industrialists took broadly antiforeign position
- After Exclusion Act of 1882 and 1885 ban on importing contract labor, no further restrictions were applied until 20th century
- The Immigration Restriction League pushed for the literacy test for admission
- Literacy test bill passed both house in 1897, but President Cleveland vetoed it, saying it was unjustified

The Expanding City and Its Problems

- Many newcomers crowded into cities, aggravation problems of housing, public health, crime, and immorality
- Proportion of urban dwellers had been steadily increasing since 1820
- Population density is not necessarily related to existence of large cities
- The national transportation network made huge metropolises possible
- Expansion of industry had become chief cause of city growth
- Increasing proportion of urban population were immigrants
- Eastern cities developed many ethnic neighborhoods, in each of which immigrants of one nationality congregated
- Newcomers still wanted to maintain traditional culture
- They supported national churches and schools and newspapers in native languages flourished
- Although neighborhoods crowded, unhealthy, and crime-ridden, and many residents were poor, they were not ghettos in European sense, and was a place where one could fulfill their ambitions and hopes
- Many natives accused newcomers of resisting Americanization and blamed them for problems

Teeming Tenements

- Cities suffering from growing pains
- Sewer and water facilities frequently could not keep pace with needs, as drinking water became contaminated
- Fire protection became less and less adequate
- Garbage piled up on street, which were crumbled beneath the traffic
- People poured into cities faster than housing could be built
- Builders squeezed out light and air in order to wedge in a few additional units
- Substandard living quarters aggravated disease and disintegration of family life with mental anguish, crime, and juvenile delinquency
- NYC created a Metropolitan Health Board in 1866 and state tenement house law which regulated city housing
- A law in 1879 placed a limit on percentage of lot of space that could be covered by new construction and established minimal standards of plumbing and ventilation
- Despite efforts, many were still living in small sections being crowded
- Unhealthiness of tenements was notorious
- Number of prison inmates rose and homicide rate nearly tripled
- Slum youths formed gangs
- Petty thievery, shoplifting, housebreaking, bank robbery, and murder became abundant
- Rich ignored conditions in poorer parts of town

The Cities Modernize

- As cities grew, practical forces operated to bring improvements
- In many communities public-spirited groups formed societies to plant trees, clean up areas, and develop recreational facilities
- Gradually basic facilities of urban living were improved
- Streets were paved, gaslights then incandescent lamps brightened cities making law enforcement easier, stimulating night life, and permitting factories to operate later
- Urban transportation underwent changes with the invention of the electric trolley car in 1880s which put end to horse car transportation
- Trolleys were cheaper and quieter
- The first practical electric trolley line was installed in Richmond, VA in 1887
- Lines soon radiated outward from city centers, bringing shoppers to business district
- Ownership of street railways quickly became centralized like all other enterprises
- Streetcars increased the radius of the walking city
- Population shifts resulted as better-off moved away from center, abandoning older neighborhoods
- Economic segregation speeded the growth of ghettos
- Streetcar companies further speeded suburban growth because they assured developers, bankers, builders, and middle-class buyers of efficient transport to center of town
- Advances in bridge design, notably by perfection of steel-cable suspension bridge by Roebling, aided to flow of populations
- High cost of urban real estate was somewhat beneficial in long run
- Architects started to build upward, stone and brick apartment houses replaced dumbbell tenements, and iron-skeleton construction arose while the words skyscraper and skyline entered the language
- The "White City," an evocation of structures, built for Chicago World's Fair of 1893 by Daniel H. Burnham led to national "city beautiful" movement which developed many parks
- Landscape architect Frederick Olmsted, designer of NY Central Park, was a leading figure in movement

- Efforts to relieve slum districts made little headway as more tenement houses that yielded only modest returns were built

Leisure Activities: More Fun and Games

- Cities became centers of artistic and intellectual life
- Saloons were common as workingmen had more free time
- Opposition to sports was evaporating and was replaced by realization that games were healthy occupations
- Bicycling became a fad
- Streetcar companies built picnic grounds and amusement parks at outer limits
- There was a development of spectator sports because of large population
- Horseracing and professional boxing are examples of these sports in which the rich played while the working-class gambled
- Three major team games, baseball, football, and basketball, developed in modern form in last quarter of century
- Organized play led to codification of rules and improvements in technique and strategy
- James Naismith invented the basketball in 1891
- Football evolved out of English rugby
- First intercollege football game occurred between Princeton and Rutgers in 1869
- Most of game's character was work of Walter Camp, athletic director and football coach of Yale
- Camp claimed amateur sports like football taught hard work, cooperation, and fair play
- Sports had little appeal to women at the time and few participated in athletics, only participating in croquet or tennis

Christianity's Conscience and the Social Gospel

- Modernization of cities was not solving social problems of slums
- Urban religious leaders began to take look at situation
- Churches lost influence in poorer sections
- Henry Ward Beecher attributed poverty to improvidence of laborers and declared unions the worst form of tyranny of Christendom
- Increasing proportion of districts were Catholics and Roman church devoted much effort to distributing alms, maintain homes for orphans and old people, and other social welfare but church leaders seemed unconcerned with social causes of problem
- They committed to idea that sin and vice were personal, poverty an act of God
- Catholic hierarchy was neutral toward organized labor as they criticized capitalism and declared works were entitled to good wages, but actions were slow in coming
- Some earnest preachers worked directly to improve the poor of the city
- Dwight Moody, conducted a campaign to persuade slums to cast aside sinful ways
- Evangelists founded mission schools in slums and tried to provide spiritual and recreational facilities, along with the YMCA and Salvation Army
- However, evangelists paid little heed to cause of urban poverty and vice, believing faith in God would enable poor to transcend
- Protestant clergymen preached the "Social Gospel" which focused on improving living conditions rather than saving souls
- Social Gospelers advocated civil service reform, child labor legislation, regulation of big corporations, and heavy taxes on incomes
- Most influential preacher was Washington Gladden, who defended labor's right to organize and strike, and denounced idea that supply and demand should control wages. He also favored factory inspection laws and strict regulation of public utilities
- Reverend William Bliss, who founded the Society of Christian Socialists, and others advocated government unemployment relief programs, public housing and slum clearance projects
- Charles Sheldon's novel *In His Steps* in 1896 showed the reform and moral regeneration of city

The Settlement Houses

- Many grappled with slum problems by organizing settlement houses, which were community centers located in poor districts that provided guidance and services to all who would use them
- The settlement workers, who were idealistic, well-to-do young people, lived in the houses and were active in affairs
- Prototype of house was London's Toynbee Hall
- First American example was Neighborhood Guild, opened by Dr. Stanton Coit
- Most famous was Jane Addam's Hull House in Chicago (1889), Robert Woods South End House in Boston (1892), and Lillian Wald's Henry Street Settlement in NY (1893)
- Most important workers were women fresh from college as settlements provided outlet for their hopes and energies
- Settlement workers tried to interpret American ways to new immigrants and to create community spirit in order to teach them the right way
- They expected to benefit morally and intellectually by experiencing way of life different from own
- They agitated for tenement house laws, regulation of labor of women and children, and better schools

- They employed private resources to establish playgrounds along with libraries, classes, social clubs, and day-care centers
- They tried to place children of struggling families in foster homes
- Robert Woods organized clubs to get youngsters off the streets, established restaurant, acted as arbitrator in labor disputes, and lobbied for laws tightening franchises of public utility companies
- Jane Addams developed a cultural program that included music and art classes
- Hull House boasted a gymnasium, day nursery, and social clubs, also working to improve public services and for social legislation
- Critics considered houses devices to socialize unruly poor
- First Catholic-run settlement house was founded in 1898 in NY
- With all accomplishments, houses seemed to be fighting a losing battle
- The influx of many new immigrants made it difficult for houses to keep up
- The wealth and authority of the state must be used to keep order of the problem

Civilization and Its Discontents

- Majority of American people remained optimists and uncritical admirers of their civilization
- However, blacks, immigrants, and others who failed to share equitable in life, along with reformers found little to cheer about
- Giant monopolies flourished despite federal restrictions
- The slum spread its poison and the materially successful made a god of their success
- Human values seemed in grave danger of being crushed by forces by the great corporations
- Divorce rate and taste for luxury items increased
- Heart disease and mental illness were on the rise
- Voices of dissatisfied were rising
- It was by no means clear around 1900 that American people were really better off under new dispensation

Intellectual and Cultural Trends

- Industrialization altered the way Americans thought at same time that it transformed their ways of making a living
- Technological advances revolutionized the communication of ideas
- Materialism towards business also affected contemporary education and literature
- New ideas about how children should be educated and what they should be taught emerged
- Americans made significant contributions in hard sciences and soft social sciences
- A new literary flowering comparable to “renaissance” of 1840s and 1850s occurred in 1870s and 1880s

The Knowledge Revolution

- Improvements in education and needs of society cause a revolution in how knowledge was discovered, disseminated, and put to use
- The Chautauqua movement founded by John Vincent and Lewis Miller illustrates the desire for new information. They were in charge of Sunday schools and organized summer course for Sunday school teachers
- They later included instruction in literature, science, government, and economics
- By 1900 there were about 200 Chautauqua-type organizations
- In general, intellectual standards were low and moneymaking was its motivator
- The movement did however provide opportunities for many seeking stimulation and intellectual improvement
- Private donors, including Andrew Carnegie, contributed millions to private libraries
- New technology, like the web press, linotype machine, and machines to make paper out of wood made the newspaper an even more important means of sending information to the masses
- Telegraph and transoceanic cables brought similar transformation
- Population growth and better education created a larger demand for printed matter
- Advertising became important and soon newspapers and magazines became means of placing products before consumers
- Cheap, mass-circulation papers first appeared in 1830s but the first publisher to reach a massive audience was Joseph Pulitzer who made a first-rate paper of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* by devoting headlines to scandal, crime, society, and theater along with political cartoons, sports, comics, and pictures
- He attacked political corruption, monopoly, and slum problems in his paper *World*
- Pulitzer had originality, boldness, and knack of reaching masses without abandoning seriousness of purpose and integrity

Magazine Journalism

- By the turn of the century there were more than 5000 magazines
- Handful of periodicals were staid in tone and conservative in political caste
- The magazines contained articles on current affairs, with fiction and poetry, and historical and biographical studies
- Magazines directed at average citizen were of low quality, including those of Frank Leslie
- After 1885, vast changes began to take place as new magazines such as *Forum* and *Arena* emphasized hard hitting articles on controversial subjects
- In 1889, Edward Bok became editor of *Ladies' Home Journal*, offering advice columns, articles on child care, gardening, and interior decorating, published fiction novelists, and commissioned public figures
- Invention of cheap photoengraving was significant in success of magazines and crusaded for women's suffrage, conservation, and other reforms
- They found ways of interesting rich and poor, the cultivated and ignorant
- They utilized new printing technology to cut costs and drew heavily on advertising to make fortunes but sell magazines for 10 or 15 cents

Colleges and Universities

- Aspirations of youth were rising, and more and more parents had financial means to fulfill them
- There was an alteration in their curricula and in atmosphere permeating the average campus
- The Morrill Act of 1862, was a land-grant program by federal government in support of training in agriculture and mechanic arts
- Philanthropists poured fortunes into institutions and founded new ones, educators introduced new courses and adopted new methods, and professional schools increased in number
- In 1869, a chemist Charles Eliot undertook a transformation of Harvard by introducing the elective system, gradually eliminating required courses and expanding offerings
- He also encouraged faculty to experiment with new teaching methods and brought in new professors
- Standard of medical school were raised
- Important development was founding of Johns Hopkins 1876, established by wealthy industrialists. Gilman, its first president modeled Hopkins on German universities, where meticulous research and freedom of inquiry were main principles.
- Johns Hopkins specialized in graduate education
- The school encouraged other wealthy individuals to endow universities offering advanced work
- At John Rockefellers creation, the University of Chicago, academic freedom was rule
- State and federal aid to higher education expanded rapidly
- Morrill Act, which granted land to each state at 30,000 acres for each senator and representative, provided endowments for universities
- Advances were made in women's higher education as Vassar college opened its doors to women students in 1865
- Wellesley and Smith both founded in 1875 completed the so called Big Three colleges
- Only professional careers easily available to women were nursing, teaching, and social work but women were determined to demonstrate their capabilities
- Elective system led to superficiality and students gained small amount of knowledge of many subjects rather than mastering one
- Gifts of rich sometimes came with strings, and college boards were dominated by businessmen
- At many institutions, trustees exerted nagging pressures that limited academic freedom and scholarly objectivity
- As universities grew bigger, administration became more complicated and administrators rose inordinately
- Influence of alumni on educational policies began to make itself felt as campus social activities became more important
- Fraternities proliferated and sports were becoming contests
- Complex society required a more professional and specialized education for its youth
- Coarseness, materialism, and competitiveness found expression in colleges and universities

Scientific Advances

- Period produced intellectual achievements of highest quality
- Intellectuals created works that affected country profoundly
- A giant among figures was Josiah Willard Gibbs, a professor of mathematical physics at Yale who created a new science, physical chemistry
- Gibbs's ideas led to vital advances in metallurgy and manufacture of plastics, drugs, and other products
- Another figure was Albert Michelson of University of Chicago, who made first accurate measurements of speed of light and helped to prepare way for Einstein's theory of relativity. He was the first American scientist to win a Nobel Prize in 1907.

Revolution in the Social Sciences

- Close connection existed between issues of age and achievements of leading thinkers
- There was an application of theory of evolution and impact of industrialization on society
- Darwin increased the interest in studying development of institutions and their interactions
- Controversies over trusts, slum conditions, and other problems drew scholars into practical affairs
- Social scientists applied the scientific method to their own specialties
- Group of young economists who argued that as times changed, economic theories and laws must be modified in order to remain relevant
- This produced the institutionalist school of economics, whose members made investigations of labor unions, sweatshops, factories, and mines
- Similar revolution struck sociology in mid-1880s as people began to reject idea of government interference with organization of society. The group's leader was Herbert Spencer, who twisted ideas of Darwin to mean that society could be changed only by force of evolution
- Nineteenth-century thinkers concerned themselves with abstractions, such as states' rights, and ignored aspect of politics, such as parties and pressure groups
- Woodrow Wilson analyzed the American political system and viewed politics a dynamic process and offered no objection to expansion of state power

Progressive Education

- Good teaching now called for professional training, psychological insight, enthusiasm, and imagination
- Evolutionists were pressing for a kind of education that would help children to "survive" by adapting to demands of their environment
- John Dewey, a professor, summarized and gave direction to forces. He was concerned with implications of evolution for education
- In 1896, Dewey founded the Laboratory School to put educational ideas to the test
- He stated that education was the fundamental method of social progress and reform and children's imagination, energy, and curiosity are tools for broadening their outlook and increasing their store of information
- The school should become an instrument for social reform and help to produce a society which is worth and harmonious
- Dewey soon assumed leadership of progressive education and change was in the air

Law and History

- Even jurisprudence felt pressure of evolutionary thought and new emphasis on studying institutions
- Oliver Holmes Jr. published *The Common Law* in 1881 and rejected ideas that judges should limit themselves to mechanical explication of statutes and that law consisted only of what was written in law books. He argued that necessities of the time rather than precedent should determine rules by which people are governed.
- Laws should evolve as times and conditions change
- This reasoning caused no reversal of judicial practice
- An essentially democratic concept was the frontier thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner, who wrote essay arguing that frontier experience had affected the thinking of people and shape of institutions. He claimed that everything unique in our culture could be traced to existence of frontier
- Turner's work showed how important it was to investigate evolution of institutions and encouraged historians to study social and economic subjects

Realism in Literature

- Romanticism had lost its creative force and most writing in decade after 1865 was sentimental trash pandering to preconceptions of middle-class readers
- Magazines overflowed with stories about fair ladies worshiped by heroes, women coping with drunken husbands, and poor youths rising through combinations of virtue and assiduity to positions of wealth and influence
- Most writers tended to ignore eternal conflicts inherent in human nature and social problems as entertainment appeared their only objectives
- Important forces giving rise to Age of Realism were industrialism, the theory of evolution, and new science
- Novelists undertook examination of social problems, conflict between capital and labor, and political corruption

Mark Twain

- Outstanding figure of western literature and first great American realist was Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens)
- Earlier he had published humorous stories about local life
- He got recognized with such stories as "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras county" and *The Innocents Abroad*

- Twain's greatness stemmed from his reportorial eye and ear, eagerness to life to the full, his sense of humor, and ability to be at once in society and outside
- He wrote about America and Europe, his own times and feudal past, about tourists, slaves, tycoons, cracker-barrel philosophers, and human destiny
- Twain excelled every contemporary in the portrayal of character
- Twain's masterpiece was *Huckleberry Finn* in 1884
- Twain always put much of his experience and feeling into his work
- His confusions, clash between recognition of pretentiousness and meanness of humans and wish to be accepted added depths to his writing
- His works caught the spirit of the age

William Dean Howells

- Twain's realism far less self-conscious than that of friend William Howells
- He had little formal education
- Howells wrote sketches, worked for *The Nation*, and then became an editor earlier
- He was not at first a critic of society, being content to write about smiling aspect of life
- He concerned the complexities of individual personalities and faithful description of middle-class world he knew best
- He had a sharp eye, open mind, and a real social conscience
- He later dealt with problems that industrialization had created
- He dealt with ethical conflicts faced by businessmen, fought campaign to prevent execution of Haymarket anarchists
- He attempted to portray the whole range of metropolitan life, weaving destinies of dozen of interesting personalities from diverse social classes in *A Hazard of New Fortunes*
- He helped bring the best contemporary foreign writers and encouraged young American novelists
- Naturalist writers went beyond Howells's realism and believed human being was essentially an animal, a helpless creature whose fate was determined by environment
- Their world was Darwin's world and wrote chiefly about most primitive emotions
- Stephen Crane and Frank Norris were among these writers

Henry James

- Henry James was very different in spirit and background from naturalists
- He was born to wealth and spent much of his life in Europe, writing novels, short stories, plays, and volumes of criticism
- He was preeminently a realist
- James yearned for recognition of Americans but unable to modify his rarefied, overly subtle manner of writing
- He never achieved widespread popularity
- His major theme was the clash of American and European cultures, his interest of the wealthy, sensitive, yet often corrupt persons in society
- James dealt with social issues such as feminism and difficulties faced by artists in the modern world
- His writings included *The American*, *The Portrait of a Lady*, and *The Bostonians*
- James reputation rests on his refined accounts of interactions of individuals and their environment and commentaries on novel as literary form
- He was so dedicated to his art, possessed psychological penetration, and succeeded in producing large body of work

Realism in Art

- Romantic tradition retained its vitality
- Thomas Eakins passed his life teachings and painting in America
- He mastered human anatomy, experimented with motion pictures, and gloried in the ordinary
- His portraits are monuments to his integrity and craftsmanship
- Winslow Homer was best known for his brilliant watercolors and was also influenced by realist ideas
- He painted scenes of southern farm life, Adirondack campers, and seascapes and studies of fishermen and sailors
- Homers work contains romantic elements
- The outstanding romantic painter of the period was Albert Pinkham Ryder, a genius haunted by mystery and poetry of sea
- Ryder typified the solitary romantic as he painted heavily glazed paintings of the sea and boats
- The careers of Eakins, Homer, and Ryder show that American environment was not uncongenial to first-rate artists
- James McNeill Whistler was a talented and versatile artist who painted portraits of realism and studies of waterfront which were romantic in conception
- They had a influence on the course of modern art

- Second important artist was Mary Cassatt, who was caught up in impressionist movement and decided to become a serious painter
- Museums and art schools increase in number
- Wealthy patrons gave commissions to portrait painters and poured fortunes into collecting
- Advanced painters of day were not rejected by wealthy patrons

The Pragmatic Approach

- Theory of evolution, important in altering views of science, history, and social relations, produced changes in thinking about religious and philosophical questions
- Evolution posed immediate challenge to religion and bitter controversy erupted
- Some provided religious persons with comfort that evolution, while true, was God's way of ordering the universe
- Charles Peirce, an obscure thinker, argued that concepts could be fairly understood only in terms of their practical effort and that once evolution was believed; logic required that it accept the impermanence even of scientific laws. This philosophy is called pragmatism
- William James helped many readers to reconcile their religious faith with their increasing knowledge of psychology and physical universe
- James's wide range and imagination made him the most influential philosopher of the time
- He rejected the deterministic interpretation of Darwinism and all other explanations
- He believed in free will and stated that the mind has a vote in determining truth
- The pragmatic approach inspired much of reform spirit
- James shattered the laissez-faire extremism
- His philosophy did much to revive optimism of reform movement
- Pragmatism brought Americans face-to-face with somber problems while it bred insecurity
- Theory justified that what worked was more important than what ought to be
- It encouraged materialism, anti-intellectualism, and other unlovely aspects of Americans

Industrialization (1877 – 1920)

Famous Inventors and Their New Technologies

- From 1860 to 1900 a second, more complete wave of industrialization swept the country, this time focusing on new inventions such as electricity rather than the already explored steam power. Some memorable people involved in this were...
 - **Thomas Edison** ["The Wizard of Menlo Park"] – Edison first set up his lab in Menlo Park in **1876**, and in **1878** he formed the **Edison Electrical Company**, which was responsible for the invention of the **light bulb**, the **generator**, and many other appliances that utilized electricity. Edison was also memorable for his self-promotion and publicity efforts.
 - **George Westinghouse** – Westinghouse discovered how to use alternating current and transformers to transmit electricity over long distances. This made Edison's generators feasible power sources. Westinghouse also devised an air break for RRD cars.
 - **Granville Woods** ["The Black Edison"] – Woods patented 35 electronics/communications things, including the electromagnetic brake and automatic circuit breaker. He sold them to GE.
 - **Henry Ford** – In the 1890s Ford experimented w/the internal combustion engine (i.e. car). But his biggest achievement was his manufacturing scheme – the mass-production of identical cars for mass consumption. Ford created the **Ford Motor Company** in **1903** and, by doing so, democratized the car.
 - **Du Pont Family** – The DP's applied Ford's techniques to the chemical industry, resulting in great innovations in plastics (**1911**) and new forms of efficient management.
 - **James Bonsack** – Bonsack revitalized the tobacco industry by inventing a machine for rolling cigarettes in **1876**. His invention was popularized by **James B. Duke**, owner of the American Tobacco Company.
 - **Railroads** – development of land away from water sources. Lead to demand in coal. Increased shipping results in larger market. Cornelius Vanderbilt controls N.Y. Central.
 - **Iron and Steel** – Andrew Carnegie controlled ¼ of the steel industry. Vertical organization to buy everything needed to make steel. Mesabi and Vermillion Range provided much of the country's iron ore.
 - **Coal** – used for steam engines. High costs. New deposits brought prices down.
 - **Oil** – John D. Rockefeller's cut throat competition involved horizontal organization (buy out competition) to create monopolies, high profits, efficiency, stability, and standardization. By 1898, 80% of the nation's oil was owned by Rockefeller. Kerosene was a chief product.
- These developments encouraged general optimism, even in the South, where mills began to use automatic looms [fewer skilled workers] and electric lighting [longer hours]. These mills, like Southern steel and iron manufacturing, were developed by Northern investors in the 1880s. But e/t the South was improving, it would not really emerge until after WWI.

- Remember: new marketing techniques and new inventions went hand in hand. The key thing about the successful inventors was that they knew how to sell their stuff. The rise of the machine also led to changes in the economy that made large-scale production more profitable and desirable [**economies of scale**] and created a new focus on **efficiency**, as advocated by **Frederick W. Taylor** [efficiency = science].

The Effect of the Machine on the Economy

- Industrialization implied that factories had to be large and operate at capacity to make profits; but they also had to sell, which meant prices had to remain low. To make this possible, businesses had to expand production and reduce wages. This required loans, and loans required more production, and so on. This cycle effectively wiped out small firms.
- Consequently, to deal with the constant uncertainty of the market conditions, businesses began centralizing to control their corners of the market. Some consolidating techniques included...
 - Corporations:** Under corporation laws, anyone could start a company and raise money by selling stock to investors, who would face no personal risk other than the money they invested. Corporations gained more power due to SC rulings in the 1880s and 1890s that gave them the same 14th Amendment protections as individuals.
 - Pools:** Basically, pools were “Gentlemen’s Agreements” between companies that set limits on production and agreed to the sharing of profits. Since they depended on honesty, though, their usefulness had already died by the time they were outlawed among RRDs in **1887**.
 - Trusts:** Originated by Rockefeller, trusts relied on the principle that one company could control another by forcing it to yield control of its stock to the bigger company’s board of trustees. This allowed for **horizontal integration**, which was pioneered by **Rockefeller** in **1882** w/Standard Oil [ex. take over all oil refineries].
 - Holding Companies:** In **1888** New Jersey allowed corporations to own property in other states and own stock in other corporations. This led to the holding company, which owned interest in other companies and could help merge them. This led to **vertical integration** like **Gustavus Swift** achieved w/meat processing [ex. take over all meat related industries].
- So mergers were answer to the search for order and profits in the business world. The biggest corporation of the time was the **US Steel Corporation**, created by **J.P. Morgan** in **1901**. Speaking of J.P., the merger movement created those wonderful people we all know and love, the brokers, who specialized in engineering mergers. Everyone joined the investing frenzy; regulations were loosened, laissez-faire, etc.

The Effect of the Machine on Labor

- Mechanization obviously meant big changes for workers, who were forced to acclimate themselves to new factory conditions that minimized their independence. Some significant trends included:
 - The replacement of the producer by the employee:* most workers no longer were their own bosses. Instead, they were paid for time on the job.
 - Specialization and the devaluation of skilled labor:* workers in mass-production assembly lines found themselves doing the same stupid little task over and over again instead of making their own decisions about techniques, starting and stopping times, etc.
 - Increased company control:* in efforts to increase worker efficiency, employers tried to establish temperance/reform societies and control workers’ social lives. Other employers began paying per item produced rather than by hour.
 - Employment of women and children:* as the need for skilled workers decreased, employers cut costs by hiring women and children for assembly lines. Women also worked in the service sector and in sales/secretarial positions. By 1900, some state laws limited the employment of children, but many companies still got away with it.
 - Decreased independence:* in addition to finding their actual jobs more constricting, workers found that their wages were largely beyond their control and were often unable to find steady work – i.e. they were trapped by the system.
 - New threats at the workplace:* workers encountered industrial accidents, etc.
- So basically the machine gave the workers the crap end of the deal. Worse still, they weren’t allowed to organize effectively as a result of a series of anti-labor decisions, and free-market views made it difficult for legislation dealing with working hours and conditions to be passed.
- Supreme Court cases dealing with labor regulation:
 - Holden v. Hardy (1896)* – Court upheld regulation on miners’ working hours
 - Lochner v. New York (1905)* – Court rejected regulation on bakers’ working hours b/c job not considered to be dangerous, interference w/contract = violation of Fourteenth Amendment
 - Muller v. Oregon (1908)* – Court upheld regulation on women laundry workers’ working hours, claiming that women needed special protection, led to laws banning women from occupations
- Generally, though, workers did not make much progress, which led to the...

The Union Movement

- Important **strikes/events** relating to the Unions:
 - 1877:** In July, Unionized RRD workers struck to protest wage cuts [b/c of **Panic of 1873**]. The strikes led to violence, which was broken up by state militia companies hired by the employers. Strikebreakers were also hired. Finally Hayes sent federal troops to quell the unrest. After 1877, the union movement really began picking up speed. Trade unions, which specialized in

skilled workers in particular crafts, had been around for years, but no real organizations of nat'l scope survived the panic except for the **Knights of Labor**.

- **Haymarket Riot** [May 1, 1886]: In Chicago, several groups joined for the campaign for an 8-hour workday and organized mass strikes and labor demonstrations. Workers involved included the craft unions as well as anarchists. Consequently, in response to an outbreak of police brutality a bomb was set off in Haymarket Square [presumably by anarchists], resulting in the arrest of 8 immigrant radicals, some of who were pardoned. The HR led to increased paranoia with respect to anarchism and labor.
- **July 1892**: AFL-affiliated Iron and Steelworkers Association went on strike in Pennsylvania, causing **Henry Frick** to close the plant and hire Pinkerton detectives to defend it. Although the strikers eventually gave in, it gave the union more bad PR due to workers attacking, etc.
- **Pullman Strike** [1894]: To protest Pullman's policies in his company town, workers walked out at the factory. Pullman would not negotiate, so workers for the American Railway Union called a strike. Pullman closed the factory; the Union [**Eugene V. Debs**] refused to handle Pullman cars; and finally a court injunction was used to stop the strike.
- Important workers' organizations:
 - **Knights of Labor**: Founded in **1869** by **Terence V. Powderly**, the KOL welcomed all unskilled and semiskilled workers on a nat'l level. The basic ideology of the KOL was pretty utopian: i.e. they wanted to get rid of capitalism in favor of a "cooperative workers' alliance" in which workers worked for themselves. Consequently, the KOL refused to strike, b/c it would go against the "cooperative" idea. As a result of their cooperative policies, the KOL lost influence, esp. after, in **1886**, a strike began among a sector of the KOL against RRD boss Jay Gould to protest cut wages. Powderly met with Gould and called off the strike, but Gould would not concede, so the militant unions began to quit the KOL, seeing it as weak.
 - **American Federation of Labor**: The AFL emerged as the major organization after **1866**. Led by **Samuel Gompers**, it avoided the KOL idealistic rhetoric, concentrated on concrete goals [higher wages, shorter hours, right to bargain collectively], and excluded unskilled workers and women. The AFL also avoided party politics.
 - **Industrial Workers of the World** [IWW, "Wobblies"]: The IWW, which aimed to unite all workers, was basically a socialist/anarchist organization that believed violence was justified to overthrow capitalism. The organization finally collapsed in WWI.
- *Women in the Union movement*: most Unions rejected women due to a fear of competition [women would work for lower wages] and sex segregation. Still, some women formed their own Unions, and in **1903** the **Women's Trade Union League** was founded. The WTUL encouraged protective legislation, education, and women's suffrage – it was an important link between labor and the women's movements.
- *Immigrants/AA in the Union movement*: most Unions also rejected immigrants and African Americans b/c of lower wages, and prejudices were reinforced when blacks worked as strikebreakers.
- REMEMBER only a portion of workers were in unions; job instability really made it hard for organizations to form effectively. Fraternal societies were also prevalent during the time.

Standards of Living

- Industrialization created the beginnings of the monster we now know as our fully commercialized society. Formerly isolated communities began to, through electricity and communications, get access to good and services. Status became more based on \$ [more mobility]; but the gap between rich and poor grew.
- Incomes rose a lot, but then again so did prices. Working class families could hypothetically afford new stuff, but they would have had to find additional sources of income [i.e. subletting, child labor]. Overall, though, paid employment became more prevalent, leading to the growth of our commercial society.
- *Some symptoms of commercialization*: higher life expectancy due to advances in medical care and better diets, more upwards mobility [education became key], flush toilets, processed and preserved foods, ready-made clothing, department and chain stores, and my personal favorite, advertising.

Ideologies of the Time

- So what do you say when many small businesses are being ruthlessly crushed by mega-big moguls? It's easy! **Social Darwinism**, originally advocated by **Herbert Spencer**, was taken over by Yale professor **William Graham Sumner** and stated that the survival of the fittest implied that the gov't should stay out and let the rightful winners take their share. Monopolies = natural accumulation of power.
- To add on to that, there was the **Andrew Carnegie Gospel of Wealth** concept: wealth carries moral responsibilities, and it's good we moguls have it all b/c that way we can be the guardians of society. Gimme a break! Still, some industrialists did give a lot to charities.
- It's important to note that, though laissez-faire was the big concept, business leaders still pressed the gov't for assistance, which it provided in the form of tariffs on foreign goods [allowed them to raise prices], subsidies, loans, and tax breaks.
- Naturally, all this activity didn't go by unnoticed, and some people certainly spoke out against it, portraying corporations as greedy and voicing fears of monopolies.
- Some favored gov't regulation or even socialism: in **1883** sociologist **Lester Ward** appealed for gov't intervention and a cooperative philosophy in *Dynamic Sociology*, in **1879** writer **Henry George** asked for a tax on the rise in property values in *Progress and*

Poverty, and in **1888** novelist **Edward Bellamy** wrote of a utopian, council of elders controlled city where jobs were managed by a small elite in *Looking Backward*.

- As a result of popular pressure, states began to prohibit monopolies. But a nat'l level of legislation was needed, and it only came in **1890** with the **Sherman Anti-Trust Act**, which was left vague but made illegal anything that was in "restraint of trade." Ironically, through, the act was used against striking workers more than it was against trusts.
- A short list of SC cases regarding trusts:
 - *Munn v. IL (1877)* – RRDs discriminated against farmers, so IL passed pro-farming legislation in the *Grange Laws*. This was challenged by the corporations, but the SC ruled in favor of state regulation b/c it had a direct effect on the general public.
 - *Wabash, St. Louis and Pacific RR Co. v. IL (1886)* – Reversal of 1877 decision, only the federal gov't was declared able to regulate interstate commerce.
 - *US v. EC Knight Co. (1895)* – Sugar company had monopolized industry, so Cleveland ordered a case against the trust, but the SC ruled that the sugar people were in manufacturing, not commerce, so it was okay.

The Progressive Era (1895 – 1920)

Progressivism: An Overview

- In 1912, a new party emerged on the political scene, calling themselves the **Progressives**. The formation of the party was actually the culmination of a series of reform movements that began in the 1890s.
- Some general **CAUSES** of Progressivism:
 - *The 1890s* – In the 1890s, all the tensions built up during industrialization broke loose in the **Panic of 1893** with a series of labor problems, political issues, and foreign entanglements.
 - *Capitalism OUT OF CONTROL* – Partially b/c of the depression, many people started to realize that capitalism needed just a bit of restraint because of its monopolistic tendencies and rampant destruction of natural resources
 - *Cities* – Disease, poverty and crime were often rampant.
 - *Immigration and the rise of a new socio-economic elite* – This made people nervous.
- The bottom line of Progressivism was this: **SOCIETY IS RESPONSIBLE FOR INDIVIDUALS AND SHOULD HELP THEM** (as opposed to Gilded Age and the idea for every-man-for-himself Social Darwinism). This manifested itself through a desire to:
 - *End Abuses of Power* – Trust-busting, consumers' rights, good government.
 - *Build New Institutions* – Schools, hospitals
 - *Be Efficient*
 - *Achieve Perfection*

Politics in the Progressive Era

- Party loyalty and voter turnout declined as politics opened to new interest groups, each of which had their own agendas. These organizations included: professional groups, women's organizations, issue-oriented groups, civic clubs, and minority groups. So, politics became more fragmented and issue-driven.
- Politics became more open to foreign models/ideas and reform took on a far more urban orientation, as opposed to the Populist movement that culminated in the 1896 election. This was partially due to the leadership of the new middle class [professionals], who lived in the cities.
- Another novelty was **Muckraking Journalism**. Books to know: **Steffen's** *The Shame of the Cities* (1904), **Upton Sinclair's** *The Jungle* (1906), **Ida Tarbell** [Standard Oil], **Thomas Nast's** political cartoons, etc.
- Then there was the movement towards more direct participation in government, which, it was hoped, would control corruption. Progressives wanted: the **initiative**, the **referendum**, and the **recall**.
- One thing to remember – not everyone in the PE was actually a Progressive. Plenty of people opposed them, such as Socialists, business leaders, and anti-government interference people.

Governmental and Legislative Reform

- Progressives especially saw the government as a tool that would ensure social justice and act against inefficiency and exploitation, but first they felt they had to eliminate corruption.
- City reformation began in **1901**, when a **hurricane** ripped through Texas destroying many cities including **Galveston**. The city formed commissions systems to rebuild the town and elected honest reform mayors to head them, kicking out the old bosses. This led to the elimination of almost all of the city bosses.
- State reformation began in Wisconsin. Governor **Robert La Follette** installed a major reform program with direct primaries, fairer taxes, RRD regulation, and commissions staffed by experts. This crusade worked to some extent throughout the country – by 1916, all but 3 states had the initiative, referendum and recall.
- When it came to labor regulation legislation was much more effective because both reformers and bosses supported it. States passed laws protecting public health and safety (police), supporting factory inspection, requiring accident compensation, and banning child labor.
- Reforms were also being made at the national level at this time. The **16th Amendment** started the poll tax; the **17th Amendment** gave the people direct election of senators; the **19th Amendment** gave women the right to vote. More controversial reforms included

drinking habits [**Anti-Saloon League** (1893)], which resulted in the **Eighteenth Amendment** outlawing the sale of liquor, and prostitution (“white slavery”), which resulted in the passage of the **Mann Act** (1910), which prohibited transportation of a woman for immoral purposes across state lines.

New Philosophies in the Progressive Era

- Changes in society prompted a multitude of new ideas during the Progressive Era, including:
 - *Education* – For the first time, educators were faced w/ masses of children going to school full time. Schools began to expand their curriculums – still, women/blacks were left out of educational opportunities. Person to know: philosopher **John Dewey** [*The School and Society* (1899), *Democracy and Education* (1916)]
 - *Law* – A new legal philosophy, led by **Roscoe Pound**, held that social reality should influence legal thinking – i.e. the law should reflect society’s needs and work from experience [gathering scientific data]. Of course, this methodology met opposition in the old *laissez-faire* judges, who struck down public safety regulations in cases like *Lochner v. NY* (1905). But some were also upheld, like the decision in *Holden v. Hardy* (1898).
 - *Social Science* – Similar to changes in law, new scholars began to argue that economic relationships depended on social conditions. Progressive historians [**Frederick Jackson Turner**, **Charles A. Beard**] also emphasized the flexibility of the Constitution – it has to serve each age in its own way.
 - *Public Health* – New organizations, like the **National Consumers League** joined scientists to combat workplace hazards, help female workers, and urge for food safety regulations.
 - *Eugenics* – Because of Darwin, some people [**Francis Galton**] came up w/the idea that society had an obligation to prevent “defective” people from reproducing. This resulted in laws in some states allowing sterilization of criminals and the mentally ill. This thinking received a boost in *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916) by Madison Grant, which held that immigrants were threatening the superior Nordic race.
- MOST IMPORTANTLY, though, was the **Social Gospel** – Underlying all Progressive actions was the idea that people have an obligation to help improve society. This idea was rooted in religion, and in the previous evangelical reform movement philosophies.

Challenges to Racial/Sexual Discrimination

- Progressives ignored most minorities, but they found their own leaders willing to challenge inequality. By 1900, blacks in the South faced constant segregation via Jim Crow laws, discrimination, and violence. This held true, to a lesser degree, even when they moved north.
- There were two main leaders/responses to the problem faced by blacks:
 - **Booker T. Washington** [rural] – Through “Self-Help” [hard work leading to economic success], Washington felt that blacks could *eventually* acquire social and political rights. For the time being, however, he felt that they should compromise with whites – though he did not feel blacks were inferior, he still endorsed a separate-but-equal policy. But his views, as presented in the **Atlanta Exposition** (1895), encountered opposition from more radical elements.
 - **WEB Du Bois** [urban] – In response to Washington, Du Bois felt that blacks should not have to tolerate white domination and should immediately fight for their social and political rights. Du Bois met with supporters at the **Niagara Conference** and, in 1909, he joined white liberals to form the NAACP, which advocated an end to discrimination.
- American Indians attempted to form the Society of American Indians (SAI), but it didn’t work out as a governing body because racial pride gave way to tribal pride, not unity.
- The Woman’s Movement heralded an important shift in ideas to the new idea that women needed equality and independence. The latter idea, which arose around 1910, was known as *feminism*. With feminism came the idea of sex rights and birth control as proposed by leader **Margaret Sanger**, who formed the American Birth Control League and managed to make the issue part of public debate. Suffrage, led by **Harriot Blatch**, was the most widely known movement. Feminists argued that women needed the vote as political leverage to get better working conditions [all women worked, she argued, whether paid/unpaid]. They also argued that their voting would bring better ethics to politics. The suffragists achieved successes through writing letters, NAWSA articles, marches of the **National Woman’s Party** [**Alice Paul**] and, most of all, women’s roles in WWI. As a result, the **19th Amendment** was finally passed in 1920.

Theodore “Teddy” Roosevelt and the Revival of the Presidency

- After the assassination of McKinley in **September 1901**, young **Theodore Roosevelt** was sent into the White House. Roosevelt supported regulatory legislation, obsessed over “manliness,” and was a brilliant rhetorician and publicity monger.
- Issues addressed by TR:
 - *Trust-Busting* – TR agreed w/Progressives that the new era needed a bigger, stronger national government that would act as an umpire in the big business game, deciding which business were okay and which weren’t. TR wasn’t as big a “trust-buster” as he claimed and only attacked “bad” trusts [he even instructed his **Bureau of Corporations** to assist in some forms of expansion], he did use the Justice Dept. to prosecute trusts that were exploiting the public, like the *Northern Securities* case (1904).
 - *Regulatory Legislation* – TR also supported regulatory legislation, like the **Hepburn Act** (1906), which gave the ICC more authority to set railroad rates. Also, TR investigated the meat industry [**Upton Sinclair’s** *The Jungle*] and subsequently

supported the **Meat Inspection Act** (1906) and the **Food and Drug Act** (1906). In both areas, however, TR compromised rather than risk not gaining anything.

- *Labor* – With regards to labor, TR generally favored investigation and arbitration. In the **United Mine Workers Strike** (1902), he raised public opinion in favor of the miners and threatened to use troops to reopen the mines to force arbitration by a commission, which eventually raised wages, reduced hours and required dealing with grievances [but didn't require recognition of the union]. With labor, TR felt only some organizations were legitimate, and wished to keep control.
- *Conservation* – TR made huge changes in federal policy towards resources by keeping land in the public domain and supporting the **Newlands Reclamation Act** (1902), which controlled sales of irrigated land in the West. He increased national forests and created the **US Forest Service** with **Gifford Pinchot**, who advocated scientific management to prevent overuse.
- Then came the **Panic of 1907**, which forced TR into a compromise with JP Morgan – in return for convincing financiers to stop dropping stocks, TR approved a deal for US steel to get a smaller company. But, during his last year in office, TR went against business again, and supported heavier taxation of the rich and stronger business regulation.

The Election of 1908 and Taft's Presidency

- Instead of running again, Teddy supported **William Howard Taft** for the **Presidential Election of 1908**. Because of TR's popularity, Taft won, but landed in a difficult situation.
- First, Taft moved to cut tariffs, but was blocked by Progressives, who felt the tariff benefited special interests. So, the cuts were restored in the **Payne-Aldrich Tariff** (1909), which *also* angered Progressives.
- Then, when a group of Progressives challenged the conservative speaker who controlled the legislative process, Taft first supported, and later abandoned, them. He did, however, enlarge the Rules Committee, and therefore help the Progressives – but he angered them even more by firing conservationist Pinchot.
- Taft busted more trusts, signed the **Mann-Elkins Act** (1910), which helped the ICC powers and supported labor reforms, and had the **Sixteenth and Seventeenth Amendments** passed. But because he was cautious and wasn't good at sucking up to people and the press, he didn't get a good reputation.

The Election of 1912 and Wilson's Presidency

- When TR got back from Africa, he realized that his party had split into the **National Progressive Republican League** [La Follette] and the side that stayed loyal to Taft. Disappointed, he began speaking out, and eventually organized the **Bull Moose Party** [from the Progressives] when La Follette got sick.
- Given that the Republicans had split, the Democrats knew they had a sure win, so they took their time and finally picked **Woodrow Wilson**, who won the election. Wilson and TR had two competing visions for the country, as follows:
 - TR [New Nationalism] - a new era where the government coordinates and regulates the economy. Big business can stay, but they must protect people through commissions of experts that will serve the interests of consumers.
 - Wilson [New Freedom] – concentrated economic power replaced with competition. We won't go back to *laissez-faire*, though; we'll keep regulating it with no cooperation between business and government. (Based on **Louis Brandeis**)
- Actually, though, the philosophies were very similar: both supported equality of opportunity, conservation, fair wages, social improvement for all, and a strong involved government.
- So how was Wilson as President? Issues he dealt with included...
 - *Anti-Trust Continued* – Well, given that mergers had proceeded so far, he ended up settling with expanding government regulation w/the **Clayton Anti-Trust Act** (1914), which outlawed monopolistic practices, and a bill creating the **Federal Trade Commission** (1914), which could investigate companies and order them to stop unfair trade tactics.
 - *Banking Regulation* – The **Federal Reserve Act** (1913) established another national bank and district banks [regulated by the **Federal Reserve Board**] that would lend \$ to member banks at rates that could be adjusted to increase/decrease the \$ in circulation – loosen/tighten credit. Right before the war he also passed the **Federal Farm Loan Act**, which allowed \$ to be lent at moderate interest to farmers.
 - *Tariffs* – The **Underwood Tariff** (1913) encouraged imports [to help consumers] and instituted a graduated income tax on residents.
- *Labor* – The **Adamson Act** mandated an eight-hour-workday and overtime pay for railroad workers; Wilson also regulated child labor and provided workers' compensation.

World War I (1914-1920)

- **-Missionary Diplomacy** – Wilson denounced Dollar Diplomacy as a foreign policy. Insisted that the U.S. deal with Latin American countries "upon terms of equality and honor." Mexico was a prime example.
 - Francisco Madero, a progressive advocate of Democracy, was violently overthrown by Huerta.
 - Wilson would not recognize the new government. Mexico-US relations deteriorate.

The Outbreak of War and American Neutrality

- - Start of the war contributed to the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand by the Black Hand, June 28, 1914. Due to his assassination, defensive alliances were invoked, which brought the countries of Europe to war. **Triple Alliance (The Central Powers)** -- Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy **Triple Entente (The Allies)** -- Great Britain, France, Russia; the US entered the war later
- Wilson began by issuing a proclamation of neutrality. But the country was not neutral for several reasons:
 - People took sides according to their origins
 - The US and Britain had trading/banking links
 - Wilson also favored Britain because of a similarity of principles. **Wilsonianism** consisted of traditional American ideals [democracy, Open Door], internationalism, and American exceptionalism

Wilson's Decision for War

- Incidents involving the US as the result of the war:
 - German policy of unrestricted submarine warfare; u-boats would attack any ship approaching Britain
 - **Lusitania incident** – In May 1915 the British passenger liner *Lusitania* was sunk by a German u-boat, killing 128 Americans.
 - **Sussex incident** – Another U-boat attack against the French freighter led Wilson to threaten Germany with the severance of diplomatic relations. Germany decreed the **Sussex Pledge**, which stated that U-boats would not sink ships without warning
 - the **Zimmerman Note**, a telegram from Germany that asked Mexico to join an alliance against the US in exchange for help recovering territories lost in the Mexican-American war.
- Anti-war groups included the: **Woman's Peace Party** and the Socialist party, led by **Eugene Debs**.
- **Election of 1916** – Wilson promised to keep out of the conflict; he won the election. But with the accumulating atrocities, Wilson considered taking action.
- Wilson first asked for “armed neutrality,” but it failed in Congress. After naming US grievances:
 - violation of freedom of the seas
 - disruption of commerce
 - the Mexico deal Wilson finally got his declaration of war passed. The US entered WWI on **April 6**.

Winning the War

- War Acts -- **National Defense Act of 1916**, **Navy Act of 1916** (provided for the largest naval expansion in US history), the **Selective Service Act** (required all males between 21 and 30 to register)
- Most draftees were white; some African Americans signed up, but were assigned to segregated units. Native Americans joined as well. The US army, also known as the **AEF**, or **American Expeditionary Force**, was led by General **John J. Pershing**.
- Americans managed to turn the tide against the Germans after the Allied victory in July 1918 at the **Second Battle of the Marne**, which was followed by an Allied offense that forced Germany into an armistice on **November 11, 1918**.

America on the Home Front: Economic Change

- Several important economic developments resulted from WWI war production, as followed:
 - **War Industries Board**, worked closely with corporations, business grew due to the suspension of antitrust laws; headed by **Bernard Baruch**, the WIB coordinated the national economy by making purchases, allocating supplies, and fixing prices. It also ordered the standardization of goods.
 - **Food Administration** – Led by **Herbert Hoover**, it had voluntary programs like the “victory gardens,” and set prices and regulated distribution.
 - **RRD Administration & Fuel Administration** – Regulated their respective industries; fuel administration rationed gasoline.
- Farmers and Industry – War production allowed farmers to get mechanized (due to high demand and high prices), which led to growth.
- Inflation – Increased buying, liberal credit policies, and the setting of prices on raw materials rather than on finished products led to skyrocketing prices.
- New Tax Policies – To pay for the war, the government issued some new policies:
 - **1) Revenue Act of 1916** -- raised tax on high incomes and corporate profits, added tax on large estates, and increased the tax on munitions manufacturers
 - **2) War Revenue Act of 1917** -- more income and corporate taxes.
 - **3) Liberty Bonds** – mandatory bonds purchased by Americans to aid the war effort.
- Unemployment vanished and wages increased; people rushed into the cities and into manufacturing jobs. Strikes were strongly discouraged, and the **National War Labor Board** was established in 1918 to coordinate management and unions.
- The Time of Opportunity -- Women temporarily took over many male-dominated professions. After the war, however, women were displaced back into the home. Opportunities also appeared for blacks, and blacks rushed into the cities to take advantage of them; resulted in race riots through the “Red Summer” of 1919.

America on the Home Front: Civil Liberties

- The government also instituted control on speech, and the limiting of civil liberties. Anyone who refused to support the war faced repression from the government:
 - **Committee on Public Information** – Headed by Progressive journalist **George Creel**; made war propaganda through posters, films, pamphlets, speeches.
 - **Espionage Act of 1917** – forbade “false statements” against the draft or the military, and banned anti-war mail.
 - **Sedition Act of 1918** – made it illegal to obstruct the sale of war bonds and to use negative language towards the government, Constitution, flag, or uniform.
 - **Imprisonment of Socialists** – As a result of the new acts, IWW members and Socialists faced problems. **Eugene V. Debs**, the leader of the Socialist Party, was arrested for speaking about the freedom to criticize the government.
- Fighting for free speech –
 - **Roger Baldwin** founded the **Civil Liberties Bureau** to defend people accused under the acts and redefined free speech as something separate from the identity of the speaker.
 - *Schenck v. US (1919)* -- **Holmes** upheld the Espionage Act by using the “clear and present” danger clause; during times of war/national security, free speech should be restricted

The American Reaction to the Bolshevik Revolution: Labor Strikes and the Red Scare

- Americans oppressed radicals following the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917; they worried about Bolshevism in the country, and resented Russia.
- At home, unemployment and the post-war recession contributed to anti-radical sentiment as well. In 1919, a series of labor strikes and an incident with mail bombs on May 1 led to the **Red Scare**. Hurt labor unions.
- **Palmer Raids** - Attorney general **A. Mitchell Palmer**, who was appointed as head of the Radical Division of the Dept. of Justice and founder of the **American Legion**, in chasing down communists. Government agents broke in to meeting halls and homes without warrants and arrested lots of people.

The End of World War I

- The **Treaty of Versailles of 1919**, a treaty signed between Germany and the Allies, officially ended the Great War. Determined by the **Big Four** (Vittorio Orlando of Italy, David L. George of England, Georges Clemenceau of France, and Woodrow Wilson), they blamed Germany for causing the war, stripped of her colonies, and forced them to pay **reparations** (payment of damages sustained by the victorious nation). It also created the **League of Nations**, a group of nations that would gather together to discuss international relations and conflicts, arbitrate conflicts, and prevent wars, though it had no power to enforce their decisions. The League of Nations was one of the four points of Wilson’s **Fourteen Points** that was included in the treaty; another point allowed for **self-determination** in countries, a policy where the people choose their own government.
- Some of the US senators did not approve the Treaty, or the League of Nations. The **Reservationists**, led by **Henry C. Lodge**, had qualms about the treaty, but otherwise supported it. On the other hand, the **Irreconcilables**, led by Senators William Borah, Hiram Johnson, Robert LaFollette, hated the treaty and opposed every aspect of it.

The Roaring Twenties (1920 – 1929)

Economic Trends

- The economy is perhaps the most important aspect of the 1920s. Here are some of the economic characteristics of the era:
 - Initial Recession Followed by Recovery – Following the end of the war, as demand dropped and soldiers returned looking for jobs, the economy faltered. Farmers were hit especially hard. Recovery was rapid with new inventions however.
 - A Retreat From Regulation – After the war, the regulatory institutions were quickly dismantled and presidents went pro-business again. However, workers saw this as a time to protest, and engaged in **sit-down strikes**. *Coronado Coal Co. v. United Mine Workers (1922)* – Striking unions were deemed in restraint of trade. Awarded half the pay increase they asked for. Regulations on child labor and a minimum wage law for women were also overturned.
 - Corporate Consolidation
 - **Rampant Materialism** – New products, with the help of advertising, became readily available to the populous and more affordable.
 - Hard Times For Labor – Public opinion turned against strikers, and corporations caught onto “welfare capitalism” (pensions, profit sharing, company events).

The Presidents and Political Trends

- **Warren G. Harding** (1920 – 1923) – “Return to Normalcy”; his administration favored *laissez-faire* and assisted farms through liberalizing credit. His administration was corrupted; the **1923 Teapot Dome** scandal, which revealed that the Secretary of Interior had accepted bribes to give government property to oil companies.
- **Calvin Coolidge** (1923 – 1928) – Reduced debt, cut taxes, built roads, and stopped the government from interfering with business.
- **Herbert Hoover** (1928 – 1932) – Kept the cooperation between business and government strong.
- Citizenship was finally granted to Indians in 1924, and the **Bureau of Indian Affairs** was reorganized.
- **Nineteenth Amendment** (1920) – Gave women suffrage
- **Progressive Party** (1924) – a party of Liberals and Socialists who wanted government ownership of railroads, relief for farmers, the dismantling of monopolies, and other progressive reforms; nominated Robert LaFollete for president

Social Trends

- 1) **Urbanization** – With consumerism and modernization there came a migration to the cities, where manufacturing jobs were more readily available.
- 2) **Great Migration and Discrimination** – African Americans moved into the cities, but still discrimination. This led to movements glorifying black racial pride/independence, like the **UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association)** led by **Marcus Garvey**.
- 3) The **Model-T**, made popular by **Henry Ford’s** mass production system, allowed Americans take to the roads, and to the suburbs.
- 4) Increasing Life Expectancy/Decreasing Birth
- 5) New Appliances
- 6) Women continued to go into the work force, but sex segregation continued.
- 7) Smoking, drinking, swearing, and openness about sex began to become fashionable in the cities. The **flapper**, the new more assertive woman, cut their hair short and wore shorter dresses.

Cultural Trends: Life and Leisure

- **Movies** – The silent film came first, then sound with **The Jazz Singer**. Movie stars like Clara Bow, Charlie Chaplin, Rudolph Valentino, and Greta Garbo became popular in American films.
- **Sports** – **Babe Ruth**, Ty Cobb, Jack Dempsey were the first professional athletes who became celebrities; their presence began an era of hero and idol worshipping.
- **Charles Lindbergh** – crossed the Atlantic in the ‘Spirit of St. Louis’ and became a hero the American public
- **Prohibition** – Although the Eighteenth Amendment banned alcohol, speakeasies and alcohol smuggling flourished, giving gangsters like **Al Capone** tremendous power in the underworld.
- **The Lost Generation** – Authors like **F. Scott Fitzgerald**, **Sinclair Lewis**, and **Hemingway** criticized society, materialism and conformity, and wrote about the disillusionment of America; **The Great Gatsby**, **The Sun Also Rises**, **Farewell to Arms**.
- **Harlem Renaissance** – Blacks flocked to Harlem, where they established a vibrant artistic community that celebrated black culture. **Langston Hughes**, a celebrated black poet, expressed the despair of blacks and demanded social justice in his work, **The Weary Blues**. A major part of the Harlem Renaissance was jazz, with artists like **Louis Armstrong**, **Ella Fitzgerald**, **Duke Ellington**, **Bessie Smith**; a huge hit in the cities.
- **Art** – Many artists attempted new styles, like **Georgia O’Keefe** in painting, **Aaron Copland** and **George Gershwin** in music, and **Frank Lloyd Wright** in architecture.

The Conservative Reaction

- The new ideas created great unrest in the older generations, and caused many conservative reactions.
 - **Return of the KKK** – In 1915, the KKK was reestablished as an organization that not only targeted blacks, but also Catholics, Jews, and immigrants; “Native white Protestant supremacy”; used terror and violence (movie **Birth of a Nation**, promoted the resurrection of the KKK); declined due to internal corruption
 - **Immigration**
 - **Emergency Quota Act (1921)** – Immigration of a given nationality couldn’t exceed 3% per year of the immigrants in the nation from that nationality in 1910.
 - **Johnson Immigration Act (1924)** – 2% of each nationality from 1890, and a total limit for all nationalities.
 - **National Origins Act (1929)** – New quotas in proportion to the origins of American people in 1920.
 - **Sacco-Vanzetti Case** -- Two Italian immigrants (and anarchists) were convicted of murder without real evidence. This case exemplified the American fears of radicalism and new immigrants.
 - **Fundamentalism vs. Modernism** – Modernism, a contemporary way of thinking that supported reason and the scientific creation of the world, and fundamentalism, the widely held belief of the religious creation of the world and the Bible, was a clash of science versus religion. In the **Scopes Trial**, teacher John Scopes was tried for teaching evolution to students, which was illegal in his state. **William Jennings Bryan** took the prosecution, and civil liberties lawyers led by **Clarence Darrow** took the defense. Scopes was convicted, but fundamentalism had come to an end.
 - **Revivalism** -- Using advertising and the radio, preachers spread emotional religious messages across the country.

The Great Depression

- **October 24, 1929 “Black Thursday”** – initial panic, saved by a bunch of bankers who bought stocks to bring the prices back up.
- **October 29 “Black Tuesday”** - the stock market crashed. Many lost their life savings. Business houses closed the doors factories shut down and banks failed. Farm income fell some 50 percent.
- **Causes of the Great Depression:**
 - **Overproduction, Under-consumption** – companies had to keep producing and cutting wages to get a profit. However, by cutting wages, they reduced purchasing power and limited the amount of goods they sold
 - **Corporate Debt**
 - **Speculation** – people were buying on margin
 - **Lack of Recovery in Farming** – Farmers never recovered from the post-war recession, as they faced a return of foreign competition and were often unable to repay their debts.
 - **International Problems** – Following the war the US increased tariffs, which stopped foreign trade
 - **Government Policies** – The government followed *lassiez-faire*
- **Hooverilles** – slum cities formed in major cities. Families left their homes in search of work. By 1932 approximately 1 out of every 4 Americans were unemployed.

Hoover’s Response

- At first, Hoover did nothing, assuming it was just a natural boom-and-bust thing and that welfare would undermine American individualism.
- Hoover created some new institutions:
 - **POUR** (President’s Organization on Unemployment Relief) – Asked for private donations for relief, but not very successful.
 - **Hoover/Grand Coulee Dams** – provided new jobs.
 - **Federal Farm Board** (created in 1929 under the **Agricultural Marketing Act**) – Loaned \$500 million to cooperatives
 - **Reconstruction Finance Corporation** – Theoretically, through lending money to groups at the top of the economy, the RFC was going to help people all over (filter-down system), but it didn’t work.
- **Hawley-Smoot Tariff** (1930) – it raised tariffs and therefore totally killed off foreign trade.
- Hoover was too much of a traditionalist to give up the balanced budget idea (he vetoed a bunch of relief bills for this reason, and he also refused to repeal Prohibition). His beliefs made him unable to pass reforms to help the country.

The Presidential Election of 1932

- **Franklin Delano Roosevelt (Democrat)** – supported direct relief payments for the unemployed and repealing prohibition.

FDR’s First Term: The First Hundred Days and the New Deal

- “We have nothing to fear but fear its self.” FDR’s inaugural address
- **Bank Holiday** – FDR closed the banks so they could stabilize and replenish their money supply.
- **Emergency Banking Relief Bill** – provided for the reopening of solvent banks, the reorganization of other banks, and prohibited the hoarding of gold.
- **Fireside Chats** – FDR talked to the public on the radio and let them know what he was doing.
- **Repeal of Prohibition** – FDR repealed the twenty-first amendment. By doing so, stills would be organized thus creating jobs.
- **Beer-Wine Revenue Act** – This deflationary measure imposed new taxes on the sale of wines/beers.
- **Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA)** – the government pay farmers to reduce the amount of crops sold thus increasing prices. This act was meant to restore the farmers’ purchasing power.
- **Farm Credit Act & Home Owners Refinancing Act** – The FCA provided short/medium loans to farmers so that they could keep their land, and the HORA helped home mortgages.
- **Public Works Administration (PWA)** – put people to work.
- **Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)** – put young men, aged 18 – 21, to work on conservation projects. The men were given food, clothes, shelter, tools, and income – a large majority of their income was sent to help their families.
- **Federal Emergency Relief Act** – This authorized a bunch of aid money to state/local governments.
- **National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)** – it established the **National Recovery Administration (NRA)**, which regulated business by establishing fair production codes, limiting production and pricing, and guaranteeing the right of workers to unionize and bargain collectively.
- **Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)** – insured bank saving deposits. The US was also taken off the gold standard, so the Federal Reserve Board could expand the currency in circulation.

Opposition to the New Deal

- **The American Liberty League** – made of conservative Democrats and corporation leaders claimed the New Deal was destroying the American individualistic tradition.
- Some felt the NRA set prices too high (favored big business) and that the AAA was no good because it led to waste when people were starving and didn't encourage landlords to keep their tenant farmers.
- **Father Charles Coughlin**: "Radio Priest," a Roman Catholic priest who specialized in anti-communism, anti-capitalism, and anti-Semitism – "conspiracy of Jewish bankers."
- **Francis Townsend**: Old Age Revolving Pensions Plan, where the government would give old people \$ on the condition they spend it fast (to pump \$ into the economy).
- **Huey Long**: "Every Man a King, but No One Wears a Crown." He created the idea of a **Share Our Wealth Society** - a 100% tax rate on incomes over a million.
- The biggest threat to the New Deal was the Supreme Court, which felt the new legislation gave the President too much power.
 - **Schechter v. US (1935)** they ruled the NIRA (federal government has no right to regulate interstate business) unconstitutional
 - **US v. Butler** – the AAA was invalidated for the same reason.

The Second New Deal and Roosevelt's Second Term

- **Second New Deal** – differed from the first because it focused on long-term changes.
- **National Youth Administration** – created student part-time jobs and helped continue their education.
- **Works Progress/Projects Administration (WPA)** – sponsored cultural programs that brought art to the people by employing artists.
- **Social Security Act** – established old-age insurance.
- **Presidential Election of 1936** – FDR won.
- Supreme Court wouldn't cooperate with the New Deal measures, so he suggested they retire and if they didn't he'd add new judges – **Court Reorganization Bill (1937)** – allowed him to add judges when old ones failed to retire.
- "Relapse" of 1937 – 1939" – FDR tried to balance the budget.
- **-Fair Labor Standards Act (1938)** – set minimum wage at 40 cents per hour with a maximum work week of 40 hours. It also prohibited children under 16 from working.
- **Wagner Act** – gave workers the right organize unions and bargain collectively.

Racism during the Great Depression

- African Americans were pushed deeper into poverty and segregation (black unemployment rates were higher than whites).
- **Scottsboro Trial (1931)** – Nine black teens were arrested for throwing white hobo's off a train and were then accused and convicted (by a white jury) of rape.
- FDR had a "Black Cabinet," as there had never been so many black advisers before.
- FDR was also afraid of alienating Southern voters, so New Deal welfare programs often ended up excluded blacks from working or receiving aid.
- **Executive Order No. 8802** – FDR established the **Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC)** which outlawed discrimination in war industries.
- **Indian Reorganization (Wheeler-Howard) Act 1934** – restored lands to tribal ownership and outlawed its future division. **John Collier** ran the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the New Deal – was the first to give Indians some real respect.
- **Farm Securities Administration (1937)** – set up migratory labor camps for Mexican-Americans.
- *Foreign Policy in the Interwar Years (1920 – 1941)*

1920 – 1930: Independent Internationalism and Idealism

- American foreign policy is usually describes as isolationist. Independent internationalism is a better description – we kept our independence (unilateralism) but did become involved around the world.
- **Washington Conference (1921-1922)** – delegates from several powers discussed naval disarmament. These three treaties establishing ratios of naval power **1) the Five-Power Treaty** -- battleships, 5:3:1.75 ratio **2) Nine-Power Treaty** – Open Door China **3) Four-Power Treaty** -- possessions in the Pacific
- **Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928)** – a lot of countries signed a defensive treaty.
- **American Relief Administration** – delivered food to Europe to stimulate growth and hopefully stop radicalism.

1920 – 1930: Economic/Cultural Expansion and the Great Depression

- Following WWI, the US was a creditor nation and the financial capital of the world. In addition to giving us power internationally this made it easier for us to spread our culture.
- US bankers loaned money to Germany, which went to the Allies, and then back to the US. The **Dawes Plan (1924)** increased the cycle by providing more loans and reducing the yearly repayment.
- **The Young Plan (1928)** reduced Germany's reparations but was too little too late.

- The Great Depression brought the world economy to a standstill, and when Hoover declared a moratorium on payments in 1931, hardly any of the money had been repaid. Annoyed, we passed the **Johnson Act** (1934) forbidding loans to government not paying back.
- World War II
- Important dates: Japan attacks Manchuria and crushes Chinese resistance in 1931. Hitler starts National Socialists Party in Germany and seizes control of the government in 1933. Italy attacks and enlarged its boundaries into Libya and invades Ethiopia in 1935. War in Europe breaks out in 1939 when Germany attacks Poland and takes the country over within two weeks.
- In 1939, most Americans wanted to remain at peace. There was an unusually high level of public interest, and more Americans than ever spoke out on foreign policy, mainly because of radio, and the ethnic affiliations of immigrants.
- Gradually, with the fall of France in June 1940, Americans began to change their minds (mainly liberals). FDR tried one last time to bring everyone to the peace table, but still waited for some incident to bring us in to the war. In 1940, he ran with promises of peace.
- In the meantime, he helped the Allies by selling surplus military equipment to them. He also passed the **Selective Training and Service Act**, the first peacetime draft. Mainly, though, he claimed that the US could stay out by helping Britain win.
- The **Lend-Lease Act** of 1941 further helped the British (and Soviets) by allowing them to borrow money to buy weapons, and the US Navy patrolled halfway to Britain to ensure delivery of the goods. In August Churchill and FDR met on a battleship and issued the **Atlantic Charter**, a Wilsonian set of war aims.
- The US entered into an undeclared naval war w/ Germany following the *Greer* Incident, in which a German sub shot at (but missed) the *Greer*. This gave FDR an excuse to get the US Navy to shoot on sight, and have American warships take British merchant ships across the ocean.
- Following the *Greer*, there was also the *Kerney* (they fired at our destroyer) and the *Reuben James* (they sank our destroyer) incidents. Consequently, Congress got rid of the cash-and-carry policy and allowed the US to ship munitions to Britain on armed merchant ships.

Pearl Harbor and US Entry into the War

- FDR actually hadn't wanted to get involved with Asia at all, though he did embargo shipments of fuel and metal to Japan after the **Tripartite Pact** (September 1940), and once Japan occupied French Indochina in 1941, trade was ended altogether with Japan.
- Tokyo proposed a meeting, but the US rejected the idea, instead simply demanding that the Japanese agree to keep the Open Door in China. FDR still saw Europe as more important, so he told his advisers to keep talks going to give him time to fortify the Philippines.
- Tokyo was getting impatient, though, and soon rejected demands to withdraw from Indochina. And though we had cracked their secret code, the Japanese found a way to completely surprise us on that day that will "live in infamy," **December 7, 1941 at Pearl Harbor**.
- FDR asked for and got a declaration of war, which, three days later, brought Germany and Italy in against the US. We signed allegiance to the Atlantic Charter, and joined the war...
- Japanese Americans-Executive Order #9066-moved all of them to camps in the Rocky MT's for security proposes.

World War II (1941 – 1945)

The Course of the War

- **Pacific**
 - -Doolittle raids
 - -Fall of the Philippines-The Bataan Death March-crash of cultures
 - -Coral Sea-Loss: one carrier
 - -Military intelligence
 - -Carrier groups
 - -Midway-the Greatest Naval victory in American History
 - -Guadalcanal-naval and land battles
 - -Island Hopping-American strategy to take over the islands in the Pacific by taking one at a time to create stops for the navy.
 - -Battle of Leyte Gulf-Largest Sea fight in history-Japanese Navy destroyed
 - -Kamikaze suicide pilots
 - Iwo Jima and Okinawa-Fanatical fighting-Japanese Air Force destroyed
 - -"Little Boy" dropped on Hiroshima on Aug. 6, 1945
 - -Aug. 8, 1945, Russians declare war on Japan.
 - -Aug. 9, 1945, "Fat Man" was dropped on Nagasaki
 - -Aug. 15, 1945, Japan surrenders to MacArthur on the USS Missouri
- **Europe**
 - -North Africa primary target first
 - -Allied forces under Montgomery and Patton
 - -Sicily and Italy the larger target-Patton perfect Blitzkrieg
 - -Mussolini Assassinated
 - -Siege of Stalingrad-winter leads Soviets victory over Germans

- -Normandy: D-Day and Operation Overload
- -Battle of the Bulge-German winter counter offensive-Patton rescues American troops and Allied lines hold.
- -Germany falls-Hitler commits suicide-Holocaust horror became known to the world

The Wartime (and Post-War) Conferences

- Now THIS is important. The key conferences are as follows:
 - *Teheran Conference* (December 1943) – FDR, Stalin & Churchill met. The main issues were:
 - The opening of a second front, which led to a decision to invade France in 1944.
 - The USSR also promised to help against Japan as soon as Germany lost.
 - *Dumbarton Oaks Conference* – The US, GB, the USSR, and China talked over the details of the UN here, finally deciding on the Security Council/General Assembly we all know and love today.
 - *Yalta Conference* (February 1945) – FDR, Stalin & Churchill once again. They discussed...
 - Poland: After letting the Germans wipe out an uprising, the USSR had installed its own government – but another one was still waiting in London. So it was decided that the USSR would get more territory but would (supposedly) use a coalition government there.
 - Germany: They decided upon its division into four zones, and a preliminary figure for reparations (most of which would go to the USSR).
 - Stalin also promised (again) to declare war on Japan soon after Hitler lost and sign a treaty with Chiang in China. In exchange, the USSR would get back some of the land it lost in the Russo-Japanese war.
 - Yalta was the high water mark of diplomatic relations between the three and then...
 - *Potsdam Conference* (July 1945) – Truman replaced FDR here. They discussed....
 - Germany: They agreed on disarmament, dismantling of war industries, de-nazification, and war crimes trials.
 - Japan: Unconditional surrender.
 - Not much else was actually settled, as the spirit of unity had been broken and there was much haggling about gaining/losing territory & spheres of influence and so on...

World War II: The Home Front

- In many ways, what occurred on the home front in WWII is very similar to what occurred during WWI, although there were also some significant differences. Here's what you should remember about the home front in WWII:
 - *Propaganda* – FDR started by getting everybody geared up with his Four Freedoms idea (speech, worship, want, fear) and telling people they had to go out and fight for the American Way of Life. To help get the idea around, he established the **Office of War Information** (1942) to take charge of the matter – Hollywood joined in too, of course (Capra's *Why We Fight*).
 - *Gov* – As follows...
 - ~ **Office of Price Administration** (1942): The OPA quickly went to work controlling inflation through price ceilings on commodities and rents, as well as establishing rationing through local **War Price & Rationing Boards**. Many businesses protested, and blamed the OPA for scarcity, but tough luck for them.
 - ~ **War Production Board** (1942): Following Pearl Harbor, the WPB was established to convert the economy from civilian to military production.
 - ~ **War Manpower Commission** (1942): Recruited workers for the factories.
 - ~ **Government Incentives in Business**: The government guaranteed profits (cost plus fixed fee contracts), lowered taxes, and excluded businesses from antitrust laws.
 - *Results of the Wartime Economy* – As always, unemployment basically vanished, and people started making more than ever. The government didn't even bother to overtax them, instead relying on deficit financing. Also, industry (and especially agriculture) experienced yet another period of consolidation.
 - *Federal Support of Science & Technology* – Like business, scientific enterprises all got bigger as the government poured \$ into big universities and military/science projects.
 - *Growth of Organized Labor* – A labor/management conference agreed (after PH) to a no strike/lockout pledge to guarantee war production. The NWLB was then created to oversee any disputes – unions were allowed, but workers couldn't be forced into them either. It wasn't all good, though, because when the NWLB tried to limit wage increases in 1943, workers struck big time, leading to the **War Labor (Smith-Connally) Act** (1943), which gave the president authority to seize and operate plants on strike if needed for national security, and gave the NWLB the authority to settle disputes for the duration of the war.
 - *Growth of the Federal Gov*– The government increased both its size and power during the war, esp. the executive branch, which now also had to manage the labor supply and control inflation.
 - *Japanese Internment* – Also as a result of the war, thousands of Japanese citizens were “relocated” to internment camps.
 - *Opportunities for African Americans* – Although blacks were able to find jobs in the military and in cities (**Executive Order No. 8802** outlawed discrimination in defense industries), they still faced major problems and race riots in the cities (1943). Membership in civil rights organizations increased as a result.
 - *Opportunities for Women* – In addition to being more involved in the actual army/navy action, women took new war production jobs.

Cold War

The Early Cold War (1945-1961)

General Origins of the Cold War:

- *Power Vacuum* – After WWII, there was the question of how rebuilding would commence in Europe, and who would have control over the areas where the Axis once dominated.
- *Decolonization* – Another source of instability was the disintegration of the big empires and the creation of the new “Third World” countries, which both the US and USSR hoped to win over as military bases and markets.
- *Failure of Diplomacy* – Diplomacy was largely ignored; both were stubborn with themselves
- *US Strategic Needs* – Needing exports to Europe, the US tried to keep out Communism.

The Cold War under Truman:

- *Soviet Expansion*: In 1945 The USSR didn't allow the Polish government that had been in exile in London to join their new communist government in Lublin (as they had promised). They also took over Romania, and encouraged coups in Hungary (1947) and Czechoslovakia (1948). The Soviets claimed the US was doing the same thing, and complained about the double standard.
- *Atomic Diplomacy*: The USSR whined that the US was trying to scare them into concessions because of their monopoly on the atomic bomb. Then Truman refused to turn the bomb over to an international institution and backed the Baruch Plan instead – the US would give up its atomic monopoly if all the world's fissionable materials were given to an agency. The Soviets felt this would let the US continue researching the bomb without letting anyone else...
- *World Bank/IMF*: After clashing on several fronts (reconstruction loans, Iran, etc.) in 1946, the USSR decided not to join the new institutions, believing them to be too US-dominated (and also b/c they were capitalist). Still, the IMF opened and began making loans.

We responded with the...

- ~ *Truman Doctrine* (1947): After the British asked for US help in Greece (to defend their client government against a leftist uprising) Truman gave a speech to sell the idea to Congress that defined the Truman Doctrine – “It must be the policy of the US to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.” The US backed both Greece (government won in 1949) and Turkey (because big US ally) as a result.
- ~ *Containment* (1946): After Truman's speech, George Kennan (writing as “Mr. X”) published an article on containment of Soviet power – confronting the USSR with a strong counterforce anywhere they showed signs of expansion.
- ~ *Marshall Plan* (1947): In order to prevent radicalism through the sponsorship of international prosperity, the US began a huge European recovery program – money was sent, but it had to be spent in the US on US-made products (to stimulate our economy). It was mixed success, as it caused inflation and divided Europe even more (East/West) in addition to spurring industrial progress. From our POV, though, it was excellent b/c it helped contain communism.
- ~ *National Security Act* (1947): This act created the Office of Secretary of Defense (CIA too)
- ~ *Fulbright Program* (1948): This program of exchange students tried to blunt anti-Americanism and aid cultural exchanges – there was also the Congress for Cultural Freedom.
- ~ *Rio Pact* (1947) & *Organization of American States* (1948): Both these military alliances were in Latin America and served to protect American interests and boost the militaries of LA states.

Other key events in the early Cold War:

- *Recognition of Israel* (1948): Truman did this to gain Jewish votes and get another ally.
- *Berlin Blockade/Airlift* (1948): After the US, France and GB agreed to merge their German zones, the USSR cut off access to all of Berlin, prompting a US airlift of supplies there until May 1949 and the foundation of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany).
- *Point Four Program* (1949): This was an aid program for the Third World that helped to win allies onto our side. It later became part of the Mutual Security Agency.
- *NATO* (1949): We formed a Western Europe security pact, which caused some domestic debate (no alliances since 1778) since some felt it would force us into war.
- *NSC-68* (1950): After the double shock of the USSR exploding its first bomb and China going communist, the National Security Council came up with this report for permission to increase military spending.

The Cold War Expansion

- Asia became involved in the conflicts of the Cold War.
 - *Japan*: In Japan, the US monopolized reconstruction through military occupation under MacArthur, who started a “democratic revolution from above.” In 1951, we signed a separate peace w/Japan that ended occupation. A Mutual Security Treaty the next year provided for the stationing of our forces on their soil.
 - *China*: We didn't do so well in China, where we insisted on backing Chiang against Mao, who we refused to talk to once he did come to power in 1949 (this pushed him over to the USSR, but that relationship didn't last either – Stalin & Mao didn't get along). Anyway, we didn't recognize the actual government of China in 1979.

- *Vietnam*: During WWII, Ho Chi Minh, while planning to free the nation from the French, also fought against the Japanese (with our help). Once we lost China, though, we decided to back a restoration of French rule in order to (1) gain French cooperation, (2) have more economic hegemony in the areas, and (3) Ho was a communist, so we thought he was Soviet-sponsored. In 1950 we decided to recognize the puppet government under Bao Dai and start sending weapons and advisers to the French. More on this later...
- Then there was the Korean War. The Korean War began as a civil war in 1950 when North Korea moved across the border into South Korea (the two parts had been divided in 1945 with US & USSR approval). Both leaders hoped to reunify the nation, but Truman thought that the USSR had planned the whole thing (he hadn't really, and had barely been convinced to help at all).
- The United Nations then voted on helping South Korea. MacArthur became commander of UN forces (90% US), and they fought until they not only passed the original boundary, but also went into NK.
- UN forces went deep into North Korea until they were stopped by a surprise counterattack by Chinese forces. This sent them back to the 38th parallel (original boundary) and though MacArthur wanted to go fight China, Truman disagreed and later fired him as a result.
- Fighting went on as the POW issue stalled negotiations (US officials said only the prisoners that wanted to go back would be returned, and North Korea countered by saying they wouldn't return anyone). An armistice was finally signed in 1953 – the POW question was handed over to a board of neutral nations, who ended up giving the prisoners their choice, and the border went to the 38th parallel again w/a demilitarized zone.
- Domestically, the war helped get Eisenhower elected, and also gave the President more power, since he had never asked Congress for a declaration of war prior to sending the troops.
- Overall, Truman's legacy was a very militarized foreign "containment" policy on a global scale.

Cold War under Eisenhower:

- Dulles' Diplomacy
 - Push Communist countries onto the brink of war, but they would back down because of the United States superior nuclear power.
- Massive Retaliation
 - Started using different means of warfare (air power, nuclear power instead of the traditional soldiers)
 - Started investing money for research for new technology (hydrogen bomb in 1953)
- US-Soviet relations:
 - Spirit of Geneva
 - Peace talks (USSR and the U.S.) to reduce size of atomic arsenal
 - Hungarian revolt
 - October 1956: Moscow was overthrown for a liberal government
 - Khrushchev sent in tanks to stop the revolt; US did nothing
 - Sputnik
 - in 1957, launched the first human satellite into space by USSR
 - known as Sputnik I and Sputnik II
 - US attempts to send their own satellites into space; failed
 - 1958, National Defense and Education Act: schools emphasized science and foreign language
 - 1958: National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) was created
 - the 'space race' began
 - fear of nuclear war increased from the increased range of weapons
 - Second Berlin Crisis
 - USSR threatened US to take out their troops in West Berlin (1958)
 - To neutralize their threat, Eisenhower met with Khrushchev (1959)
 - U-2 Incident
 - 1955, Francis Gary Powers was shot down flying a spy over USSR that exposed the US and their secret spy programs, canceling a summit meeting
 - Communism in Cuba
 - in 1959, Castro overthrew an old dictator
 - led to Bay of Pigs (President-endorsed and CIA trained exiles attack on Cuba)

Kennedy and Johnson

Kennedy & Johnson – The 60's

- KENNEDY
 - ELECTION
 - Kennedy vs. Nixon
 - T.V. debates – Kennedy appeared better organized and more composed compared to Nixon

- Kennedy won by a little margin and many Republicans felt the election could have gone differently but there was corruption by political machines that caused discrepancies in the votes

○ DOMESTIC

- New Frontier programs
- Called for aid for education, federal support for health care, urban renewal, and civil rights
- Not successful for the most part in getting these things passed through Congress
- Economically successful
- Price rollback, economy stimulated by the increased spending for defense and space exploration

○ FOREIGN

- 1961 Peace Corp and Alliance for Progress
- Organizations set up to provide aid to developing countries across the world and in Latin America especially
- 1962 Trade Expansion Act
- Gave tariff reductions with the European Economic Community (Common Market) of the Western European nations
- Bay of Pigs (1961)
- CIA trained Cuban exiles to overthrow Fidel Castro but it failed to work and the exiles were forced to surrender after they landed in Cuba
- Castro got increased aid from the Soviet Union and it strengthened Castro's power
- Berlin Wall
- Kennedy and Khrushchev met in 1961, Kennedy refused to pull U.S. troops out of Berlin
- In August of 1961, East Germans built a wall around West Berlin
- Cuban Missile Crisis (1962)
- U.S. discovered that Soviet Union (Russia) were setting up missile sites in Cuba
- Kennedy announced a naval blockade of Cuba until missiles taken out
- After a few tension filled days, Khrushchev agreed to remove weapons if Kennedy not invade Cuba
- EFFECTS: A line between Washington D.C. and Moscow set up and in 1963 the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was signed
- Military
- Flexible response policy increased spending on conventional arms and more military forces
- Beginning of Vietnam
 - Increased aid and military "advisors"
 - 1963 more than 16,000 troops in Vietnam that trained South Vietnam troops and provided supplies
- Assassination
- November 22, 1963 in Dallas, Texas
- Warren Commission concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald killed Kennedy but many question the validity, taking in regard the fact that Jack Ruby then killed Oswald before any information could be found out

○ JOHNSON

○ DOMESTIC

- Passed things like an expanded version of Kennedy's civil rights bill and Kennedy's proposal for income tax cut which led to increased number of jobs, consumer spending, and economic expansion
- War on Poverty and the Great Society Reforms
- Created Office of Economic Opportunity which sponsored self-help programs such as Head Start (program for preschoolers), Job Corps (for vocational education), literacy programs and legal services
- The Community Action Program was set up to let the poor run antipoverty programs in their own neighborhoods
- Medicare – health insurance program for those 65 and older
- Medicaid – government-paid health care for the poor and disabled
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act – provided aid especially to poor school districts
- An immigration law that abolished discriminatory quotas based on national origins and greatly increased opportunities for Asians and Latin Americans to emigrate to U.S.
- National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities – provided federal funding for worthy creative and scholarly projects
- 2 new cabinet positions: the Department of Transportation (DOT) and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)
- Increased funding for higher education
- Increased funding for public housing and crime prevention
- Other programs include regulations of the automobile industry and clean air and water laws were enacted

○ FOREIGN – VIETNAM

- Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (August 1964)
- Congress voted to give the President a blank check to take "all necessary measures" to protect American interests in Vietnam
- In 1965 U.S. military and many of the President's foreign policy advisors wanted to escalate the war

- 1965 Johnson approved Operation Rolling Thunder – massive air raids and bombings
- April 1965 – U.S. troops first began to combat the Vietcong soldiers
- By end of 1965, more than 184,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam
- By end of 1967, more than 485,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam
- March 1969, there were about 540,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam
- Hawks vs. Doves fight began to develop between pro-war and anti-war people at home
- The TET-Offensive, a Vietcong victory, was a big blow to Johnson’s popularity especially from the Doves
- After the TET in 1968, Johnson declined the request to send more troops and told Americans that he would limit the bombing and negotiate peace – Also mentioned that he would not be running for President
- May 1968 – Peace talks between North Vietnam, South Vietnam, and the United States became deadlocked over MINOR issues
- War continued but escalation stopped

○ SOCIAL REVOLUTIONS AND CULTURAL MOVEMENTS

○ CIVIL RIGHTS

- Acts
- Civil Rights Act of 1964 – segregation was illegal in public places such as parks, hotels, and restaurants, also set up the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to end discrimination in work places
- 24th Amendment was ratified – abolished poll taxes
- Voting Rights Act of 1965 (a.k.a. Civil Rights Act of 1965) – ended literacy tests as a requirement for voting and provided federal registrars in areas where Blacks were kept from voting
- Leaders
- Martin Luther King Jr.
 - Non-violent
 - Leader of Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
 - Wrote “Letter From a Birmingham Jail” while he was jailed illegally and (as many believed) unjustly
 - March on Washington 1963 – about 200,000 Blacks and whites, gave “I have a dream” speech
 - March to Montgomery 1965 – Selma to Montgomery, faced brutal police beatings
 - Assassinated April 1968
- Malcolm X and the Black Muslims
 - Preached Black Nationalism, separatism, and self-improvement
 - Advocated self-defense and using Black violence to counter white violence
 - Assassinated in 1965
- Black Panthers (1966)
 - Formed by Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, and a few others
 - Militants following a revolutionary socialist movement looking for and advocating self-rule for American Blacks
- Others
 - Groups such as Student Non-violent Coordination Committee (SNCC) and Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) were made up of many students and younger people who participated in marches, sit-ins, and more
- Riots and Violence
- 1961 Freedom Rides – desegregated buses in Alabama were stopped and burned, people riding were beaten
- 1962 Riots over the admission of James Meredith to the University of Mississippi, 2 people were killed
- 1963 Birmingham – huge police violence during a march, Junior and Senior High students were attacked
- 1965 Selma to Montgomery “Bloody Sunday” – state troopers beat up crowd
- Summer of 1965 Watts, LA – 34 people dead, 9000 injured, over 700 buildings destroyed, 1st major riot
- 1966 riots in about 43 cities during the course of the year
- 1967 Detroit riots
- 1968 the Kerner Commission concluded that the riots were caused by racism and segregation
- After MLK assassinated in 1968, riots erupted in 168 cities, at least 46 dead
- Marches and protests by activists were met with beatings and violence from police and other whites

○ INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

- Earl Warren – Supreme Court Justice of the United States Supreme Court

- Criminal Justice
- *Mapp vs. Ohio* 1961 – ruled that illegally obtained evidence could not be used in court against the accused
- *Gideon vs. Wainwright* 1963 – required that state courts provide counsel for people who could not afford one
- *Escobedo vs. Illinois* 1964 – required the police to inform an arrested person of his or her rights
- *Miranda vs. Arizona* 1966 – extended the ruling in *Escobedo* to include the right to a lawyer being present during questioning by the police
- Reapportionment
- *Baker vs. Carr* 1962 – declared gerrymandering and the drawing of district lines to favor a certain group, established the concept of “one man, one vote” which would provide equal representation for all citizens
- Freedom of Expression and Privacy
- *Engel vs. Vitale* 1962 – ruled that state laws requiring prayers and Bible readings in the public schools violated the First Amendment’s provision for separation of church and state
- *Griswold vs. Connecticut* 1965 – ruled that the state could not prohibit the use of contraceptives by adults due to the citizen’s right to privacy (foundation for later cases involving abortion)
- STUDENT MOVEMENT
 - Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
 - Wanted to have a voice in decisions in university
 - Called the New Left
 - Port Huron, Michigan 1962 – SDS manifesto expressing ideas
 - Ideas and Main Concerns
 - Poverty
 - Racial prejudice
 - McCarthyism
 - Atomic weapons race
 - Goals
 - End the “political party stalemate”
 - Have corporations be “publicly responsible” in order for businesses to be responsible to people
 - Use national resources according to social need
 - Techniques
 - Use “participatory democracy”
 - “Replace power rooted in possession, privilege, or circumstance by power and uniqueness rooted in love”
 - University of California-Berkeley 1964
 - Called it the “Free Speech Movement”
 - Used sit-down strikes
 - Demanded an end to restrictions on student political activities
 - Hundreds arrested
 - University of Columbia 1968
 - Sit-down strikes
 - Had “non-negotiable” demands
 - Swept across country as students protested against rules including ones banning drinking and dorm visits by people of the opposite sex
 - Wanted a higher voice in government of the universities
 - The Weathermen were the most radical group of all
 - Embraced violence and vandalism
- COUNTERCULTURAL
 - Called “Hippies”
 - Young people rebelled against society in areas of dress, music, drugs, and living
 - Lived in Communes and often traveled, drug use was high, not many marriages but lots of sex
 - Allen Ginsberg, popular leader, wrote “Howl”
 - Ken Kesey was another big leader
 - Beliefs
 - Didn’t care about money, material goods, or power
 - Love, feelings, and nature more important
 - Conservation, freedom of expression, tolerance, and peace
 - Disliked politicians
 - Horrified by brutality of Vietnam

- Appalled by racism
- “Make love, not war”
- “Tune in, turn on, drop out”
- “Do your own thing”
- SEXUAL REVOLUTION
 - Ideas about premarital sex, contraception, abortion, homosexuality, pornography and other things were openly challenged
 - The introduction of the birth control pill and antibiotics for certain venereal diseases played a role in tempting people to engage in casual sex with different partners
 - Sexual themes in advertisements, magazines, and movies made sex appear to be just another consumer product
 - Alfred C. Kinsey
 - Wrote the books *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1958)
 - Researched sexual practice and looked at sex in primarily physical terms
 - A person’s urges might not be as uncommon as one had been led to believe
 - Results
 - There were reduced irrational fears and inhibitions
 - Women gained a new freedom
 - Men were left with greater duty as husbands and fathers
 - Problems
 - Social pressures on young people
 - Rise in illegitimate births
 - Increase in crimes of rape and sexual abuse
 - Rise in Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs)
 - Deadly outbreak of AIDS
- WOMEN’S MOVEMENT
 - Causes
 - Increased education and employment of women
 - Civil rights movement
 - Sexual revolution
 - Leaders
 - Betty Friedan
 - Wrote *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963
 - Said women should use education and knowledge to get out of the kitchen and home
 - Helped found NOW in 1966
 - National Organization for Women (NOW)
 - Equal employment opportunities and equal pay
 - Equal rights amendment to Constitution (never ratified by all states needed)
 - Change divorce laws
 - Legalize abortion (1973 *Roe vs. Wade*)
 - Kate Millett
 - *Sexual Politics* in 1970
 - NOW was not radical enough
 - Denounced male supremacy and said that how men and women relate to each other socially and culturally was learned and therefore could be changed
 - Conservatives
 - Rejected moderates like Betty Friedan
 - Followed Phyllis Schlafly
 - Against abortion
 - Achievements
 - Changes in employment and hiring practices
 - Increasing numbers of women entering previous male-dominated professions

Nixon: 1969-1974

I. Background

- · Richard Milhous Nixon was born in Yorba Linda, California into a middle class family.

- · He joined the army in WWII and becomes a lieutenant and is known for conservative attitude.
- · In the 1954 election, he served as Eisenhower's vice-president.
- · Defeated by Kennedy in the election of 1960.
- · In 1968, he runs again and promises to bring the nation out of Vietnam.

II. Vietnam

- · Nixon Doctrine stated that the U.S. would aid any friend and ally, but we wouldn't take on their full burden.
- · This led to Nixon's plan of "Vietnamization", which meant he would slowly draw out U.S. troops and provide South Vietnam with weapons, money, and training needed to take over the North.
- · Vietnamization calmed the anti-war protests until 1970 when Nixon invaded Cambodia to stop North Vietnamese supply train. The invasion caused massive protests around the nation's campuses, causing six students' deaths.
- · The Pentagon Papers fueled the anti-war protests because they revealed mistakes and lies of the government.
- · Nixon sends Harry Kissinger to Vietnam for peace talks. In the fall of 1972, Kissinger announces that "Peace was at hand", which it wasn't. Nixon is forced to bribe North Vietnam into an agreement.
- · The Paris Accord of 1973 promised free elections in Vietnam and a cease-fire treaty.

III. Renewing Relationships with China and the Soviet Union

- · Nixon sets up secret meetings with Communist China. In the fall of 1972, Nixon surprises the World by visiting China.
- · He agrees to recognize communist China and support their admission into the United Nations.
- · As a result, China and the U.S. resume trade with each other.
- · In 1969, Nixon began talks with the Soviet Union about SALT or Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, which would reduce their ballistic missiles. While this agreement did not end the arms race, it was a significant step toward reducing Cold War tensions and bringing about détente, (the relaxation of tensions between governments).
- · Three months after going to China, Nixon is invited to go to Moscow.
- · Signed agreements with the Soviet Union in trade and technological advancements.
- · Signed landmark agreement, SALT, to slow the arms race. Also eased tensions between the two nations.

IV. Domestic Policy

- · New Federalism was implemented and the government became involved in the public's lives.
- · Nixon starts revenue sharing because economic problems caused by LBJ's Great Society and the Vietnam War. This gives money to local governments to aid families instead of federal aid.
- · Job training programs allowed families to receive assistance from the government and this eliminated cheated welfare.
- · Roe v. Wade (1973) made abortion legal.

V. Watergate

- · June 17, 1972, James McCord, a former FBI agent and current employee of CREEP (The Committee to Re-elect the President), and four Cuban Americans were caught breaking into the Democratic Party Headquarters in the Watergate building in Washington D.C.
- · They were caught bugging phones and going through files.
- · Nixon denied allegations of this crime.
- · March 19, 1972, James McCord, who is sentenced to 15 years in prison, writes a letter to Judge Sirica confessing that high republican officials knew about the break-in beforehand.
- · Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein reporters for the Washington Post investigate and learn that most the people involved in the break-in were employees of CREEP.
- · Archibald Cox is appointed to investigate the White House for evidence of conspiracy.
- · Cox demands the tapes that Nixon had recorded, but Nixon refuses claiming Executive Privilege...Cox is eventually fired.
- · Tapes turned over to Judge Sirica, but not the public.
- · July 30, 1973, impeachment hearings begin.
- · August 8, 1973, President Nixon announces his resignation.
- · Vice President Gerald Ford becomes President and shortly thereafter pardons Nixon.

IV. Other Developments in 1973

- · War Powers Act- there was news that Nixon had authorized 3,500 secret bombing raids in Cambodia, a neutral country. Congress used the public uproar over this information to attempt to limit the president's powers over the military. In Nov. 1973, after a long struggle, Congress finally passed the War Powers Act over Nixon's veto.

1974-Present: Ford, Carter, Reagan, Bush, and Clinton

Ford:

- Only President to be an Eagle Scout

- President during a time of recession and inflation
- Pardoned Nixon
 - This consequently likely prevented him from being reelected
- Two assassination attempts on Ford, both failed, both by women, both sentenced to life in prison
 - Ex Marine Oliver Sipple saved his life during the second assassination attempt while Ford was in San Francisco

Carter:

- Created the Department of Energy and the Department of Education in the Cabinet
- Foreign Affairs
 - SALT Talks
 - Camp David Accords
- Iranian hostage crisis

Reagan:

- Began his life with a career as an actor
- Served as the California governor from 1967-1975
- Unsuccessful in the election of 1976, was elected in 1980
- Assassination attempt on Reagan failed
- Reagonomics-Trickle Down Theory
- Tax cuts for the wealthy and for corporations
- Iran contra affair-arms for hostages scheme