

**INSTRUCTOR'S RESOURCE MANUAL**

***The American Promise***

A History of the United States

**Fourth Edition**

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Instructors who have adopted *The American Promise*, Fourth Edition, as a textbook for a course are authorized to duplicate portions of this manual for their students.

# Preface

This manual draws upon instructor experiences teaching with *The American Promise*. Intended to help make your American survey course as successful as possible, it offers chapter-by-chapter suggestions and resources for teaching with fourth edition. The following features are designed to help you make the most of your course.

## Features

**Chapter Learning Objectives** offer an overview of the chapter's content for easy reference and act as a starting point for class discussions.

**Annotated Chapter Outline** gives an in-depth review of each chapter, covering major topics and sub-themes, and serves as a guidepost for those new to the book.

**NEW Chapter Questions** includes model answer guidelines for the new *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* questions, along with the *Map* and *Visual Activities* and the questions that accompany the *Documenting the American Promise* feature. The guidelines include page references to help you efficiently guide your students back to the narrative for reinforcement of major points. The model answers can also be used as a guide for class discussions and to help establish grading guidelines when the questions are used for assignments, quizzes, or tests.

**Lecture Strategies** in each chapter provide flexible approaches to teaching the chapter's major themes and events. Each suggests ways to use the textbook's images, boxed features, and maps to illustrate or reinforce points in the narrative and to provoke discussion.

**Anticipating Student Reactions** discusses common misunderstandings that new students of U.S. history typically bring to class and addresses topics that students frequently find difficult to grasp. This points to ways in which instructors can debunk misconceptions, complicate generalizations, clarify topics, and incite students into active thinking about history.

**In-Class Activities** offer suggestions for engaging students, such as debates and simulations based on important topics in the text, and is divided into four subsections. **Class Discussion Starters** help stretch students' historical imagination and impress upon them the conditional nature of history, unseating the notion that history moves forward as a predetermined sequence of events. **Historical Debates** point to major points of contention among scholars and offer suggestions for setting up classroom debates on thought-provoking topics. **Reading Primary Sources** suggests ways to introduce students to primary sources, to develop their analytical thinking skills, and to encourage them to think about the past like historians. Finally, **Using Film and Television in the Classroom** offers numerous titles of documentaries and relevant Hollywood films for students to view.

**Additional Resources** appear at the conclusion of each chapter. These detailed guides list chapter-specific elements from the many supplements available with the book, including transparencies and digital images for classroom use, supplementary readings for students, and customized online activities that are fully integrated with the text and allow students to practice the skills historians use while reinforcing chapter content. A full list of the resources available with *The American Promise*, Fourth Edition, follows.

**NEW Research Paper Topics** are designed to encourage students to integrate material and think analytically. The sample research paper questions cover material from multiple chapters and ask students to interpret political, social, religious, and economic patterns and changes over time.

**Discussing *The American Promise: A Survival Guide for First-Time Teaching Assistants*** appears in Appendix I of this manual. This unique resource supplements the chapter-specific teaching suggestions with concrete advice for T.A.'s on teaching the U.S. history survey course—working with professors, overcoming problems with students, running discussion sections, designing assignments, grading tests and papers, relating thesis and dissertation work to classroom teaching, and more.

**Sample Syllabi**, which appear in Appendix II, offer suggestions for structuring survey courses using this textbook as well as other supplemental Bedford/St. Martin's materials. Syllabi are included for quarter schools, semester schools, and the one-semester survey.

## Supplements Available with *The American Promise*, Fourth Edition

This manual serves as the keystone to the comprehensive collection of supplements available with *The American Promise*, Fourth Edition, that provide an integrated support system for veteran teachers, first-time teacher assistants, and instructors who lecture to large classes. As noted above, chapter-specific suggestions for incorporating many of the supplements can be found throughout this manual.

### *Supplements*

#### For Instructors

**Transparencies.** This set of over 160 full-color acetate transparencies of full-size maps and images from both the full and compact editions of *The American Promise* helps instructors present lectures and teach students important map and image-reading skills.

**Book Companion Site at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).** The companion Web site gathers all the electronic resources for the fourth edition, including the *Online Study Guide* and related *Quiz Gradebook*, at a single Web address, providing convenient links to

lecture, assignment, and research materials such as PowerPoint chapter outlines and the digital libraries at Make History. The Web site also contains additional instructor materials including an online version of this manual, a guide to changing editions, a guide to using the Bedford Series in History and Culture with the fourth edition, and chapter questions for i>clicker, a classroom response system.

**Computerized Test Bank.** This test bank, by Bradford Wood (Eastern Kentucky University), Peter Lau (University of Rhode Island), and Sondra Cosgrove (Community College of Southern Nevada) contains easy-to-use software to create tests. Over 80 exercises are provided per chapter, including multiple-choice, fill-in-the-blank, map analysis, short essay, and full-length essay questions, including the questions from the textbook. Instructors can customize quizzes, add or edit both questions and answers, and export questions and answers to a variety of formats, including WebCT and Blackboard. The disc includes correct answers and essay outlines as well as separate test banks for the associated telecourses *Shaping America* and *Transforming America*.

**Instructor's Resource CD-ROM.** This disc provides instructors with ready-made and customizable PowerPoint multimedia presentations built around chapter outlines, maps, figures, and selected images from the textbook. The disc also includes selected images from the textbook in jpeg and PowerPoint format, and outline maps in PDF format for quizzing or handouts.

**Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).** Comprising the content of our five acclaimed online libraries—Map Central, the U.S. History Image Library, DocLinks, HistoryLinks, and PlaceLinks, Make History provides one-stop access to relevant digital content including maps, images, documents, and Web links. Students and instructors alike can search this free, easy-to-use database by keyword, topic, date, or specific chapter of *The American Promise* and can download any content they find. Instructors using *The American Promise* can also create collections of content and post them to the Web to share with students.

**Using the Bedford Series in History and Culture in the U.S. History Survey at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries).** This online guide helps instructors integrate volumes from the popular Bedford Series in History and Culture into their U.S. history survey course. The guide not only correlates themes from each series book to the survey course but also provides ideas for classroom discussions.

**Course Management Content.** E-content is available for this book in Blackboard, WebCT, Angel, and Desire2Learn course management systems. This e-content includes nearly all of the offerings from the book's *Online Study Guide* as well as the book's test bank and the test banks from the associated telecourses *Shaping America* and *Transforming America*.

**Videos and Multimedia.** A wide assortment of videos and multimedia CD-ROMs on various topics in American history is available to qualified adopters. Also available, *Reel Teaching*, featuring 59 short clips from the telecourses *Shaping America* and *Transforming America* in DVD and VHS formats for presentation during lectures.

**The American Promise for Distance Learning via Telecourse.** We are pleased to announce that *The American Promise* has been selected as the textbook for the award-winning U.S. history telecourses *Shaping America: U.S. History to 1877* and *Transforming America: U.S. History since 1877* by Dallas TeleLearning at the LeCroy Center for Educational Telecommunications, Dallas County Community College District. Guides for students and instructors fully integrate the narrative of *The American Promise* into each telecourse. For more information on these distance-learning opportunities, visit the Dallas TeleLearning Web site at <http://telelearning.dcccd.edu>, e-mail tlearn@dcccd.edu, or call 972-669-6650.

## For Students

**Reading the American Past. Selected Historical Documents,** Fourth Edition. Edited by Michael P. Johnson (Johns Hopkins University), one of the authors of *The American Promise*, and designed to complement the textbook, *Reading the American Past* provides a broad selection of over 150 primary source documents as well as editorial apparatus to help students understand the sources. Emphasizing the important social, political, and economic themes of U.S. history courses, thirty-one new documents (one per chapter) were added to provide a multiplicity of perspectives on environmental, Western, ethnic, and gender history and to bring a global dimension to the anthology. Available free when packaged with the text.

**NEW The American Promise and Reading the American Past e-Book.** Not your usual e-book, this one-of-a-kind online resource integrates the text of *The American Promise* with the 150 additional written sources of the companion sourcebook, *Reading the American Past*, along with the self-testing activities of the *Online Study Guide*, into one easy-to-use e-book.

With search functions stronger than in any competing text, this e-book is an ideal study and reference tool for students. Instructors can easily add documents, images, and other material to customize the text, making this e-book especially suited to instructors who wish to build dynamic online courses or use electronic texts and documents. Available free with the print text or stand-alone for about half the price of the textbook.

**NEW Audio Reviews for *The American Promise*, Fourth Edition** at [www.bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://www.bedfordstmartins.com/roark). Audio Reviews are a new tool that fits easily into students' lifestyles and provides a practical new way for them to study. These 25- to 30-minute summaries of each chapter in *The American Promise* highlight the major themes of the text and help reinforce student learning.

**Online Study Guide** at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark). The popular *Online Study Guide* is a free and unique learning tool to help students master themes and information presented in the textbook and improve their historical skills. Assessment quizzes, short answer and essay questions, and interactive activities allow students to evaluate their comprehension and provide them with feedback and text references for further study. Instructors can monitor students' progress through the online *Quiz Gradebook* or receive e-mail updates.

**The Bedford Glossary for U.S. History.** This handy supplement for the survey course gives students clear, concise definitions of the political, economic, social, and cultural terms used by historians and contemporary media alike. The terms are historically contextualized to aid comprehension. Available free when packaged with the text.

**History Matters: A Student Guide to U.S. History Online.** This resource, written by Alan Gervin, Kelly Schrum, and Roy Rosenzweig (all of George Mason University), provides an illustrated and annotated guide to 250 of the most useful Web sites for student research in U.S. history as well as advice on evaluating and using Internet sources. This essential guide is based on the acclaimed "History Matters" Web site developed by the American History Social Project and the Center for History and New Media. Available free when packaged with the text.

**Maps in Context: A Workbook for American History.** Written by historical cartography expert Gerald A. Danzer (University of Illinois, Chicago), this skill-building workbook helps students comprehend essential connections between geographic literacy and historical understanding. Organized to correspond to

the typical U.S. history survey course, *Maps in Context* presents a wealth of map-centered projects and convenient pop quizzes that give students hands-on experience working with maps. Available free when packaged with the text.

**Bedford Series in History and Culture.** Over 100 titles in this highly praised series combine first-rate scholarship, historical narrative, and important primary documents for undergraduate courses. Each book is brief, inexpensive, and focused on a specific topic or period. Package discounts are available.

**Historians at Work Series.** Brief enough for a single assignment yet meaty enough to provoke thoughtful discussion, each volume in this series examines a single historical question by combining unabridged selections by distinguished historians, each with a different perspective on the issue, with helpful learning aids. Package discounts are available.

**NEW Trade Books.** Titles published by sister companies Farrar, Straus and Giroux; Henry Holt; Hill and Wang; Picador; and St. Martin's Press are available at a 50 percent discount when packaged with the text.

**Online Bibliography at bedfordstmartins.com/roark.** Organized by book chapter and topic, the online bibliography provides an authoritative and comprehensive list of references to jump-start student research.

**Critical Thinking Modules at bedfordstmartins.com/historyroark.** This Web site offers over two dozen online modules for interpreting maps, audio, visual, and textual sources centered on events covered in the U.S. history survey. An online guide correlates modules to textbook chapters.

**A Student's Online Guide to History Reference Sources at bedfordstmartins.com/roark.** This Web site provides links to history-related databases, indexes, and journals, plus contact information for state, provincial, local, and professional history organizations.

**Bedford Bibliographer at bedfordstmartins.com/roark.** The Bedford Bibliographer, a simple but powerful Web-based tool, assists students with the process of collecting sources and generates bibliographies in four commonly documentation styles.

**Bedford Research Room at bedfordstmartins.com/roark.** The Research Room, drawn from Mike Palmquist's *The Bedford Researcher*, offers a wealth of resources—including interactive tutorials, research activities, student writing samples, and links to hundreds of other places online—to support students in courses across the disciplines. The site also offers instructors a library of helpful instructional tools.

**Research and Documentation Online at bedfordstmartins.com/roark.** This Web site provides clear advice on how to integrate primary and secondary sources into research papers, how to cite sources correctly, and how to format in MLA, APA, *Chicago*, or CBE style.

**The St. Martin's Tutorial on Avoiding Plagiarism at bedfordstmartins.com/roark.** This online tutorial reviews the consequences of plagiarism and explains what sources to acknowledge, how to keep good notes, how to organize research, and how to integrate sources appropriately. The tutorial includes exercises to help students practice integrating sources and recognize acceptable summaries.

**Student Course Guides for Shaping America: U.S. History to 1877 and Transforming America: U.S. History since 1877.** These guides by Kenneth G. Alfors (Dallas County Community College District) are designed for students using *The American Promise* in conjunction with the Dallas TeleLearning telecourses *Shaping America* and *Transforming America*. Lesson overviews, assignments, objectives, and focus points provide structure for distance learners, while enrichment ideas, suggested readings, and brief primary sources extend the unit lessons. Practice tests help students evaluate their mastery of the material.

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# Ancient America

## Before 1492

### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. What distinguishes archaeology and history as disciplines, and what are the possibilities and limitations of both fields?
2. Who were the earth's first human inhabitants, and what developments allowed them to migrate to the Western Hemisphere?
3. What are the main differences between Archaic hunter-gatherers and the Paleo-Indians, and what were the main characteristics of their cultures?
4. Why and how did the Archaic peoples transition from being nomadic hunter-gatherers to relying increasingly on agriculture and permanent settlements?
5. What were the primary major Native American cultures that flourished in North America on the eve of Columbus's arrival, and what similarities united these diverse cultures?
6. Describe the structure, influence, and expanse of the Mexica (Aztec) empire on the eve of Columbus's arrival.

by archaeologists from those studied by historians.

- D. Archaeology can tell us a great deal about the lives of humans who inhabited the world before the invention of writing.
- E. Much of the history of these ancient peoples, however, remains unknowable.

#### II. The First Americans

##### A. African and Asian origins

1. The process of continental drift encircled the land of the Western Hemisphere with large oceans, isolating it from the other continents long before early humans first appeared in Africa about 2 million years ago.
2. Modern humans appeared in Africa about 400,000 BP (years before the present time); all humans throughout the world today are descendants of these ancient Africans.
3. Two major developments allowed small bands of hunters in pursuit of game to migrate to the Western Hemisphere:  
(1) human adaptability to the frigid environment near the Arctic Circle, and  
(2) changes in the earth's climate that led to the reconnection of North America to Asia.
4. By about 25,000 BP, humans had spread from Africa throughout Europe and Asia; sometime after 15,000 BP, humans had traveled across Beringia, the land bridge that connected Siberia to Alaska, and arrived in the Western Hemisphere.
5. Archaeologists refer to these first migrants and their descendants, who originated in Asia, as Paleo-Indians.

##### B. Paleo-Indian Hunters

1. Paleo-Indians traveled through ice-free corridors along the eastern side of the

### Annotated Chapter Outline

#### I. Archaeology and History

- A. Archaeologists and historians share a desire to learn about people who lived in the past, but they employ different methods to inform their interpretations and to arrive at their conclusions.
- B. Archaeologists depend on physical objects for their evidence; historians rely on written records.
- C. The use of writing distinguishes the chronological periods and the people studied

- Canadian Rockies in pursuit of abundant large game.
2. They used distinctive spearheads, now known as Clovis points, to hunt mammoths, which provided the first Americans with abundant food and materials for clothing and shelter, and which promoted rapid population growth and expansion of peoples throughout the Western Hemisphere.
  3. Around 11,000 BP, climatic changes and human intervention rendered the mammoth and other large game extinct, engendering a major crisis for the Paleo-Indians.
  4. Paleo-Indians adapted to the extinction by making at least two important changes in their way of life: increased reliance on small game and the introduction of foraging.
  5. Environmentally motivated adaptations allowed for great cultural diversity among the post-Clovis peoples of ancient America.

### III. Archaic Hunters and Gatherers

#### A. Great Plains Bison Hunters

1. After the mammoth became extinct, some hunters concentrated on herds of bison that grazed the plains stretching east of the Rocky Mountains.
2. These hunters, who moved constantly to maintain contact with their prey, developed trapping techniques that made it easier to kill large numbers of animals.
3. Around AD 500, bows and arrows reached Great Plains hunters, allowing them to wound prey from farther away and making it easier to shoot repeatedly; but the hunters did not otherwise alter age-old techniques of bison hunting on foot.

#### B. Great Basin Cultures

1. Archaic peoples in the Great Basin inhabited a region of great environmental diversity.
2. Despite the variety and occasional abundance of animals, these peoples relied on plants for their most important food source.

#### C. Pacific Coast Cultures

1. The richness of the natural environment made present-day California the most densely settled and culturally diverse area in ancient North America.
2. California cultures shared the hunter-gatherer way of life and a reliance on acorns as a major food source.

3. The Pacific Northwest coast provided its inhabitants, who lived in relatively permanent villages, a rich natural environment, replete with a variety of fishes.

#### D. Eastern Woodland Cultures

1. East of the Mississippi River, Archaic peoples adapted to a forest environment that included many local variants.
2. Woodland hunters stalked deer as their most important prey and, like all Archaic peoples, gathered edible plants, seeds, and nuts.
3. Around 4000 BP, Woodland cultures added two important features to their basic lifestyle: agriculture and pottery.
4. Despite cultural changes brought on by the introduction of agriculture and pottery, ancient Woodland Americans retained basic features of their hunter-gatherer lifestyle.

### IV. Agricultural Settlements and Chiefdoms

#### A. Southwestern Cultures

1. Facing unpredictable rainfall and dry climates that made wild plant food supplies unreliable, ancient Americans in the Southwest developed cultures characterized by agriculture and multiunit dwellings called pueblos.
2. After 3500 BP corn became the most important cultivated crop for ancient Americans; reliance on corn encouraged Americans in the Southwest to become irrigation experts and limit their migratory habits in order to tend the crop.
3. About AD 200, small farming settlements began to appear throughout the Southwest, marking the emergence of the Mogollon culture, which began to decline about AD 1000.
4. Around AD 500, other ancient peoples migrated from Mexico to southern Arizona and established Hohokam settlements, which relied heavily on a sophisticated irrigation system until their decline in about AD 1400.
5. North of the Mogollon and Hohokam cultures, the Anasazi culture began to flourish around AD 100.
6. Persistent drought in southern Utah and Colorado and northern Arizona and New Mexico forced the Anasazi culture to abandon their large pueblos around AD 1200.

- B. Woodland Burial Mounds and Chiefdoms
1. Around 2500 BP, Woodland cultures began to build burial mounds, suggesting the existence of a social and political hierarchy that archaeologists term a chiefdom.
  2. Between 2500 and 2100 BP, the Adena people, centered in Ohio, built hundreds of burial mounds and placed in them a variety of grave goods.
  3. About 2100 BP, the Adena culture evolved into the Hopewell culture, which constructed even larger burial mounds and filled them with even more elaborate goods than their Adena forebears.
  4. Careful analysis suggests that burial was probably reserved for the most important members of Hopewell society; most people were cremated.
  5. The Hopewell culture declined around AD 400; around AD 800, the Mississippian culture emerged, surviving until around AD 1500.
  6. The largest Mississippian site was Cahokia, located in present-day Illinois, comprising over one hundred mounds of different sizes and shapes.
  7. By the time Europeans arrived the conditions that caused the emergence of large chiefdoms had changed and chiefs no longer commanded sweeping powers.
- V. Native Americans in the 1490s
- A. Native Americans populated and shaped the world the Europeans encountered.
  - B. By the 1490s, Native Americans lived throughout North America, but compared to populations in England and elsewhere in Europe, they were spread thin across the land.
  - C. Regions with abundant resources, such as the West Coast, supported relatively large populations, but even in these regions, the density was well below the average for England at the same time.
  - D. About one-third of Native Americans lived in the enormous Woodland region, east of the Mississippi, clustering in three broad linguistic and cultural groups: Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Muskogean.
  - E. Algonquian tribes inhabited the Atlantic seaboard, the Great Lakes region, and much of the upper Midwest; along the Atlantic seaboard many grew corn and other crops, in addition to hunting and fishing, while tribes around the Great Lakes and northern New England relied heavily on hunting, fishing, and gathering wild rice.
  - F. Iroquoian tribes, inhabiting Pennsylvania, central New York, and the upland regions of the Carolinas and Georgia, distinguished themselves from their neighbors by building permanent settlements, adhering to matrilineal rules of descent, and forming a confederation of Iroquoian tribes, the League of Five Nations.
  - G. Muskogean peoples spread throughout the woodlands of the Southeast and adapted remnants of earlier Mississippian cultures in their religion's rites.
  - H. The Great Plains peoples accounted for one-seventh of the total Native American population.
  - I. Roughly one-fourth of Native Americans lived in settled agricultural communities in the Southwest.
  - J. About one-fifth of all Native Americans resided along the Pacific coast.
  - K. Although trading was common, all Native Americans in the 1490s still depended on hunting and gathering for a major portion of their food; most tribes also practiced agriculture.
  - L. Native Americans adapted to the natural environment, but also altered it by building permanent structures, developing agricultural techniques, and setting fires to encourage the growth of certain plants that attracted deer and other game animals.
- VI. The Mexica: A Meso-American Culture
- A. Most of the roughly 80 million inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere at the time of Columbus's arrival lived in Mexico and Central and South America.
  - B. One of the most prominent cultures of this region was the Mexica (called Aztecs by Europeans), who began their rise to prominence in 1325 and by the 1490s ruled an empire larger in population and area than Spain and Portugal combined.
  - C. The Mexica worshipped the war god Huitzilopochtli, engaged in constant warfare to protect and extend the empire's borders, and sacrificed captives in elaborate rituals carried out by priests.
  - D. The empire functioned as a military and political system that exacted tribute from its subject peoples.
  - E. The redistribution of wealth from the commoners to the nobility made possible the achievements of Mexican society: huge cities, fabulous temples, teeming markets, and filled coffers.

- F. The Mexica allowed for an indigenous ruling elite to remain in power in conquered territories as long as they paid tribute to the empire, for which they got little in return, except immunity from punitive raids.
- G. After 1492, Spanish intruders capitalized on high levels of discontent among subject peoples to conquer the Mexica.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 1, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* questions included with the two Visual Activities and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 1.

## Review Questions

1. Why do historians rely on the work of archaeologists to write the history of ancient America? (pp. 4–5) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Ancient Americans lacked a writing system:* Humans had been living in the Americas for centuries before the arrival of Europeans in the fifteenth century. Although many American peoples had systems of symbolic representation, they did not have writing. (p. 5)

- *Distinction between methods of historians and archaeologists:* While both study the peoples of the past, historians work primarily from written records and archaeologists largely focus on other artifacts and physical records. In writing the history of the first Americans, historians have no written records to rely on so instead, they build on the research of archaeologists. (p. 4)

2. Why were humans able to migrate into North America after 15,000 BP? (pp. 6–7) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Human origins and dispersal:* Humans emerged in Africa around 400,000 BP, and over many millennia, slowly spread into Europe and Asia by traveling over land. Oceans prevented humans from using the same means to reach the Americas. (p. 6)

- *Adaptation to cold climates and emergence of the land bridge:* Two developments enabled humans to overcome the ocean barrier: First, they learned how to survive the cold of the Arctic as permanent residents. Second, during the Wisconsin glaciation, sea levels

dropped to expose a land bridge between Asia and America, which scientists call Beringia. These developments enabled the first hunters to travel across the northern bridge into the Americas sometime after 15,000 BP. (pp. 7, 10)

3. Why did Archaic Native Americans shift from big-game hunting to foraging and smaller-game hunting? (pp. 10–11) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Disappearance of large game:* Early artifacts of Paleo-Indians indicate that they specialized in hunting mammoths. Around 11,000 BP, only a few thousand years after humans had arrived in the Americas, the large mammals began to disappear, likely due to climatic change as well as hunting. (pp. 10–11)

- *Adaptation to change by exploiting other resources:* Paleo-Indians responded to these challenges by pursuing other sources of nourishment, including hunting small game and foraging for wild plant foods more intensively. (p. 11)

4. How did the availability of food influence the distribution of Native American population across the continent? (pp. 10–17) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Diversified modes of survival:* As big-game hunting gave way to smaller-scale hunting, foraging, and agriculture, Native Americans adopted diverse strategies for survival by pursuing other food sources. Populations flourished where large food supplies were available, as on the West coast, and where humans learned to extract food from less accommodating environments. (pp. 11–16)

- *Agriculture and settlement:* In environments with an unpredictable supply of food and water, such as the American Southwest, some ancient Indians adopted agriculture. Agriculture helped Native Americans moderate their vulnerability to environmental changes, and led some to abandon migratory habits and establish more densely populated settlements. (pp. 17–20)

- *Environmental change and movement:* Still, dramatic environmental changes and their impact on available food supply could produce dramatic shifts in the distribution of population, as when the Anasazi of the southwest abandoned their settlements after a prolonged drought and migrated to other regions. (pp. 19–20)

5. Why did some Native Americans set fire to the land? (pp. 25–28) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Fire as hunting tool:* Ancient Americans had a complex relationship to their environments; the land shaped Native Americans' practices, but Native Americans also shaped the land itself. Different Native American groups used fire as a tool in their search for sustenance. Great Plains hunters used fires

to help hunt buffalo and deer. Many groups in various regions used fires to change forests to improve food sources for game populations. (pp. 25, 28)

6. How did the payment of tribute influence the Mexican empire? (pp. 29–30) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Tribute and the concentration of wealth:* The Mexica's empire was both a political and military system through which they derived tribute from conquered peoples. The resulting redistribution of goods produced by conquered people and the concentration of those goods in the hands of Mexican elites made the construction of cities and massive monuments possible. (p. 29)

- *Spanish interest in Mexican Empire:* The huge cities, temples, markets, gardens, and storehouses of gold and treasure created by the Mexica attracted the attention of the Spaniards who came to the New World. (p. 29)

- *Discontent among subjected populations:* Conquered people paid tribute to Mexica elites but received little in return. This system left Mexican subjects feeling exploited and discontented. The Spanish used this high level of discontent to their advantage in conquering the Mexica (p. 30).

parts of the world even later. This development is especially crucial to the work of historians, who rely primarily on written records. (p. 5)

- *Historians' focus on a small, recent segment of human history:* Emphasis on written records means historians focus on the most recent 2 percent of the 400 millennia that modern humans have existed. The many millennia of human history prior to this development provide no written records for historians to examine. (p. 5)

- *Archaeologists' insights into ancient peoples:* By examining the artifacts left by humans who lacked writing, archaeologists learn about the history of the most ancient humans. For example, they could determine that the Paleo-Indians specialized in hunting mammoths. They can also provide insights into the environmental shifts that changed the lives and settlements of ancient Americans, as among the Anasazi. (pp. 10–11, p. 20)

- *Limits of archaeology:* Although archaeologists are able to distill much information about ancient peoples from their artifacts, there are many questions that cannot be answered without writing. Full accounts of human history depend on some permanent way of exchanging information with language. Without this, the lives of ancient peoples are necessarily shadowy. (p. 5)

2. Discuss Native Americans' strategies for surviving in the varied climates of North America. How did their different approaches to survival contribute to the diversity of Native American cultures? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Transition from large-game hunting:* Paleo-Indian hunters likely followed large game across Beringia and into the Americas. Hunting and the warming of the environment most likely contributed to the extinction of large mammals. Humans then had to adopt more varied ways of providing for themselves, leading to greater cultural diversity. (pp. 10–11)

- *Archaic Indians hunted animals and gathered wild plants:* Rather than engaging in agriculture, Archaic Indians' survival depended on their ability to harvest enough resources from their environments. The kinds and volumes of resources available to them in different regions shaped their ways of life. (p. 11)

- *Examples of variation:* For example, the peoples of the Great Basin adapted to their varied and volatile landscape by relying on plants as their most important food source. By storing such resources and migrating following better conditions, they were able to survive dry periods and maintain this way of life well after 1492. In contrast, the Chumash of California exploited the coast's rich supply of fish, forming stable settlements, and trading and warring with other tribes. These examples suggest that different

## Making Connections

1. Explain the different approaches historians and archaeologists bring to studying people in the past. How do the different sources they draw on shape their accounts of the human past? In your answer, cite specific examples from the history of ancient America. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Distinction between the practice of archeology and history:* Historians' primary focus on written sources and archaeologists' principal concern with other kinds of physical artifacts shape their respective studies of human history. (p. 4)

- *Different sources on which historians and archaeologists rely:* Writings, ranging from private diaries and letters to public and official documents like speeches and laws, are the resources historians draw on in their research. Archaeologists analyze other kinds of artifacts left behind by humans, such as bones and pottery, along with environmental evidence, like soil, to learn about human history. Different kinds of sources yield different kinds of information about people. (p. 4)

- *Late emergence of writing in human history:* Writing emerged in China, Egypt, and Central America about 8,000 years ago, and came to other

modes of hunting and gathering could produce different patterns of human society. (pp. 12–16)

3. For over twelve thousand years Native Americans successfully adapted to environmental changes in North America; they also produced significant changes in the environments around them. In your answer, discuss specific examples of how Native Americans changed the North American landscape. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Examples of Archaic Indians' adaptation to varied environments:* Paleo-Indian hunters likely followed large game across Beringia and into the Americas. Hunting and the warming of the environment most likely contributed to the extinction of large mammals. Humans adapted to these changes by adopting more varied ways of providing for themselves, leading to greater cultural diversity. Consider for example the peoples of the Southwest, Great Basin, and so on. For example, the Hohokam developed systems of irrigation to facilitate agricultural production in their arid southwestern environment. (pp. 11–19)

- *Examples of Indians' impact on their environments:* Discussion might cite the role some researchers believe Paleo-Indians played in the extinction of large mammals. They might also cite diverse Indians' use of fires in hunting which, in the long term, created meadows, open forests, and promoted a varied and productive environment. They might also cite the monumental record many groups, such as the Mexica, left of their environments in the forms of temples and dwellings. (pp. 25–29)

- *Hunting and gathering produced a thin, dispersed human settlement in the Americas:* This was in contrast to a relatively dense population in England and elsewhere in Europe. The Europeans' use of domesticated animals and other innovations stood in stark contrast with the distinctive adaptations of hunter-gatherers to their local environments, leading to different settlement patterns.

4. Rich archaeological and manuscript sources have enabled historians to develop a detailed portrait of the Mexica on the eve of European contact. How did the Mexica establish and maintain their expansive empire? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Account of the Mexica's rise to dominance through force:* Small bands of Mexica settled along Lake Texcoco where their skill as warriors became the basis for their expansion. After decades of hiring out as mercenaries to stronger tribes, by 1430 the Mexica had engaged in successful military campaigns of their own. By 1490, they had established a large empire. (p. 29)

- *Tribute system:* The Mexica forced the people they conquered to supply them with large amounts of tribute in the form of goods ranging from food to

candidates for sacrifice. The concentration of wealth in the hands of a small Mexican elite facilitated by the tribute system reflected the distribution of power in Mexican society. (p. 29)

- *Management of conquered people:* Beyond demanding large amounts of tribute, the Mexica largely permitted the rulers of the peoples they conquered to retain their authority. The absence of a sense of connection within the empire, the exorbitant demands of the tribute system, and the dependence on force created a vulnerability the Spanish would exploit. (p. 30)

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Ancient Agriculture (p. 18)

**Reading the Image:** In what ways has this ancient farmer modified and taken advantage of the natural environment? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Modifications:* The farmer has modified nature most notably by clearing land in which to plant his crops. Such clearings on a large scale created significant environmental changes on the North American continent before Europeans even arrived, and suggest that the image of Native Americans as more attuned to nature than Europeans is more mythical than factual.

- *Taking Advantage of Nature:* The farmer has taken a piece of wood and transformed it into a dibble stick, a farming instrument. The dibble stick is an indication of how ancient farmers took advantage of their natural environment by creating tools that made planting speedier and less physically rigorous.

**Connections:** What were the advantages and disadvantages of agriculture compared to hunting and gathering? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Advantages:* Agriculture created both new opportunities and new difficulties for ancient American societies. Gourds, pumpkins, corn, and other vegetables added variety to their diets, served as a more predictable food supply than game or gathered foods, and eased conflicts between communities that competed for hunting and gathering grounds.

- *Disadvantages:* Environmental conditions such as lack of rainfall that sometimes made wild animals or plants less plentiful also caused difficulties for farmers, who often had to learn how to conserve water and irrigate their crops in order to produce enough food for their communities.

## Pueblo Bonito, Chaco Canyon, New Mexico (p. 20)

**Reading the Image:** How do the scale and magnificence of the buildings at Chaco suggest that the Anasazi were engaged in far more than simple subsistence? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Scale:* Cultures focused solely on survival would have neither the time nor inclination to build settlements as large as Pueblo Bonito. While the wall around the settlement's perimeter would have served to protect the community from invaders, the variety of sizes and shapes of both the rooms and the kivas within the settlement suggest social purposes beyond self-defense and subsistence.

- *Magnificence:* The alignment of major buildings to mark the spring and winter solstices similarly suggest a purpose beyond mere survival. Such attention to detail offers no clear advantage in procuring the basic necessities of food, water, and shelter. Consequently, their presence indicates a society that had the luxury of considering factors beyond subsistence when constructing their settlement.

**Connections:** What changes in ancient American culture made the development of complex structures at Chaco possible? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Changes:* The most significant change that made the development of complex structures at Chaco possible was the emergence of agriculture as a primary means of subsistence. Agriculture allowed societies to forego the nomadic lifestyle necessary for communities that survived primarily by hunting. Since they could now remain in one location year-round, agricultural societies found it worthwhile to invest the time and energy to make their home sites more complex and thus better able to satisfy their social desires beyond the bare necessities. Agriculture also freed more of the community to work on building settlements, because it did not take as much time or manpower as hunting wild game or foraging for wild plants. Another change that was necessary to allow the development of agricultural societies was the ability to gain control over the region's water supply. Particularly in the Southwest, where water was often scarce, communities had to learn irrigation techniques in order to ensure that they would have the water necessary to grow enough food to support the entire settlement.

## Map 1.1 Continental Drift (p. 6)

**Reading the Map:** Which continents separated from Pangaea earliest? Which ones separated from each other last? Which are still closely connected to each other? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Spread of the continents:* India was the first continent to break free of Pangaea. Between 135 million years ago and 65 million years ago, other continents on the south of Pangaea broke off. These were South America, Antarctica, and Australia. In the past 65 million years, North America separated from Pangaea, and Australia and Antarctica split from each other. Africa, Europe, and Asia still remain closely connected.

**Connections:** How does continental drift explain why human life developed elsewhere on the planet for hundreds of thousands of years before the first person entered the Western Hemisphere during the past 15,000 years? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Development of human life:* Human life developed in Africa approximately 2 million years ago, following the separation of North and South America from Africa, Europe, and Asia. When the continents located in today's Western Hemisphere, the Americas, broke away from Pangaea, they were encircled by large oceans that early humans could not cross. It would take hundreds of thousands of years for humans to migrate by foot across the ice and land routes that connected North America to northeastern Asia.

## Map 1.2 Native North American Cultures (p. 12)

**Reading the Map:** What crucial environmental features set the boundaries of each cultural region? (The topography indicated on Map 1.3, *Native North Americans about 1500*, may be helpful—see page 24 of the text.) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Mountain ranges and sources of water:* The Pacific Ocean on one side and the coastal mountains on the other set the peoples of the Northwest coast and California off from the culture of the Great Basin, located between the Sierra Nevadas and the Rocky Mountains. Between the Rockies and the Mississippi River lay the Great Plains. To their east, from the foothills of the Appalachians to the Atlantic Ocean lived the peoples of the Eastern Woodlands.

**Connections:** How did environmental factors and variations affect the development of different groups of Native American cultures? Why do you think historians and archaeologists group cultures together by their regional positions? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Effect of the environment on Native American culture:* The natural environment, particularly as it

## Map Activities

For more information, see the Map Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

determined access to water and game animals, created conditions that encouraged specific ways of living in each environmental region. Between the Pacific Ocean and the coastal mountains, the sea and tributary rivers supplied Native Americans with fish, while rainfall trapped by the mountains created lush forests that housed rich stocks of game and plant life.

- *Development of specific tribes:* The climate and land of the Northwest allowed for densely settled populations, and diverse cultures that engaged in extensive trade. Fewer people lived in the arid climate of the Great Basin, and they sometimes traveled far for food. The peoples of the Southwest, another dry culture region, overcame these conditions by developing irrigated agriculture. The open grasslands of the Great Plains encouraged highly mobile societies oriented toward the hunt for big game. In the Eastern Woodlands, where rivers enriched the soil, cultures mixed hunting and agriculture.

- *Study of early Native American tribes:* Historians and archaeologists group cultures by region in order to identify the general life patterns that overlay the many particularities of Native American cultures. Native American culture regions corresponded to environment because the ways that people adapted to their natural setting established broad limits on human pursuits—irrigation in the arid interior versus fishing on the coasts, for example.

## Lecture Strategies

See also the maps and images for presentation in “Additional Resources for Chapter 1.”

### LECTURE 1

#### *An Introduction to the Discipline of History*

Because archaeological and anthropological evidence informs much of this chapter, you may want to take the time in this first lecture to introduce your students to the discipline of history, explore why it is worth the effort of study, and discuss how it differs from other disciplines. *History* is generally document-based; *archaeology* focuses on recovering and interpreting artifacts; and *historical anthropology* frequently uses narratives to understand social arrangements of past civilizations. Because historians rely on written records as their source material, you might want to distinguish between writing—a system of symbols that record spoken language—and systems of symbolic representation. Draw students’ attention to the Mexican stone tablet (p. 5) to make this point clear. To show the differences between history and archaeology,

point out that the story of George McJunkin’s discovery of the Folsom Bone Pit is history, whereas the use of the artifacts found in the pit to discern information about the past is archaeology. Use the chapter’s photos of artifacts to explore the ways in which scholars reconstruct the past through material culture. Show students the Clovis spear straightener (p. 11), for example, and ask them to consider what kind of information about a past society can be gleaned from this object. End by asking students if they see limits to history as a discipline. Do preliterate societies have histories? Because this section in the textbook is short, you may want to cover this material on the first day of class, after you have handed out the syllabus and reviewed assignments and classroom policies. This mini lecture, if you are brave enough to keep your students for the full period on the first day, can serve as a good introduction to the discipline of history.

### LECTURE 2

#### *The Peopling of Prehistoric America and the Diversity of North American Culture*

The first part of this lecture should focus on the geography of immigration. The *Beyond America’s Borders* feature “Nature’s Immigrants” (pp. 8–9) compellingly demonstrates the persistent migration of animals to North America well before the first humans arrived. Emphasize that on the eve of the arrival of humans in the New World, the mammals they would prey upon were descendants of these animal migrants that had come to North America millions of years earlier. Then, using the maps in the textbook, show how the land bridge between Asian Siberia and American Alaska, referred to as Beringia, allowed small bands of hunters to migrate to the Western Hemisphere. Demonstrate that a single small group, reproducing, could have populated the Americas in a single millennium while following herds of mammoth, which had never previously encountered human predators. You may also want to cover the physical geography and topography of the Western Hemisphere at this point. Explore the extent of glaciation during the Wisconsin period and the shifts in the ecological balance once this period ended. You may also want to bring into perspective the short span of recorded history compared with the length of time that humans have populated the Western Hemisphere. Continue this lecture by asking students to identify prevalent stereotypes of Native Americans and to confront the myth of the Plains Indian culture as the prototypical indigenous culture. Use this exercise to move to a discussion of the development of cultural diversity based on food sources. The extinction of the mammoths 11,000 years ago forced humans to scavenge for whatever type of

food existed in their general vicinity. These food sources reflect the availability of water and the general climate and location of the area. Discuss each of the cultural regions presented in the textbook: how the people lived, how populous they were, and how they evolved. Note the transition of a culture from strictly hunting, to hunting and gathering, to the inclusion of migratory or sedentary agriculture. Have students discuss whether the notion of “progress” is applicable to early Native American societies. Here, you may want to confront the common misconception that these cultures were “less civilized,” or the people less intelligent, than those of today. Then ask students to define the word *civilized*. Apply some of their standards to North American cultures of the Archaic period. Be sure to mention the Mississippian and Anasazi cultures, and ask whether they meet the criteria established by the class. End this lecture by having students map on a time line the persistence of the Paleo-Indians during the period of the Archaic hunters and gatherers. Students should be sure that they mark when corn cultivation began in Central America and in the American Southwest, when Woodland burial mounds appeared, and when the Anasazi first began to build cliff dwellings and pueblos. Have them then mark the time that has elapsed since the arrival of Columbus. The length of the time line before the arrival of Columbus should impress on them the long scope of ancient America.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. Dinosaurs and Humans Coexisted

No matter how informed your class may be, some students may have the impression, strongly developed by Hollywood, that humans and dinosaurs coexisted. The best time to dispel this fallacy is as soon as you start to discuss the first Americans as mammoth hunters. Mastodons were large and are now extinct, but here their similarity to dinosaurs ends. Mastodons were mammals, just like the other large animals of this geological era. To make this point clear, have students review the *Beyond America's Borders* feature “Nature’s Immigrants” (pp. 8–9).

### 2. The Lack of Civilization in the Ancient World

Students frequently equate “old” with backward and undeveloped. It is important to point out not only the great diversity of Native American cultures that developed during the Archaic period but also the high degree of sophistication attained by some of these cultures. While some of the hunter-gatherer cultures, such as those of the Pacific coast, demonstrated

the social stratification indicative of a well-developed society, those cultures that made the transition to sedentary agriculture to support large populations—for instance, the Mississippian and Southwestern cultures—had to create sophisticated social systems to maintain themselves.

### 3. The Noble Savage—From Rousseau to James Fenimore Cooper

Western writers have portrayed Native Americans’ behavior as unrealistically exalted and noble. The modern version of this myth tends to feature Native American cultures as ecologically sound or nonviolent. Point out that this myth reflects implicit (and invites explicit) comparison with, reaction against, or apology for European behavior on coming to the Americas. When presenting the transition from the Paleo-Indian era, be sure to point out that scholars suspect over-hunting to have played a major role in the extinction of Native Americans’ primary food source (the mammoth). You may also want to suggest that violent death and intertribal warfare for hunting-and-gathering territory played a role in reducing Native American life expectancy.

### 4. The Plains Indian as the Prototypical Native American

Most of your students will be aware that movies offer fictional representations fraught with factual errors. Nonetheless, your students may have internalized the oft-repeated Hollywood depiction of Native Americans as people who live in tepees and chase buffalo from horseback. An emphasis on the diversity of cultures in North America will best dispel this error. Specifically, you may want to remind students that the ancient horses that had once existed in the Western Hemisphere were extinct. Horses were not reintroduced to North America until Europeans brought them in the late fifteenth century.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

You might consider showing “Seeking the First Americans,” the first episode of the *Odyssey I* series, produced and distributed by PBS. This first episode follows archaeologists from Alaska to Texas as they search for clues to the identity of the earliest inhabitants of North America.

### Class Discussion Starters

Have students imagine, “What if ancient Asian migration to the Western Hemisphere had not occurred?” Would the land have existed in some sort of “pristine”

condition until the arrival of Europeans in the fifteenth century? How might the Western Hemisphere have evolved? What might the Europeans have found when they arrived in the New World?

## Additional Resources for Chapter 1

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 1 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 1.1: Continental Drift (p. 6)
- Map 1.2: Native North American Cultures (p. 12)
- Map 1.3: Native North Americans about 1500 (p. 24)
- Anasazi Effigy (p. 4)
- Mexican Human Sacrifice (p. 28)

#### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 1 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 1.1: Continental Drift (p. 6)
- Map 1.2: Native North American Cultures (p. 12)
- Map 1.3: Native North Americans about 1500 (p. 24)
- Figure 1.1: Human Habitation of the World and the Western Hemisphere (p. 7)
- Figure 1.2: Native American Population in North America about 1492 (Estimated) (p. 23)

- Ancient Agriculture (p. 18)
- Pueblo Bonito, Chaco Canyon, New Mexico (p. 20)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor's Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### For Students

#### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 1 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- A Taino Origin Story: *Ramón Paré on Taino Religious Practices*
- A Seneca Origin Narrative: *The Woman Who Fell from the Sky*
- Genesis: The Christian Origin Narrative: *In the Beginning*
- Aristotle on Masters and Slaves: *The Politics*, ca. 300 BC

#### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 1:

#### Map Activities

- Map 1.1: Continental Drift (p. 6)
- Map 1.2: Native North American Cultures (p. 12)

#### Visual Activities

- Ancient Agriculture (p. 18)
- Pueblo Bonito, Chaco Canyon, New Mexico (p. 20)

# Europeans Encounter the New World

## 1492–1600

### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. What demographic shifts and technological innovations of the fifteenth century allowed Europeans to explore regions outside their own continent?
2. What was the Columbian exchange, and what were its costs and benefits to Europeans and Indians?
3. How did Spain create its empire in the Caribbean and in Central and South America, and what were the costs of Spanish conquest and colonization?
4. How did Spain's New World colonies affect its political ambitions in Europe?

### Annotated Chapter Outline

#### I. Europe in the Age of Exploration

##### A. Mediterranean Trade and European Expansion

1. From the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries, Italian merchants dominated the lucrative trade of exotic goods from Persia, Asia Minor, India, and Africa to the Mediterranean.
2. The Black Death, an epidemic of bubonic plague that occurred in the mid-fourteenth century and killed about one-third of the European population, had major long-term consequences for European society.
3. The insecurity of the fifteenth century prompted a few people to take greater chances, including embarking on

dangerous sea voyages through uncharted waters to points unknown.

4. Monarchs who hoped to enrich their coffers and solidify their power sponsored these expeditions.
  5. Scientific and technological advances, including movable type and navigational aids, helped set the stage for exploration.
- B. A Century of Portuguese Exploration
1. Portugal, with less than 2 percent of the population of Christian Europe, took the lead in exploration, motivated by religious zeal to conquer and expand into what it considered heathen lands.
  2. The most influential advocate of Portuguese exploration was Prince Henry the Navigator, son of the Portuguese king; he led efforts to extend the Reconquest down the African coast.
  3. The Portuguese did not appreciate the immensity of Africa or the length or shape of its shoreline; explorers had to develop new sailing techniques and new ships, notably the caravel, to complete their voyages.
  4. The Portuguese met fierce resistance in inland Africa, which confined their expeditions to coastal trading posts.
  5. By 1480, Portuguese explorers began a conscious search for a sea route to Asia, eventually succeeding with Vasco de Gama's 1498 voyage to India.
  6. Portugal's African exploration during the fifteenth century broke the monopoly of

the old Mediterranean trade with the East and led to the development of sailing methods later employed by Columbus and others.

## II. A Surprising New World in the Western Atlantic

### A. The Exploration of Columbus

1. Columbus, the son of a Genoan weaver, moved to Lisbon and married Felipa Moniz, whose family held close ties to Prince Henry the Navigator; through these connections, Columbus gained access to explorers' maps and papers.
2. Like most Europeans, Columbus believed the earth was spherical; unlike most Europeans, however, Columbus believed the earth was small enough that ships would be able to reach the East by sailing west.
3. After failed attempts to convince various monarchs to sponsor an expedition, Columbus finally won financing from King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain in 1492.
4. Columbus's first voyage landed him on a tiny Caribbean island about 300 miles north of the eastern tip of Cuba, which he claimed for Isabella and Ferdinand of Spain and named San Salvador.
5. Columbus, assuming he was in the East Indies near Japan or China, called the island's inhabitants "Indians"; the islanders called themselves Tainos and were an agricultural people who cultivated a variety of crops and worshiped ancestral spirits whom they believed to inhabit natural objects such as trees and stones.
6. Though Columbus and his men were disappointed that they did not find spectacular riches or make contact with Asian rulers, Ferdinand and Isabella were overjoyed with Columbus's discovery, which made Spain a serious challenger to Portugal in the race for a western route to China.
7. Spain and Portugal's competing claims to new lands in the West forced the countries to negotiate the Treaty of Tordesillas, which drew an imaginary line 1,100 miles west of the Canary Islands; land discovered west of the line belonged to Spain, while Portugal claimed land to the east.
8. Columbus's discoveries proved that it was possible to sail from Europe to the western

rim of the Atlantic and back again, and, most importantly, made clear that to the west lay lands entirely unknown to Europeans.

### B. The Geographic Revolution and the Columbian Exchange

1. Columbus's initial discovery altered Europeans' understanding of world geography; it took a generation of additional exploration, however, before Europeans could comprehend the larger contours of those discoveries.
2. By 1500, European experts knew that several large chunks of land cluttered the western Atlantic; in 1507, a German cartographer named Martin Waldseemüller published the first map that showed the New World separate from Asia.
3. Two additional discoveries confirmed Waldseemüller's speculation: Vasco Núñez de Balboa's discovery of the Isthmus of Panama and Ferdinand Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe.
4. All but 18 of the original 250 sailors on Magellan's trip—including Magellan himself—perished on the journey, but the trip provided valuable geographic information, confirming that America was a continent separated from Asia by the Pacific Ocean.
5. Columbus's arrival in the Caribbean ended the age-old separation of the hemispheres and initiated the Columbian exchange, a transatlantic exchange of goods, people, and ideas.
6. Spaniards brought to the New World Christianity, iron technology, sailing ships, firearms, wheeled vehicles, and horses, but also, unknowingly, carried with them Old World viruses that decimated native populations.
7. Ancient American people, ideas, and goods (such as tobacco) made the return trip across the Atlantic.

## III. Spanish Exploration and Conquest

### A. The Conquest of Mexico

1. Hernán Cortés arrived in the New World in 1504, seeking adventure and to make a name for himself.
2. Cortés was greatly aided by a fourteen-year-old girl named Malinali (whom the Spaniards called Marina), who spoke several native languages and served as an interpreter for Cortés and his men.

3. Montezuma, the Mexican emperor, sent representatives from the capital city, Tenochtitlán, bearing gifts fit for gods, including fine gold.
  4. In August 1519, Cortés marched inland to find Montezuma. Cortés quickly took the Mexican emperor hostage. He later precipitated a revolt by the citizens of Tenochtitlán, who killed Montezuma because they viewed him as a puppet of the Spanish and mounted a ferocious attack on the Spaniards.
  5. In the spring of 1521, Cortés and tens of thousands of Indian allies mounted a complex campaign against the Mexican capital; by August, they were victorious.
- B. The Search for Other Mexicos
1. Conquistadors quickly fanned out from Tenochtitlán in search of other sources of treasure like Mexico; the most spectacular prize fell to Francisco Pizarro, who conquered the Incan empire in Peru.
  2. Juan Ponce de León and Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón both explored the Atlantic coast of Florida; Ayllón established a small settlement on the Georgia coast, the first Spanish attempt to establish a foothold in what is now the United States.
  3. Pánfilo de Narváez surveyed the Gulf coast from Florida to Texas in 1528, but the expedition ended in shipwreck.
  4. In 1539, Hernando de Soto set out to find riches in North America; he landed in Florida and worked his way through much of southeastern North America for three years, never finding rich, majestic civilizations; he died near the Mississippi River.
  5. Tales of fabulous wealth also lured Francisco Vásquez de Coronado to search the Southwest and Great Plains of North America in the mid-sixteenth century and Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo to lead an expedition in 1542 that sailed along the coast of California.
  6. These probes persuaded Spaniards that enormous territories stretched northward, but that there were no more majestic civilizations to conquer.
- C. New Spain in the Sixteenth Century
1. Spain was the dominant European power in the Western Hemisphere during the sixteenth century.
  2. The Spanish monarchy claimed ownership of most of the land in the Western Hemisphere and gave the conquistadors permission to explore and plunder, claiming only one-fifth (the “royal fifth”) of any confiscated goods.
  3. The distribution of conquered towns among Cortes’s men institutionalized the system of *encomienda*, which empowered conquistadors to rule the Indians and the lands in and around their towns.
  4. In theory, the *encomendero* (the person who “owned” the town) was supposed to encourage the Indians to convert to Christianity, to be responsible for their material well-being, and to guarantee order and justice in the town; the Indians were to pay to the encomendero the tribute that they previously had paid to the Mexican empire.
  5. While missionaries labored earnestly to convert Indians to Christianity, the encomenderos subjected Indians to chronic overwork, mistreatment, and abuse, finding uncompensated Indian labor to be the most important treasure the Spaniards could plunder.
  6. Encomienda engendered two groups of influential critics: (1) missionaries who found that cruel mistreatment of the Indians by the encomenderos made it difficult to convert Indians to Christianity, and (2) royal officials who moved to replace the encomenderos with royal bureaucrats.
  7. In 1549, the Spanish monarchy imposed the *repartimiento*, an important reform that limited the labor an encomendero could command from his Indians.
  8. Notably, while the repartimiento limited forced labor to forty-five days per year from each adult male, it did not challenge the principle of forced labor itself, which grew directly out of the Spaniards’ assumption that they were superior to the Indians.
  9. From the viewpoint of Spain, the single most important economic activity in New Spain after 1540 was silver mining.
  10. For Spaniards, life in New Spain was relatively easy; during the sixteenth century, about 225,000 Spaniards settled in the colonies; virtually all Spanish settlers were poor young men, who made up no more than 1 or 2 percent of the total population.
  11. The tiny number of Spaniards, the masses of Indians, and the frequency of intermarriage between Spanish men and

- Indian women created a steep social hierarchy defined by perceptions of social origin and race and establishing a precedent for what would become a pronounced pattern in the European colonies of the New World.
- D. The Toll of Spanish Conquest and Colonization
1. By 1560, the major centers of Indian civilization had been conquered, their leaders overthrown, their religion held in contempt, and their people forced to work for the Spaniards.
  2. The deadly toll of Old World diseases on the native inhabitants of New Spain meant that its most valuable resource—Indian labor—dwindled rapidly.
  3. To help redress the need for laborers, the colonists began to import African slaves, although their numbers remained low throughout the sixteenth century.
- E. Spanish Outposts in Florida and New Mexico
1. By the mid-sixteenth century, Spain also established a few settlements in Florida in order to reaffirm its claim of ownership of North America and to protect Spanish ships from enemy ships along the southeastern coast.
  2. In 1565, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés established St. Augustine in Florida, the first permanent European settlement within what would become the United States, and in 1598 Juan de Oñate established an outpost in present-day New Mexico.
  3. The Spaniards ruthlessly put down a pueblo uprising in the Southwest region, but they did not bring peace or stability there; after a second uprising, many Spaniards returned to Mexico, leaving New Mexico as a small, dusty assertion of Spanish claims to the North American Southwest.
- IV. The New World and Sixteenth-Century Europe
- A. The Protestant Reformation and the European Order
1. In 1517, Martin Luther, an obscure Catholic priest, initiated the Protestant Reformation by publicizing his criticisms of the Catholic Church.
  2. Luther preached a doctrine known as justification by faith: Individual Christians could obtain salvation only if they had faith that God would save them, and not through offerings, church rituals, or following the orders of priests.
  3. Luther hoped his ideas would reform the Catholic Church, but instead they ruptured forever the unity of Christianity in western Europe.
  4. Charles V, the king of Spain, followed by his son and successor, Philip II, vowed to exterminate Luther's Protestant heresies and uphold the existing order of sixteenth-century Europe.
- B. New World Treasure and Spanish Ambitions
1. Both Charles V and his son and successor Philip II fought wars throughout the world during the sixteenth century funded by wealth from New Spain.
  2. Ultimately, constant warfare outstripped the revenues arriving from New Spain, forcing the monarchs to raise taxes on poor peasants in Spain and to borrow from European bankers to pay for their military exploits, putting the crown deep into debt.
  3. Spaniards, however, generally did not focus on the costs of warfare, but rather looked to New Spain, where their military, economic, and religious achievements gave them great pride and confidence.
- C. Europe and the Spanish Example
1. Spain's New World conquests provided an important lesson for its European rivals: the New World and its people could be used to expand European wealth and influence.
  2. Both France and England tried to follow Spain's example and send explorers to search for a Northwest Passage along the Atlantic coast of North America; in 1524, France sent Giovanni da Verrazano and after France's attempt failed, England sent Martin Frobisher, but Frobisher returned from northern Canada with no more success than the French explorers.
  3. England's attempts to establish North American settlements were no more fruitful than the English search for a northern route to China; Sir Humphrey Gilbert's efforts to found colonies in Newfoundland and Sir Walter Raleigh's efforts to found colonies on Roanoke Island off the coast of North Carolina both failed utterly.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at

the end of chapter 2, the *Questions for Analysis* and *Debate* at the end of the *Documenting the American Promise* feature, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 2.

## Review Questions

1. Why did European exploration expand dramatically in the fifteenth century? (pp. 37–40) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Bubonic plague:* In the mid-fourteenth century, an epidemic of bubonic plague killed about a third of the European population. In the long term, this devastation left the reduced population with an increased food supply, concentrated more wealth in the hands of survivors, and spurred some Europeans to pursue opportunities beyond their local communities. (p. 37)

- *European ambitions:* Exploration offered monarchs a route to expanding territory and sources of wealth, while it offered adventurous commoners a possible path toward social advancement. (p. 38)

- *Scientific and technological advances:* The refinement of navigational and timekeeping tools such as hourglasses and astrolabes facilitated sailing into unknown waters. (p. 38)

- *The Reconquest:* Portugal and Spain's participation in Reconquest provided a rationale for expansion into other heathen lands. Their explorations of Africa helped them develop techniques for managing extended trips. (pp. 39–40)

2. How did Columbus's landfall in the Caribbean help revolutionize Europeans' understanding of world geography? (pp. 41–45) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Fifteenth-century conceptions of geography:* Most educated Europeans believed the world was round, but thought it so large that it would be impossible to survive the trip from Europe to Asia. (p. 41)

- *Landfall and a route to Asia:* Columbus's encounter with land a relatively short distance from Europe revealed the existence of lands previously unknown to Europeans. It also raised hopes about a feasible sea route to Asia and spurred other explorers and nations to explore. (p. 42)

- *Cartographic innovations:* As explorers reached land at various points in the western Atlantic, cartographers such as Martin Waldseemüller theorized the existence of a continent in the Atlantic separate from Asia. Magellan's disaster-ridden but successful westward voyage to Asia confirmed the speculation. (pp. 44–45)

3. Why did New Spain develop a society highly stratified by race and national origin? (pp. 52–61) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Spanish conquest background:* After conquering the Mexican empire, many of Cortés's men found there was little plunder left after the crown had taken its fifth and the leaders had taken their fill. As alternative compensation, Cortés gave them authority over conquered Mexican towns. (p. 52)

- *Encomienda:* This system allowed men in control of towns and surrounding land to collect tribute. In theory, the indigenous people received the benefit of Christianity, protection, and order from the *encomenderos*, but in practice, the arrangement gave rise to brutal exploitation of labor. The system put a small number of Spaniards in positions of power over large populations of Indians. (pp. 52–54)

- *Demographic considerations:* During the sixteenth century, Europeans remained a tiny, overwhelmingly male minority in New Spain. Children born to European men in New Spain would most often have Indian mothers. Categories distinguishing people by origin and race developed and became the basis for a highly stratified society. (pp. 57, 60)

- *Introduction of African slaves:* The high mortality rate visited on Indians as a result of the introduction of European disease and extraordinary labor conditions established under Spanish rule led to the importation of African slaves as an attempt to shore up the labor supply. (p. 60)

4. How did Spain's conquests in the New World shape Spanish influence in Europe? (pp. 62–64) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Wealth of New Spain:* Riches from New Spain poured into the coffers of the Spanish crown, aiding the state's assumption of dominance in Europe. This process was on display when Spain's King Charles I, using bribes, secured his selection as Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. (p. 62)

- *Spanish ambition:* Spain's wealth helped finance Charles V's battle against Protestantism and other challengers. In fact, the riches of New Spain enabled the Spanish crown to pursue costly military engagements injudiciously, which eventually diminished the state's influence. (p. 62)

## Making Connections

1. The Columbian exchange exposed people on both sides of the Atlantic to surprising new people and goods. It also produced dramatic demographic and political transformations in the Old World and the New. How did the Columbian exchange lead to

redistributions of power and population? Discuss these changes, being sure to cite examples from both contexts. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background discussion of the Columbian exchange:* It is the exchange of people, goods, and ideas across the Atlantic, made possible by Columbus's discovery in the Caribbean, that contributed to the enduring practice of travel. (p. 45)

- *Spanish conquest:* Cortés's conquest of Mexico enabled Spain to gain control of the Mexican empire and in turn, funnel the wealth produced by subject Indians into the hands of Europeans. (pp. 46–48)

- *Replication:* Other Europeans, like Pizarro in Peru, repeated this process of extraction of New World labor and wealth. (pp. 48–49)

- *Impact in the New World:* The system of *encomienda* that became dominant in New Spain concentrated authority over large Indian populations in the hands of a small number of Europeans who used this authority to extract labor and wealth from subject populations. (pp. 52–54) The introduction of European diseases reduced Indian populations by about 90 percent only half a century after Columbus's arrival. (p. 60) Some Spanish tried to make up for such losses through the importation of African slaves, a practice that would be a pivotal legacy of the Columbian exchange. In the long term, these developments set the stage for European dominance in the New World. (p. 60)

- *Impact in Europe:* The wealth that flowed from New Spain into the coffers of the Spanish crown helped establish Spanish dominance in sixteenth-century Europe. Other states looked to the Spanish model and tried to emulate it through their own efforts in the New World. Some Europeans also looked to the New World as a possible route to individual advancement, which they pursued by voyaging west. (pp. 63–64)

2. Despite inferior numbers, the Spaniards were able to conquer the Mexica and maintain control of the colonial hierarchy that followed. Why did the Spanish conquest of the Mexica succeed, and how did the Spaniards govern the conquered territory to maintain their dominance? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Technological advantages:* Cortés and his men had the benefit of horses, metal swords, armor, cannons, and guns, which helped make up for their smaller numbers. (p. 50)

- *Indian Allies:* After the revolt at Tenochtitlán, Cortés retreated and enjoyed the assistance of the Tlaxcalans, enemies of the Mexica. The strategy of exploiting tensions within the Mexican empire enabled Cortés to undermine Mexican authority, reduce their available military resources, and gain access to reinforcements. (p. 51)

- *All out war:* The Spaniards, with thousands of Indian allies, fought the Mexicas with relentless savagery that left the Mexican capital in ruins. (p. 48)

- *Encomienda:* By placing towns and lands in the hands of individual Spanish conquerors, the system linked governance and personal enrichment for local Spanish rulers. By redirecting tribute previously going to the Mexican empire to the Spanish, it gave Europeans in the New World and the Old reason to maintain the system. Spanish authority over Indians also benefited from the death toll exacted by the introduction of European disease. (pp. 52–60)

- *Racially stratified society:* The mixed race society that developed in New Spain had elaborate systems of categorization that imparted important benefits to those born in Europe, or with some degree of European descent, aiding the maintenance of European dominance. (pp. 57, 60)

3. Spanish conquest in North America brought new peoples into constant contact. How did Spaniards' and Indians' perceptions of each other shape their interactions? In your answer, cite specific examples and consider how perceptions changed over time. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *European expectations:* Columbus's belief and hope that he had reached the East Indies shaped his view of the Tainos as he tried to evaluate them by cultural perceptions known to him and his fellow Europeans. The goal of finding wealth, whether by a route to the East Indies or in the New World itself, also shaped how Europeans responded to indigenous people as potential sources of riches. Consider, for example, Cortés's pursuit of the Mexican empire, Pizarro's conquest of the Incas, and so on. (pp. 41–49)

- *Christianity and conquest:* Christian zeal and recent experiences with the Reconquest provided Spain and Portugal with a justification for dominating and attempting to convert non-Christians and shaped their interactions with people in the New World. (pp. 39–40) For example, the wealth extracted through *encomienda* was in part justified by the expectation that subject peoples would be converted to Christianity. Expectations, like those of Columbus, that Indians would welcome Christianity and be "good and intelligent" servants, were not always realized, and such failure was read as sign of Indians' intractable inferiority, justifying European dominance over them. (p. 53)

- *Indigenous expectations:* The story of indigenous peoples' expectations is necessarily more limited because they did not leave us the same kinds of records as Europeans did. Still, accounts suggest that some Indians looked on the new people as potential tools in their own internal conflicts, for example, the Tlaxcalans' alliance with Cortés. Montezuma's initial

attempt to mollify Cortés, and Mexicans' early revolt against his attempt to rule, suggest that they looked on the Spanish as opponents against whom they had considerable power. (pp. 47–48)

4. How did the astonishing wealth generated for the Spanish crown by its conquest of the New World influence European colonial exploration throughout the sixteenth century? In your answer, discuss the ways in which it both encouraged and limited interest in exploration. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on impact of New Spain on Spain:* The wealth that flowed from New Spain into the coffers of the Spanish crown helped establish Spanish dominance in sixteenth-century Europe. (p. 46)

- *Expectation of quick wealth:* Although the precious-metal wealth of the Mexicans and the Incas fuelled explorers' expectations that such wealth existed throughout the New World, the failure of comparable resources to emerge limited European presence in many parts of the New World for a time. (pp. 48–49)

- *Lessons of New Spain:* The hope that possessions in the New World would translate into greater influence in Europe fueled France and England's explorations into North America. Although they failed to reap the same benefits in the short term, they would look for new ways to parlay New World resources into Old World power. (pp. 63–64)

## Documenting the American Promise: Justifying Conquest (pp. 54–55)

1. How did the Requerimiento answer the criticisms of Montecino? According to the Requerimiento, why was conquest justified? What was the source of Indians' resistance to conquest? *Discussion would ideally include:*

- *Appeal to Christian history and teachings:* The Requerimiento claimed that the Pope was the chosen successor to God and St. Peter and the true head of the world, and that he had given the islands to the Spanish monarchs, suggesting that the islanders' subjection to the Spanish was divinely ordained.

- *Assertion of Christian superiority and Spanish subjects' duty to serve their kings:* The Requerimiento stated that subjects had an obligation to welcome their conquerors with good will, without resistance, and without delay, and demanded that they acknowledge the Church as ruler of the world and consider the teachings of Christianity

- *Benefits of obedience and costs of resistance:* The document stated that if the Indians obeyed the Spanish they would maintain some autonomy and receive privileges, but if they failed to welcome the Spanish

they rejected God and chose and deserved the violence and destruction that resulted.

- *Indians' resistance:* The source of Indians' resistance to the Spanish is unclear because of the absence of documents, but given that they could not have understood the conquistadors' required presentation of the Requerimiento, it is doubtful that they resisted on the basis of some explicitly stated religious or philosophical response to it. What ineffective resistance there was must have been motivated by the Indians' desire to protect themselves and their communities from plunder and violence. (p. 55)

2. What arguments might a critic like Montecino have used to respond to the Requerimiento's justification of conquest? What arguments might the Mexican leader Montezuma have made against those of the Requerimiento? *Discussion would ideally include:*

- *Montecino's emphasis on the teachings of the Judeo-Christian tradition:* Montecino's objections to the justifications made in the Requerimiento would, like his original sermon, likely be based on the core teachings of Christianity—The Ten Commandments, The Golden Rule, and so on—used to dispute the larger political agendas of the Spanish monarchy and the Catholic Church. He might also have pointed out that respectful treatment of the Indians, rather than brutality, might be a better way to win their conversion to Christianity.

- *Montezuma's possible responses:* Students should recognize that this is a completely hypothetical question, given that there are no sources available. Montezuma might have made religious arguments against the Requerimiento, suggesting that in fact Mexican gods were the true ones, that he was their chosen king, and that his riches showed his superiority. Perhaps he would have made his own religious counterargument, suggesting that the Spanish were bringing about the end of the world by interfering with Mexica sacrifice rituals to Quetzalcoatl. He might also describe how lavishly he welcomed the conquistadors upon their arrival in his empire to show the hypocrisy in the Requerimiento's claim that if Indians were receptive the Spaniards would treat them respectfully.

3. Was the Requerimiento a faithful expression or a cynical violation of Spaniards' Christian faith? *Discussion would ideally include:*

- *Elements of faithful expression:* Given the importance of religion in the lives of sixteenth-century Europeans, and the religious motivations for the Reconquest, King Ferdinand and the Spanish conquerors probably actually believed that they were superior to the Indians and that they were carrying out the work of God by conquering them, plundering their wealth, and aiming to convert them.

- *Elements of cynical violation:* However, Ferdinand's need to consult with philosophers, theologians, and advisors, and to take the time to develop the arguments presented in the Requerimiento after hearing Montecino's concerns, also seems to indicate that he was aware of the ways the Spanish conquest violated Christian tenets.

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Mixed Races (p. 57)

**Reading the Image:** What do these paintings reveal about social status in New Spain? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Social Identity:* Both the images of people in the paintings and the captions underneath these images show that race and national origin were seen as badges of social identity—that is, they helped people place themselves and their neighbors in a social ranking. They suggest that marriage between individuals from different races and ethnic groups was common, but they also suggest that persons identified as Spanish, or *Español*, occupied the top place in the social order. By contrast, those at the bottom had a distant connection to Spanish parentage. Not only do people identified as Spanish stand at the top of the eight paintings, but their clothing and demeanor also indicate that they possess wealth and do not perform manual labor. In the bottom paintings, the parents, none of whom are Spanish, carry heavy loads and dress in humble clothes. The children in the bottom images are the only ones who lack a Spanish mother or father. They are also the only children doing hard work.

**Connections:** How do the mixed-race paintings illustrate the power that Spaniards exercised in their New World colonies? What were some other aspects of colonial society that demonstrated Spanish domination? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Spanish power:* By depicting Spanish men and women at the top of a hierarchy of racial and national categories, the paintings imply that the children of Spaniards were natural leaders, whereas those born to parents of other races were destined to work for their Spanish superiors. Spaniards also used religion and labor to reinforce the idea that New Spain was to be controlled by Spaniards for the benefit of Spaniards. Missionaries converted Indians to Christianity under

the assumption that Native American faiths were sinful. Because many Indians continued to practice their old faiths, did not understand Christianity, or mixed indigenous rituals with Christian worship, Catholic missionaries tended to look down on Indians.

- *Spanish control of labor:* Labor systems afforded great power to Spaniards at the expense of Indians, Africans, and mestizos. Spanish *encomenderos* enslaved Indians until reforms were passed that required native peoples to labor only for set periods during the year. Nonetheless, this economy that forced non-Spaniards to labor for Spaniards reinforced the cultural message of the mixed-race paintings—that power and privilege were reserved for the Spanish.

### Algonquian Ceremonial Dance (p. 63)

**Reading the Images:** What values and attitudes seem to be expressed by the ceremonial dancers? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Values:* Values expressed in this painting include camaraderie (particularly through the group in the center of the portrait), coordinated action, physical strength and agility, aggression, and individual expressiveness (the Algonquians on the perimeter seem to be performing a variety of different types of movements). Additionally, while the meaning of this ritual remains unclear, the inclusion of what appear to be plants or stalks of wheat in the hands of some of the dancers suggests a celebration of nature and the bounty of the earth.

- *Attitudes:* Attitudes suggested by this painting might include an emphasis on hierarchy. The men in the middle of the circle appear to be performing a ritual exclusive of those on the perimeter, and the entire performance is dominated by men, an indication of a clear distinction in the roles of men and women in Algonquin society. The painting also reflects an emphasis on the public performance of ritual—whether or not such a performance was presented for the benefit of the Europeans present, it does indicate a belief in spectacle as an assertion of religious and political power.

**Connections:** How does this ceremonial dance compare with religious rituals and military ceremonies performed by sixteenth-century Spaniards? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Similarities:* Like the Spanish missionaries and conquistadors, these Algonquin appear to place great faith in the power of public ritual. Once again, the lack of information about the ritual makes understanding it difficult, but the apparent hierarchy within this group would match the hierarchical emphasis of both the Roman Catholic Church and the expeditionary units of the explorers.

- Differences:* Most obviously, these Algonquin lacked the extensive regalia to match either the armor of the conquistadores or the ceremonial dress of the Catholic Church. Additionally, while the totems appear to suggest a religious emphasis to the ceremony, any clear reference to Christianity is absent. Because the Spanish had not reached this region, these Algonquin probably had yet to experience any of the efforts at Christian conversion that played a central role in Spanish settlements but held much less importance for the English settlers who would ultimately settle most of the east coast of the present-day United States. Finally, while hierarchy does appear to exist in this ceremony, the emphasis on subservient and regimented behavior that would characterize Spanish religious and military ritual does not appear to exist in this ceremony.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 2.2 European Exploration in Sixteenth-Century America (p. 43)

**Reading the Map:** Which countries were most actively exploring the New World? Which countries were exploring later than others? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Most active countries:* Spain, England, and France were the most active in exploring the New World. Spain was the most dynamic, sending explorers over much of the North American Southwest, the Caribbean islands, Central America, and the western seaboard of South America. Spain also was the earliest, beginning its journeys in 1492.

- Countries exploring in the late sixteenth century:* England and France began exploring much later. England's first voyage was in 1497, but it did little more until Gilbert's trip to Labrador in 1583. France's first expedition was in 1524.

**Connections:** What were the motivations behind exploration? What were the motivations for colonization? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Motivations for exploration:* Most European nations ventured overseas because they were interested in increased trading opportunities with Asia and, incidentally, in converting people to Christianity. When it became clear that the land mass discovered by Columbus was not Asia, but was in fact an obstacle between Europe and Asia, Europeans began to look at what goods the Americas had to offer.

- Motivations for colonization:* After Spanish explorers discovered the bounty of rich gold and silver mines in Central and South America, Spain colonized its holdings to exploit the natural resources its adventurers found. Other European nations later colonized in hopes of finding wealth of their own. Colonization of the New World also introduced the Europeans to native populations, whom they exploited as a cheap labor force.

### Map 2.3 New Spain in the Sixteenth Century (p. 52)

**Reading the Map:** Track Spain's efforts at colonization by date. How did political holdings, the physical layout of the land, and natural resources influence where the Spanish directed their energies? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Patterns of Spanish colonization:* Spanish colonization of the Americas began with islands in the western Caribbean in the 1490s. They moved to the mainland of Central and South America early in the sixteenth century. In 1565, Spain established an outpost in North America at St. Augustine, Florida; another was settled at Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 1607. The possibility of discovering deposits of gold and silver—or better yet, a wealthy empire that could be conquered and plundered—guided Spanish exploration and colonization. Spaniards found these riches in Mexico and Peru, but rumors of other fabulous kingdoms also drove exploration of Florida and Northern Mexico. After exploring North America and failing to find an empire equivalent to the Mexica or the Inca, Spain decided to concentrate its settlers in Central and South America as opposed to North America.

**Connections:** What was the purpose of the Treaty of Tordesillas? How might the location of silver and gold mines have affected Spain's desire to assert its claims over regions still held by Portugal after 1494, and Spain's interest in California, New Mexico, and Florida? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Treaty of Tordesillas:* The Treaty of Tordesillas aimed at setting a boundary between Spanish and Portuguese claims in the Western Hemisphere. Treaty makers drew the boundary along an imaginary north-south line eleven hundred miles west of the Canary Islands. Spain claimed the land west of the line; Portugal won the land to the east. Initially the treaty line benefited Portugal, which pursued trade routes to Asia via its eastern possessions, but in the course of exploration, Spain discovered great wealth in its lands west of the line. To protect its hold on the gold and silver mines of Mexico and Peru, Spain wanted to establish a permanent presence in lands granted to it by the

Treaty of Tordesillas. Along with the search for riches, the desire to solidify its treaty claims motivated Spanish exploration and settlement in Florida, New Mexico, and California.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in “Additional Resources for Chapter 2.”*

### LECTURE 1

#### *The Transition of Spain from the Periphery to the Center of European Politics*

This lecture could illustrate the interaction of social, political, cultural, and religious elements in the Old World that influenced Spanish colonization of the New World. Specifically, you could map out the peripheral status that the Iberian Peninsula held in Europe during the fifteenth century, noting the rise of commercial exploration in Portugal and of a veteran soldier class in Spain. Yet within twenty-five years of discovery of the New World, the Spanish King Charles I won election as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and funneled the massive wealth expropriated from the Americas into military and political campaigns in Europe to fend off further incursions by Muslims and to root out the heresy of Martin Luther’s Protestant Reformation. The wealth of the empire led, ironically, to the financial ruin of Spain: Inflation and taxation destroyed the value of local wealth, and increasingly ambitious political maneuvering ultimately moved wealth into the hands of northern European merchants to finance the empire’s costly wars. Be sure to illustrate that Spain’s experience influenced other western European nations at the periphery (principally France and England) to attempt to imitate that country’s colonial empire. Draw your students’ attention to Map 2.1, “European Trade Routes and Portuguese Exploration in the Fifteenth Century” (p. 38) and Map 2.2, “European Exploration in Sixteenth-Century America” (p. 43), in order to demonstrate both the fervency with which Spain explored the New World and the activities of the “late-comers” in the Americas.

### LECTURE 2

#### *The Authoritarian Native American Civilizations*

Use this lecture to show the limits of Meso-American culture and society. Begin by having your students

discuss why Cortés succeeded in conquering the Mexica. This will help students appreciate the ways in which a few hundred Spaniards defeated millions of Indians fighting on their own turf. Caribbean island societies were either not large enough or not centralized enough to resist domination by European invaders. The larger civilizations on mainland America, however, could have resisted had they been organized to do so. Both the Mexica (Aztec) and Inca emperors ruled with a heavy hand, and neither culture was much loved by those it controlled. The rulers of the Mexica captured surrounding groups in order to obtain tribute and human sacrifices, once sacrificing twenty thousand captives in a single day. The Incas of Peru, likewise, were unwelcome rulers who moved entire populations of their conquered neighbors into disparate, far-flung communities so that they could not unite and rebel. Counterbalance a discussion of the administrative and cultural achievements of these Native American empires with the human price they exacted on their subjugated peoples and the resentment such oppression engendered.

### LECTURE 3

#### *The Fruits of Empire*

A third lecture could investigate the alterations of the New World as a result of the ongoing encounter with Spain. First, examine the legalism of Spanish society by exploring the Requerimiento, covered in the feature, *Documenting the American Promise: “Justifying Conquest”* (pp. 54–55). The justification for the conquests and the actual ways in which they were carried out expose the cavalier nature of Spain’s colonizers. Second, explore the legal instruments of forced labor: the *encomienda* and the *repartimiento*. Third, discuss the effects of conquest on the indigenous peoples and the failure of dissent within Spanish society to alleviate those hardships. The exchange of diseases, livestock, and technology permanently altered modes of living in the New World with rapid depopulation and the introduction of livestock farming. The mixture of pagan and Christian beliefs in the New World resulted from the incomplete spiritual conquest of America. The elimination of native populations on the Caribbean islands owing to brutal labor combined with exposure to alien diseases resulted in the introduction of African labor into American agriculture and mining and influenced all successive waves of European immigration. A stratified social hierarchy limited future economic growth as Spanish America defined itself racially in order to extract maximum booty for the coffers of the crown at the expense of the people of the Americas.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. The Earth Is Flat

Sailors of late medieval/early modern Europe did not believe the earth was flat, contrary to what many students may have learned in grade school. You may want to introduce this topic as you explain Columbus's efforts and failures to obtain financial backing for his westward exploration. Have students consider the relatively easy observations by which fifteenth-century sailors would have realized the earth was spherical by asking them how many have ever seen a sailboat go over the horizon. The sail disappears last, which indicates to the observer that the boat is traveling on something rounded or spherical. Columbus's financial backers were concerned not with the earth's shape but with the size of the earth and the estimated distance to Asia. The textbook explains how Columbus erred in his estimation, while the Portuguese, who denied him funding, correctly calculated the earth's circumference from their explorations of Africa.

### 2. Guns Gave Spain a Technological Edge over the Native Americans

While the conquistadors did indeed have and use guns during their conquests of the New World, guns played a minor role at best. The gunpowder-operated weapons used during this age were neither accurate nor easy to manipulate. Mounted on supporting rods because of their weight, these weapons required that more than one person operate them, and bullets rarely hit their targets. They were more effective for the noise and smoke they made than for the enemy they killed or wounded. More important tactically was the presence of horses and war mastiffs, dogs bred and trained to kill people under battlefield conditions. Native Americans had never seen this type of warfare. Iron and steel armor and weaponry gave the Spaniards a slight technological edge but were more important psychologically in advancing the idea that the Spanish represented powerful gods or were gods themselves. In the long run, the few Spanish who came to the New World as military conquerors achieved their ends as much through diplomacy as through warfare. The conquerors made alliances with the oppressed peoples who were subjugated to the authority of the controlling civilization, be it Mexica or Inca. But in the longer run, diseases brought by the Spanish weakened the will of many to resist and killed many who would have resisted.

### 3. All Spanish Were Cruel and Evil

*La Leyenda Negra*, “the Black Legend,” of early modern European history contends that Spain’s conquests and empire building in the New World were solely episodes of barbarism, greed, exploitation, and

human cruelty. As the textbook makes clear, there is more than a grain of truth to this interpretation of Spain’s “Century of Gold.” But the legend itself is based on British nationalist propaganda attempting to explain why Spanish claims in the New World should be disregarded as contrary to international law and human morality. Spanish friars, attempting to force the crown to alleviate the suffering of Native Americans, wrote the texts used in the propaganda, their own efforts at reform disproving the legend’s claim that all Spanish were cruel and evil. The legend needs clarification: Spain was no worse than any other imperial European power of that age, and in the New World it created a version, but not an exact copy, of Spanish culture. Why were Spanish friars collecting stories of Native American culture and history? What sort of respect did the priests have during the spiritual conquest for the local culture?

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

When discussing the Inca empire, consider showing “The Incas,” episode 3 of the *Odyssey I* documentary series, produced and distributed by PBS. This episode examines the sixteenth-century Incan empire through the work of three archaeologists. *Lost Kingdoms of the Maya*, available through the National Geographic Society, examines the ancient Maya civilization of Central America. When discussing the arrival of Columbus, show *The Columbian Exchange* or *Columbus’s World*, each available through Films for the Humanities. Finally, you might show *The New Found Land*, distributed by Zenger Films, which covers the reasons for the European migration to America. You might also use clips of Hollywood films to address the nature of the changing legacy of Columbus’s voyage. Films include *Christopher Columbus* (1985), starring Gabriel Byrne and directed by Alberto Lattuada; *1492: Conquest of Paradise* (1992), starring Gerard Depardieu and directed by Ridley Scott; and *Apocalypto* (2006), directed by Mel Gibson.

### Class Discussion Starters

Have students imagine alternatives to the conquistador mode of interaction with the Native Americans. Could peaceful exchange have been possible? What directions might the course of history have taken had a more peaceful interaction ensued?

### Reading Primary Sources

Have your students discuss and debate the viability of the justifications for conquest. Be sure to incorporate the feature *Documenting the American Promise*: “Justifying

Conquest” (pp. 54–55), which outlines the ways in which Spain developed an official justification of the conquest. Ask your students to identify the reasons Europeans gave for subjugating the native peoples of North and Central America. Did they have any legitimate reasons? Did Europeans register any doubts about their practice? If not, and if they had a few legitimate reasons for conquest, why do we find it so much easier today to condemn the conquest than did Europeans in the sixteenth century? Why is our perspective so different from theirs? Ask students to consider whether historians should judge past societies according to the standards of their own.

## Additional Resources for Chapter 2

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 2 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 2.1: European Trade Routes and Portuguese Exploration in the Fifteenth Century (p. 38)
- Map 2.2: European Exploration in Sixteenth-Century America (p. 43)
- Map 2.3: New Spain in the Sixteenth Century (p. 52)
- Ivory Salt Cellar (p. 39)
- Mixed Races (p. 57)

### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps and figure from chapter 2 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 2.1: European Trade Routes and Portuguese Exploration in the Fifteenth Century (p. 38)
- Map 2.2: European Exploration in Sixteenth-Century America (p. 43)
- Map 2.3: New Spain in the Sixteenth Century (p. 52)
- Figure 2.1: New World Gold and Silver Imported into Spain during the Sixteenth Century, in Pesos (p. 56)
- Mixed Races (p. 57)
- Algonquian Ceremonial Dance (p. 63)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor's Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for using the Bedford Series in History and Culture volume *Victors and Vanquished: Spanish and Nahua Views of the Conquest of Mexico*, edited with an introduction by Stuart B. Schwartz, in the U.S. history survey.

### For Students

#### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 2 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- The King of the Congo Writes to the King of Portugal: *Correspondence*, 1526
- Columbus Describes His First Encounter with “Indians”: *The Diario of Christopher Columbus’s First Voyage to America*, 1492–1493
- A Conquistador Arrives in Mexico, 1519–1520: Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, 1632
- A Mexican Description of the Conquest of Mexico: *Mexican Accounts of Conquest from the Florentine Codex*
- Sir Thomas More Describes New World Utopia: *Utopia*, 1515

#### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map, visual, and document activities are available for chapter 2:

#### Map Activities

- Map 2.2: European Exploration in Sixteenth-Century America (p. 43)
- Map 2.3: New Spain in the Sixteenth Century (p. 52)

#### Visual Activities

- Mixed Races (p. 57)
- Algonquian Ceremonial Dance (p. 63)

#### Reading Historical Documents Activity

- “Justifying Conquest” (pp. 54–55)

# The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century

## 1601–1700

### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. Why did England decide to establish colonies in the New World, and what challenges did early colonists face?
2. How did the introduction of tobacco into the Chesapeake region shape the Virginia colony?
3. What social, political, and economic inequalities led to Bacon's Rebellion?
4. How did the Spanish colonies in New Mexico and Florida differ from the Chesapeake, and why did Pueblo Indians in New Mexico revolt against Spanish rule in the late seventeenth century?
5. How did the British develop a slave labor system in the West Indies, Carolina, and the Chesapeake? How were the systems in each of these colonies similar, and how were they different?

### Annotated Chapter Outline

#### I. An English Colony on the Chesapeake

##### A. The Fragile Jamestown Settlement

1. One hundred forty-four English colonists arrived at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay on April 26, 1607.
2. A few weeks later, the colonists built a fort on a small peninsula, the first building, demonstrating the colonists' awareness that they needed to protect themselves from Indians and Spaniards.
3. Colonists faced additional threats from disease and starvation.

4. Powhatan, a powerful chief of nearly fourteen thousand Algonquian people who lived in the Chesapeake, rescued the weakened and demoralized English colonists by offering them corn for barter.
  5. Despite promises by the Virginia Company that the colony would make settlers rich, most colonists went to an early grave.
- B. Cooperation and Conflict between Natives and Newcomers
1. Powhatan's people stayed in contact with, but maintained a healthy distance from, the English settlers.
  2. The colonists' use of violence against the Indians compelled the Algonquian to regard the English with suspicion.
  3. Although the Indians retaliated against the English, they did not organize an all-out assault against the intruders, because they needed the colonists as allies against other tribes in the region, and because they valued English goods obtained through trade.
  4. Despite continued trade with Powhatan's people, English colonists, primarily gentlemen and their servants who knew nothing about farming, proved unable to feed themselves for more than a decade, relying instead on the Indians' corn for food.
  5. In 1622, after Powhatan's death made his brother, Opechancanough, supreme chief, he launched an all-out assault on English

- settlers, compelling the colonists from that point forward to regard the Algonquians as their perpetual enemies.
- C. From Private Company to Royal Government
1. Opechancanough's 1622 uprising was so damaging to the colonists that it prompted a royal investigation of affairs in Virginia and brought to light the appalling mortality rate caused by disease and mismanagement.
  2. The king revoked the Virginia Company's charter and appointed a royal governor, but many of the features of local government established under the Virginia Company, including the House of Burgesses, remained intact.
  3. The demise of the Virginia Company marked the end of the first phase of colonization of the Chesapeake region.
- II. A Tobacco Society**
- A. Tobacco Agriculture
1. Tobacco was a demanding crop that required close attention and a great deal of hand labor year-round.
  2. Primitive tools and methods made this intensive cycle of labor particularly taxing.
  3. The English colonists worked hard because their labor promised greater rewards in the Chesapeake region than in England.
  4. Land in Virginia was abundant and cheap; settlement was encouraged by the "headright" policy, in which settlers who paid for their transportation to the New World received 50 acres of land.
- B. A Servant Labor System
1. Powerful incentives to immigrate to the Chesapeake combined with the colonists' desperate need for labor soon created a servant labor system; about 80 percent of the immigrants to the Chesapeake during the seventeenth century were indentured servants.
  2. Indentured servants borrowed the cost of transportation from a merchant or a ship captain in England who sold this contract to a tobacco planter in North America; the servants agreed to work for four to seven years to repay the loan.
  3. When the servant survived his term of indenture, the system allowed for planters to reap handsome profits and promised poor immigrants freedom in a land of promise.
4. Indentured servants were overwhelmingly male, young, and unskilled; women and skilled craftsmen were rare in the Chesapeake.
5. The servant labor system perpetuated the gender imbalance in the Chesapeake, although all servants, regardless of gender, race, or nationality, tended to work and socialize together.
6. Planters devised severe laws to keep servants in their place and to extend the terms of indenture; women servants were subject to special restrictions and risks, and were frequently pressured into sexual relations but prohibited from marrying during their indenture.
7. Punishments reflected four fundamental realities of the servant labor system:  
(1) The demand for labor induced planters to devise legal ways to extend the period of servitude; (2) the hopes of survival and freedom compelled servants to continue to come to the Chesapeake; (3) planters' demands and servants' hopes frequently stood in conflict; and (4) planters and servants put up with the arrangement because the alternatives seemed less appealing to both.
8. Planters could not easily hire free men and women because land was abundant, and free people preferred to work on their own land for themselves.
- C. Cultivating Land and Faith
1. Vast acres of wilderness interrupted by tobacco farms characterized the Chesapeake landscape.
  2. Most Chesapeake colonists were nominally Protestants, but on the whole, religion did not awaken the zeal of Chesapeake settlers.
  3. Lord Baltimore intended to make Maryland a refuge for Catholics, but although Catholics exerted some influence there, the colony's society, economy, politics, and culture became almost indistinguishable from Virginia's; both colonies shared a devotion to tobacco.
- III. The Evolution of Chesapeake Society**
- A. Social and Economic Polarization
1. During the first half of the seventeenth century, the principal division in Chesapeake society was between free yeomen farmers and unfree servants.
  2. Three major developments splintered the equality among freemen during the third

- quarter of the century: Oversupply of tobacco depressed prices in Europe; more servants survived their indentures, leading to a larger and more discontented group of landless freemen; and a declining mortality rate allowed long-time farmers to compound their successes and encouraged the formation of a planter elite.
3. By the 1670s, the society of the Chesapeake had become polarized between the planters, both elite and yeoman, and the landless colonists.
  - B. Government Policies and Political Conflict
    1. In general, government and politics amplified the distinctions in Chesapeake society.
    2. As discontent mounted among the poor during the 1660s and 1670s, colonial officials tried to keep political power in safe hands.
    3. In 1660, the king tightened the royal government's control of trade and collected substantial revenue from the Chesapeake by passing a series of Navigation Acts, which, among other things, required the colonists to trade exclusively with England and levied an import duty on tobacco.
    4. The Navigation Acts reflected England's mercantilist approach to the Chesapeake colonies.
  - C. Bacon's Rebellion
    1. Colonists accepted the social hierarchy and inequality as long as they believed government officials ruled for the general good.
    2. After two years of bitter fighting, the colonists and the Algonquian Indians agreed to a treaty in the 1640s in which the Indians relinquished all claims to land already settled by the English; in return, the English agreed to reserve the wilderness beyond the English settlement for Indian use.
    3. The number of land-hungry colonists continued to multiply, however, encroaching on Indian lands and threatening the viability of the treaty; conflicts between frontier settlers and Indians continued to flare.
    4. The leader of the frontier settlers, Nathaniel Bacon, charged the elite with operating the government for their private gain.
  5. Elections in 1676 ousted the political elite and put in power local leaders, including Bacon.
  6. The new legislature passed a series of reform measures known as Bacon's Laws that favored small planters and the frontier settlers.
  7. Governor Berkeley branded Bacon a traitor, prompting Bacon and his followers to declare war on the governor and the elite.
  8. After three months of fighting, Bacon died, and Berkeley and his men crushed the rebellion, strengthening the positions of the elite.
  9. In the aftermath of the rebellion, tensions lessened between great planters and small farmers, in part because the elite recognized that it was safer for colonists to fight Indians rather than each other; therefore, they made little effort to restrict settlers' encroachment on Indian lands.
- IV. Religion and Revolt in the Spanish Borderland**
- A. While English colonists in the Chesapeake grew and prospered with the tobacco trade, the northern outposts of the Spanish Empire in New Mexico and Florida stagnated.
  - B. Few Spaniards migrated to New Spain's northern borderland during the seventeenth century.
  - C. Royal officials considered eliminating both colonies because their costs greatly exceeded their benefits.
  - D. Dozens of missionaries came to Florida and New Mexico, however, to convert the Indians to Catholicism and the Spanish way of life.
  - E. These missionaries supervised the building of scores of Catholic churches across Florida and New Mexico, typically conscripting Indians to do the construction labor and forcing them to pay tribute.
  - F. Indians retaliated repeatedly against Spanish exploitation, but Spaniards suppressed the violent uprisings.
  - G. In 1680, however, Pueblo Indians organized a unified revolt, temporarily driving the Spaniards out of New Mexico; Florida Indians never mounted a unified attack on Spanish rule.
- V. Toward a Slave Labor System**
- A. The West Indies: Sugar and Slavery
    1. The most profitable part of the British New World empire in the seventeenth century lay in the Caribbean, where sugar production fueled the export market.

2. Sugar production was an expensive proposition made possible by costly machinery and extensive slave labor; only the wealthiest planters could participate and, for slaves, work on a sugar plantation was a life sentence to brutal, unremitting labor.
- B. Carolina: A West Indian Frontier
1. The early settlers of what became South Carolina were immigrants from Barbados.
  2. The Barbadian immigrants brought their slaves with them; by 1700, slaves made up about one-half of the population of Carolina.
  3. The Carolinas experimented unsuccessfully to match their semitropical climate with profitable export crops of tobacco, cotton, indigo, and olives; by the mid-1690s, colonists took advantage of the knowledge of rice cultivation among their many African slaves to build rice plantations.
- C. Slave Labor Emerges in the Chesapeake
1. Most inhabitants of the southern colonies of British North America lived in the Chesapeake; by 1700, one out of eight people in the region was a black person from Africa.
  2. By the end of the seventeenth century, the system of slavery made economic and political sense to planters because, in contrast to indentured servants, slaves never became free.
  3. The slave labor system also polarized Chesapeake society along lines of race and status: All slaves were black, and nearly all blacks were slaves; almost all free people were white, and all whites were free or only temporarily bound in indentured servitude.
  4. Unlike slaves in Barbados, most slaves in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake colonies had frequent and close contact with white people.
  5. Slavery resolved the political unrest caused by the servant labor system, but it created new political problems.

*American Promise* feature, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 3.

## Review Questions

1. Why did Powhatan pursue largely peaceful relations with the Jamestown settlement? (pp. 69–74) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Powhatan's wariness:* Awareness of the power of superior weapons and the threat of English violence led Powhatan to treat the foreigners carefully and cautiously. He also recognized English vulnerability and tried to use strategies such as refusing to trade food to them. (p. 73)

- *Desire for English goods:* Trading with the settlers gave Powhatan access to valued iron and steel implements such as axes and pots. (pp. 73–74)

- *Powhatan's diplomacy:* Powhatan seemed to hope that the English might be managed like other groups with gestures of incorporation as in, for example, Pocahontas's enactment of her father's life and death power over John Smith. (pp. 69–70)

2. Why did the vast majority of European immigrants to the Chesapeake come as indentured servants? (pp. 77–82) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Economic circumstances in England:* The shortage of job opportunities in England and the extraordinarily high cost of land made the prospect of high wages and cheap land in the Chesapeake attractive to potential immigrants, despite the enormous risks. This situation increased the number of laborers traveling to the New World while it provided little incentive for skilled laborers or others with better prospects in England. (pp. 77–78)

- *High cost of travel:* Economic constraints in England made it very difficult for English laborers to save up the cost of the trans-Atlantic trip. An indenture allowed a potential migrant to borrow the cost of travel with the promise of four to seven year's labor in America. Incentives of wealth to be gained through the labor of indentured servants and the headrights they received for each servant brought to America provided incentives for Chesapeake planters as well. (pp. 79, 82–83)

3. Why did Chesapeake colonial society become increasingly polarized between 1650 and 1670? (pp. 83–87) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Circumstances during 1607–1650:* The Chesapeake manifested a rough frontier equality in the first half of the seventeenth century because most settlers,

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 3, the *Questions for Analysis* and *Debate* at the end of the *Documenting the*

free and indentured, engaged in the same kinds of work, faced similar environmental challenges, and anticipated landownership. (p. 83)

- *Increased supply of tobacco:* During the third quarter of the century, while Chesapeake tobacco production grew, the prices that sellers could command in Europe dropped, making it more difficult for laborers to save the money necessary to acquire land. (p. 87)

- *Improved settler survival rate:* The more people survived, the more dissatisfied landless settlers became. At the same time, landholders' wealth increased and a social elite began to consolidate. Law and politics exacerbated mounting tensions between the two groups, paving the way for Bacon's Rebellion. (p. 87)

4. Why did the Pueblo Indians revolt against Spanish missionaries in 1680? (pp. 92–93) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Spanish missionaries in North America:* Spanish missionaries sought to convert American Indians to Christianity as well promote their adoption of the practices of Spanish civilization. At the same time, they demanded tribute and conscripted Indian women and men as laborers. Indians retaliated repeatedly against these coercive measures and Spanish exploitation. (p. 93)

- *Pueblo Revolt:* Popé led the Pueblo Indians in a unified revolt against the Spanish and the artifacts of their efforts at cultural conversion. They succeeded in pushing the Spanish out of New Mexico. (p. 93)

5. Why had slave labor largely displaced indentured servant labor by 1700 in Chesapeake tobacco production? (p. 97) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Permanent servitude:* While a planter could command the labor of an indentured servant for only a limited number of years, slaves never became free. This reality of slavery would compensate for the higher cost of investment in slave labor. (p. 97)

- *Improved morality rate:* By the 1680s the mortality rate in the Chesapeake had declined, further ensuring that the initially higher investment in acquisition of slaves would be more likely to pay off in years of labor, rather than be cut short by early death. (p. 97)

- *Political advantages:* The social and economic polarization of the second half of the seventeenth century had taught elites the potential danger associated with large numbers of dissatisfied free colonists. Slaves were denied the privileges of free Englishmen, reducing one source of political tension. At the same time, the existence of an enslaved labor force helped reinforce the shared privileges and interests of white freemen. (p. 97)

## Making Connections

1. Given the extraordinary vulnerability of the Jamestown settlement in its first two decades, why did its sponsors and settlers not abandon it? In your answer, discuss the challenges the settlement faced and the benefits different participants in England and the New World hoped to derive from their efforts. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Benefits to investors:* Investors in the Virginia Company, a joint stock company, hoped to strengthen England's position in Europe and find resources that would enrich the country and themselves, as well as provide work and an outlet for unemployed Englishmen. Import duties on tobacco insured that the Crown's revenue greatly benefited from the colony's production. (pp. 71–72)

- *Benefits to settlers:* Economic hardship in England and the extremely high cost of land made the headrights, high wages, and cheap land of the Chesapeake especially appealing to English laborers. (pp. 77–78)

- *Hardship and vulnerability:* Disease and insufficient food made the Jamestown settlement incredibly vulnerable in its early years. For replenishing supplies of food, the settlers depended on the assistance of Indians and the cargo accompanying new settlers from England. Still, fewer than a third of the original settlers survived the first year. (p. 73)

- *Promise of tobacco:* Although English settlers did not find the gold of Mexico and Peru, the tobacco they produced and exported to Europe was a source of wealth to settlers and England that ensured the support of the Crown and a continuing stream of immigrants. (pp. 77–78)

2. Tobacco dominated European settlement in seventeenth-century Chesapeake. How did tobacco agriculture shape the region's development? In your answer, be sure to address the demographic and geographic features of the colony. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Tobacco wealth:* The lucrative sale of tobacco ensured that the colony enjoyed support from investors and the Crown, as well as English settlers willing to take the risks of immigration for the promise of better economic prospects. (pp. 77–78)

- *Impact on the land:* The needs of the tobacco crop shaped the English settlement. The production of tobacco changed Chesapeake land, such as when settlers "cleared" land by girdling trees. The crop also required many acres of land because it quickly exhausted the soil. Settlements were clustered near waterways wherever possible to minimize the costs of shipping their product. When settlers, who had come seeking economic opportunity and land, saw their

prospects decline as the economy shifted in the second half of the seventeenth century, they pushed English settlement westward. (pp. 77–78)

- *Labor demands:* The system of indenture that first supplied laborers for tobacco production drew primarily unskilled workers, rather than craftsmen. Most significantly, it brought few women to the Chesapeake, producing a marked gender imbalance until the late seventeenth century. (p. 83) Labor demands, and the political tensions they produced, led to a defining demographic development in North America: the importation of African slaves. (pp. 94–98)

3. Bacon's Rebellion highlighted significant tensions within Chesapeake society. What provoked the rebellion, and what did it accomplish? In your answer, be sure to consider causes and results in the colonies and in England. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Social Polarization:* In the second half of the seventeenth century, improved mortality rates and a depressed European tobacco market helped produce a growing population of landless freemen and an entrenched planter elite in the Chesapeake that increasingly came into conflict. (p. 87)

- *Colonial government:* The colonial government exacerbated these tensions by trying to protect itself from disgruntled colonists by refusing to call elections to the House of Burgesses and passing laws restricting voting to men who were heads of households and landholders. The crown was deeply invested in the stability of the colony because of its importance in generating revenue. (p. 90)

- *Treaty with the Algonquian:* The treaty that brought a close to fighting between the English and the Algonquian in the 1640s had reserved land beyond English settlement exclusively for Indians' use. The growing number of English settlers, however, pushed into this land in the 1660s and 1670s, resulting in increasing skirmishes with Indians. (p. 91)

- *Western protest:* Nathaniel Bacon and other western settlers protested what they perceived as the government's deference to the Indians in disputes over land. Governor Berkeley's attempt to forestall the conflict by holding elections in 1676, to his surprise, put Bacon and other local leaders in control of the House of Burgesses. (pp. 90–92)

- *Bacon's Laws:* The House of Burgesses passed a series of laws restoring the vote to all freemen and strengthening local voices in matters of governance and taxation. Distressed elite planters convinced Governor Berkeley to give up cooperation with Bacon. Once he was again labeled a traitor, Bacon and his supporters engaged in armed conflict with Berkeley and the grandees. Bacon died and England sent reinforcements to the governor, crushing the rebellion. (p. 92)

- *Effects:* The conflict ultimately strengthened the position of the grandees. Still, the ruling elite determined it served their ends to mollify white settlers through reduced taxation and concession to white encroachment on Indian lands. The rebellion also led the king to reinforce his interests in the colony by appointing a more attentive governor and establishing new export taxes. (p. 92)

4. In addition to making crucial contributions to the economic success of seventeenth-century English colonies, Native Americans and enslaved Africans influenced colonial politics. Describe how European colonists' relations with these populations contributed to both political friction and harmony within the colony. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Importance of Native Americans to English colonization:* The Jamestown settlement likely would have failed in its first year if the settlers had not been given assistance by the Algonquian. (p. 75)

- *Disputes over colonial policies toward Indians:* Tension between freemen's hunger for land and the colonial government's desire for peace and stable relations with Indians exploded in Bacon's Rebellion. (p. 91)

- *Common ground in opposition to Indians:* After Bacon's Rebellion had been crushed, the colonial elite sought common cause with other settlers by no longer standing in the way of colonists' encroachment on Indian lands. (p. 92)

- *African slave labor:* In addition to the demographic and economic factors contributing to the embrace of African slavery in the Chesapeake, its value as a soother of class tensions between English settlers also played a part. The system helped emphasize the freedoms that white settlers shared regardless of their wealth and status, helping to ease the tensions that marked the region in the 1670s. (p. 92)

### Documenting the American Promise: Virginia Laws Governing Servants and Slaves (pp. 84–85)

1. According to these laws, how did slaves differ from servants? What boundaries did these laws draw among the various peoples in servitude? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Differences between slaves and servants:* The laws defined slaves as "negroes" whose term of servitude was permanent and servants as those whose term of servitude was limited, but subject to extension. Slavery was inherited, based on the mother's status, while servitude was not.

- *Boundaries between subjected groups:* The laws drew various boundaries among servants, slaves, and Indians, including laws that discouraged slaves and

servants (both white and Indian) from cooperating in running away, prohibited sexual relations between blacks and whites, and made it essentially legal for whites to harm and even kill blacks and Indians. The laws also established that slavery and Christianity were not necessarily mutually exclusive categories.

2. According to these laws, what characterized colonists from England? What terms did the laws use to refer to English colonists? How did those terms differ from the words used to describe slaves? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *English colonists:* English servants were generally described as white and Christian. The laws recognized servants as self-interested agents who would be influenced by the desire to minimize their terms of servitude and fulfill their financial obligations to their masters.

- *Slaves:* Slaves, on the other hand, were generally described as “negroe” or in some cases as “molatto” or “Indian slaves,” and, in most of the laws, were assumed to be non-Christian. Furthermore, they were defined as part of their owner’s “estate”—as property, rather than as people—and therefore controllable only by the threat of violence and not motivated by economic self-interest.

3. In what ways did these laws reflect important developments in the seventeenth-century southern colonies that occurred in the 1660s and 1670s? In what ways do the laws document an emerging hierarchy of race and class? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Replacement of servant labor with slave labor:* Between 1670 and 1700 hundreds of Carolinian plantation owners and Chesapeake tobacco planters began to hire fewer indentured servants and to rely increasingly on slave labor.

- *Growth of black population:* Though a small number of Africans had been present in the southern colonies since the 1620s, the population of Africans grew significantly in the southern colonies as planters became more dependent on slaves. By 1700, slaves made up more than half of the population of the Carolina colony and between 1670 and 1700 the slave population grew five-fold in the Chesapeake.

- *Concern with keeping slaves in their place:* As slave labor became more important in these colonies and as the black population grew, slave-owners became more concerned about preventing their slaves from running away or rebelling. They sought to create a legal system that would ensure their ability to retain their human property and protect the financial investment they had made in their workforce.

- *Prevention of black/white solidarity among servants and slaves:* As the slave population grew and

became more important, elite whites became more interested in maintaining rigid boundaries between slavery and servitude, blackness and whiteness. In order to maintain such separation and hierarchy, these laws discouraged white servants from aiding slaves who wanted to run away, forbade sexual relationships between whites and blacks, and, by 1669, essentially legalized the murder of potentially disobedient slaves.

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Secotan Village (p. 71)

**Reading the Image:** What does this image say about Indian life in Secotan? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Indian society:* This image shows that Secotan was a highly communal society. People lived near one another, ate together, worshipped communally, hunted in groups, and tended fields in close proximity. The society appears to be peaceful, insofar as there are no fortifications against attack. There also are no obvious signs of social stratification. The people in the image are dressed similarly, and none of the dwellings is larger than any other.

**Connections:** How did Indian society differ from the English tobacco society that emerged later? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Secotan way of life:* Indians lived close together, in a fashion similar to that of English village-dwellers. However, the Indians practiced subsistence agriculture: They grew food for themselves, not for resale, so their plots of land were only as large as they needed to be for raising a sufficient quantity of food.

- *English tobacco society:* English tobacco farmers in the Chesapeake bowed to the demands of the economy and produced crops for market. Tobacco farms were huge because the plant exhausted the soil rapidly; therefore tobacco farmers lived far apart from one another. Tobacco eventually created a wide gap between the rich and the poor settlers, particularly when land became scarce and the poor could no longer afford to purchase their own farms. Indian societies were led by chiefs and *werowances* who held political control over their own tribes and sometimes other tribes as well, but they did not have the same gap between the rich and the poor that existed in European communities.

### John Smith's Dictionary of Powhatan's Language (p. 74)

**Reading the Image:** Can you find any of Powhatan's words that made their way into common English usage? *Answer would ideally include:*

- moccasins, tomahawks

**Connections:** What do the words in the list suggest about Smith's encounters with Powhatan's people? What interested Smith? What compelled the interest of his informants? *Answers would ideally include:*

While it is difficult to know which of these concepts particularly interested Smith, and which inform us about Smith's interactions with Powhatan and his people, based on his dictionary, these topics appear to have been central to their conversations:

- *Tools/technology:* Not surprisingly, given both the need for the English to build a settlement in an unfamiliar environment and the Algonquian unfamiliarity with many English tools, words such as *axes*, *fire*, *arrows*, *knives*, *swords*, and *shears* suggest a shared interest in instruments of work and war.

- *Religion:* Words such as *heavens*, *gods*, and *stars* (as well as perhaps *days*, *nights*, *suns*, and *moons*) suggest the recurrence of topics of religion and divinity.

- *Politics:* Words such as *friends* and *enemies* as well as many of the longer phrases detailing when English ships will come and accusations of lying suggest a need to practice diplomacy between these two societies. The mention of a King Mawmarynough may also provide some clue as to how political authority was established within Algonquin society.

- *The body:* *Blood*, *flesh*, *shoes*, and *garments* all suggest discussions of, care for, and comfort of the body.

- *Gender and age roles:* *Man*, *woman*, *boy* (it's interesting to note that *girl* does not appear) might indicate discussions of the roles that different gender and age groups played in their respective societies. The only mention of a female, Pokahontas, is in relation to basketry, beads, and chains (jewelry), rather than tools or weapons, and may reveal how jobs and leisure activities were distributed between men and women in Algonquin society.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 3.1 Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (p. 78)

**Reading the Map:** Using the notations on the map, create a chronology of the establishment of towns and settlements. What physical features correspond to the earliest habitation by English settlers? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Chronology:* 1607: Jamestown; 1634: St. Mary's; 1644: Richmond; 1648: Anapolis; 1682: Norfolk; 1691: Yorktown; 1699: Williamsburg.

- *Patterns of settlement in the Chesapeake:* The early English settlers of the Chesapeake lived near navigable waterways. They needed to be close to rivers and the ocean in order to receive supplies from the home country and to ship their crops overseas. The fall line, the point beyond which rivers were too shallow for ships to travel, marked the outer limit of settlement early in the seventeenth century.

**Connections:** Why was access to navigable water so important? Given the settlers' need for defense against native tribes, what explains the distance between settlements? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Proximity to navigable water:* English settlers needed navigable waterways to trade with English merchants who traveled to the Chesapeake in large ships. Furthermore, military reinforcements could be sent to a settlement under attack much faster by water than by land.

- *Distance between settlements:* The demands of tobacco agriculture caused settlers to spread themselves thinly along the waterways rather than cluster in one easily defended place. Because tobacco planting quickly exhausted the soil, farmers amassed large holdings and cultivated only a small fraction of that land at any one time. This practice meant that successful farmers had to spread out. Also, the need for tobacco planters to sell directly to merchant ships required that they own land that fronted a waterway. This desire for land on the water's edge added another incentive for farmers to disperse their settlements along the rivers and seacoast.

### Map 3.2 The West Indies and Carolina in the Seventeenth Century (p. 95)

**Reading the Map:** Locate English colonies in American and English holdings in the Caribbean. Which European country controlled most of the mainland bordering the Caribbean? Where was the closest mainland English territory? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Colonies in the Caribbean:* The Spanish controlled most of the mainland bordering the Caribbean. The closest mainland English territory was Carolina.

**Connections:** Why were colonists in Carolina so interested in Barbados? What goods did they export? Describe the relationship between Carolina and Barbados in 1700. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Barbadian interest in Carolina:* Barbadians established the colony of Carolina in 1663. They intended to model their colony after the West Indies, basing the economy on the cultivation of a profitable export crop. Most of the early migrants, both free whites and black slaves, came from Barbados. Early trade centered on Barbados as well. During the first generation of settlement, Carolina colonists exported the bulk of their goods to Barbados. They sold livestock and timber to the West Indies. They also captured local Indians and sold them to Caribbean planters as slaves.

- *Relationship of Barbados and Carolina:* After some experimentation with tobacco, cotton, indigo, and olives, Carolinians found a hardy strain of rice and relied on methods of cultivation known by their black slaves, thereby founding a flourishing rice industry. Carolina was essentially a frontier outpost of the West Indian sugar economy. Barbados migrants populated the colony, bringing their slaves with them. Like Barbados, Carolina had a large population of blacks—by 1700, about half of the settlers were enslaved blacks. The Carolina economy was based on the same export model as Barbados, and much of its trade was with the West Indies.

alliances with the natives to their advantage, and both could easily have been exterminated by the numerically superior local peoples. Unlike the Spanish, whose missionary zeal accompanied their desire for wealth through conquest, the English colonists who settled in the south of the North American mainland and in the Caribbean were motivated chiefly by profit. The king was not directly involved in the initial risks of colonization in either the British or the Spanish empire. Compare colonization by means of joint stock companies with the use of the *encomienda* in New Spain. Prepare your students for discussions (in later chapters) about American ideas regarding corporations by examining what it meant to put together a joint stock company. Finally, point out that unlike New Spain, where the traditions of agricultural production for domestic consumption already existed under the centralized Inca and Mexica empires conquered by the Spaniards, the English colonies in North America languished until they were able to develop successful export-oriented staple agriculture. The Caribbean colonies grew sugar, the Chesapeake grew tobacco, and Carolina grew rice. Here, you might want to have your students review the detailed discussion in the textbook on how tobacco is grown and the tools used in its cultivation. Then, have students look at the feature *Beyond America's Borders: "American Tobacco and European Consumers"* (pp. 80–81). Describe the process of finding and exploiting a successful agricultural strategy, and explain the way export markets operate. Consider ending this lecture by comparing the fate of Chesapeake society with that of the Spanish outposts in Florida and New Mexico during the late seventeenth century.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in "Additional Resources for Chapter 3."*

### LECTURE 1

#### *The Process of British Colonization*

In this lecture, you may want to stress the expectations the British held about colonization. Have your students consider the “promises” of colonization. Relate the ways in which those expectations led to the pattern that characterized most of the early British colonies. Explain that each colony obtained a charter from the king, recruited colonists, established a beachhead settlement, and forced the indigenous peoples to aid in the colonists’ survival and later to relinquish land that settlers desired. Referring back to chapter 2, compare the process of English colonization with that of the Spanish in Central and South America. Neither group of colonizers included farmers in its initial wave, but both included soldiers and adventurers to aid in the conquest of new lands. Both groups used

### LECTURE 2

#### *From Servitude to Slavery in the Chesapeake*

You can start this lecture by exploring the conditions of the tobacco boom that made servitude so widespread in the Chesapeake. Then describe the process of becoming an indentured servant, making clear that servitude was normal at that time. Show the brutality of the system, and define the mortality rates for servants through the 1650s. Have students discuss the hardships of servitude. Finally, talk about the shift to slave labor. There had been Africans in Virginia since 1619, but not all Africans were imported as slaves. Purchasing a slave for life was more costly than hiring a servant for a period of years. Moreover, no one expected a servant to survive the term of contract. The cost of a slave was therefore an unnecessary expense. With the drop in mortality rates in the 1640s, slavery became more cost-effective. The Virginia authorities finally set laws defining slavery: Children of female

slaves followed the matriarchal line into slavery, in contrast to the English tradition of inheritance following the male lineage. Draw your students' attention here to the feature *Documenting the American Promise*: "Virginia Laws Governing Servants and Slaves" (pp. 84–85). African slaves were not imported in great numbers until after the 1670s. Bacon's Rebellion, along with other factors, explains this shift. Demographic changes in England reduced the number of jobless men and women seeking indenture as a desperate last chance. Additionally, the rise of other colonial destinations without the Chesapeake's reputation for brutality drew potential servants away from this area. Make the point that indentured servitude continued to provide laborers in America until the American Revolution. In the South, however, a society based on slavery came into existence by 1700, and portions of the southern colonies had a larger slave population than free population. Slavery was determined by race in part because the English perceived divine intent in skin color. Discuss this predisposition.

### LECTURE 3

#### *Chesapeake and Carolina Societies Compared*

Virginia and Carolina were very different places. Use a comparison of the two to discuss the racial composition and class origins of each colony. Although indentured servitude did exist in Carolina, slavery, from the outset, became the major system of labor in the colony. Carolina was the only colony established by settlers from another colony rather than by settlers directly from Britain, and its social institutions reflected that origin. Like Barbados, the Caribbean island from which most of Carolina's colonists came, Carolina had a majority black population, often working in large groups on plantations isolated from the white masters, who resided in town. Virginia had a white majority; there were fewer large plantations, and most masters worked beside their few slaves. The slave population in the Caribbean was not self-sustaining because of high mortality rates. It therefore depended on continuous imports from Africa. Initially, Carolina followed the Caribbean pattern of slave importation, but eventually, declining slave mortality rates allowed for a self-perpetuating slave population and reduced the need to import new slaves. Among whites, Virginia did not create a self-replicating elite until after 1650, when lesser nobles bought established plantations for their younger sons. Until that time, everyone was affected by high mortality rates. An elite was formed in Carolina from the beginning, with younger brothers and sons of Barbadian planters migrating to Carolina and establishing Barbadian culture there. For this lecture, have students refer to Map 3.1,

"Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century" (p. 78), and Map 3.2, "The West Indies and Carolina in the Seventeenth Century" (p. 95).

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. The Earliest Immigrants Had the Best Chance of Obtaining Wealth and Position

It is generally true that the first arrivals in a new colony somewhat arbitrarily decided on the rules of political participation and the protection of property. And they usually made these rules to their own advantage, and to subsequent colonists' detriment, in order to guarantee and perpetuate their status as the political and economic elite of the colony. But these general rules were tempered by two conditions in the Chesapeake and in other British colonies. First, not everyone was equal on arrival; some had greater wealth, distinction of ancestry, or simply better connections. Thus, some had better access to the decision-making process than others. Second, the death rate eliminated many influential families who helped make the initial rules. In Virginia, the grandees, or elite planters, against whom Nathaniel Bacon railed, established themselves not during the tobacco boom of the 1620s, when massive profits were possible and the first rules for consolidation of wealth were laid out, but in the 1660s, after two generations of entrepreneurial Virginians had passed away. With chances of survival increasing in the colonies after the 1640s, minor nobility in England started sending younger sons to purchase established plantations and buy their way into an existing system that guaranteed their status as the economic and political elite of the colony. Participants in Bacon's Rebellion were not only members of the lower classes fighting exploitation by the elite, but also displaced small planters who saw this recently imported elite as a challenge to their chances for upward social mobility.

### 2. Servitude Was an Abnormal Condition

You may need to explain to students that servitude was a normal part of seventeenth-century European and, by extension, early American society. It was common for men, women, and even children to be bound out for a period of time. Such an indenture was similar to the apprenticing of orphans—lengthy periods of servitude with no legal requirements for the master to provide more than basic needs during the period of indenture. What was unusual was the servant's lack of voice in choosing a master. The indentured servant's condition often approached that of a slave. Even "freedom dues" could be evaded by clever

masters who offered or forced servants to take their freedom a few months early in exchange for renouncing the little food and clothing owed them at the end of their service. So, while servitude was commonplace in seventeenth-century society, the indentured servitude of the Chesapeake was unusually harsh. Finally, students may be surprised to learn that these servants were usually their age or younger. The average age of Chesapeake servants was sixteen. In fact, most colonists were under the age of thirty, and in the “killing years” of Virginia’s first decade, most were under twenty. Help students identify with colonists of every social class, but emphasize that servants made up the majority of colonists.

### 3. Native Americans Retreated and Disappeared in the Face of English Superiority

Indians were everywhere in British North America. Some groups were forced to retreat when the English arrived. Others were completely wiped out in the systematic warfare envisioned by Nathaniel Bacon. But many others, “the protected and Darling Indians” mentioned by Bacon, were treaty Indians who paid tribute to the governor in exchange for being left in peace. Hence, many Indians lived among the newly freed servants who were in direct competition with them for the limited lands available. Colonial authorities were not opposed to the eventual assimilation of the Indians, unlike African slaves. Make the point that colonial authorities profited from the Indians’ continued presence through payment of tribute and through monopolies on trade with them. The Indians did not really retreat abruptly: They were subjected over time to disease, genocide, and assimilation.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

When discussing the transformation of servant to slave labor in the British colonies, you can use the first episode of the PBS series *Africans in America*, “The Terrible Transformation,” which covers the institutionalization of slavery in America.

### Class Discussion Starters

When discussing the early settlement of Jamestown, have your students consider, “What if English farmers had colonized Virginia?” What would have been the possible ramifications for colonial–Native American relations if the colonists had not depended on Powhatan’s confederation for survival? Would the colonists have resorted to African slavery if they had built an economy based on food crops rather than

cash crops? Have students think about the ways in which corn could have transformed the British colony. Would corn have been enough to sustain the colony?

### Historical Debates

When discussing the institutionalization of slavery in the British colonies, have your students consider the degree to which the colonists were motivated by economics and the degree to which they were motivated by racism. Was slavery a manifestation of the colonists’ racism? Or did the colonists become racist after they enslaved Africans? Although most historians now concur that modified versions of both positions are valid, students can benefit from working through the arguments and evidence themselves. The feature *Documenting the American Promise*: “Virginia Laws Governing Servants and Slaves” (pp. 84–85) is particularly relevant here.

## Additional Resources for Chapter 3

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 3 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 3.1: Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (p. 78)
- Map 3.2: The West Indies and Carolina in the Seventeenth Century (p. 95)
- Global Comparison: Migration to the New World from Europe and Africa, 1492–1700 (p. 96)
- John Smith’s Map of Virginia (p. 72)
- Tobacco Cutter (p. 80)

#### Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 3 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 3.1: Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (p. 78)
- Map 3.2: The West Indies and Carolina in the Seventeenth Century (p. 95)
- Global Comparison: Migration to the New World from Europe and Africa, 1492–1700 (p. 96)

- Secotan Village (p. 71)
- John Smith’s Dictionary of Powhatan’s Language (p. 74)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 3 include:

- Envisioning America: *English Plans for the Colonization of North America, 1580–1640*, edited with an introduction by Peter C. Mancall
- *The Discovery of Guiana*, by Sir Walter Raleigh, 1596, edited with an introduction by Benjamin Schmidt
- *How Did American Slavery Begin?* by Edward Countryman

### For Students

#### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 3 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- Opechancanough’s 1622 Uprising in Virginia: Edward Waterhouse, *Declaration*, 1622

- Francisco Pareja Instructs Spanish Missionaries about the Sins of Florida’s Timucuan Indians: *Confessionario*, 1613
- Richard Frethorne Describes Indentured Servitude in Virginia, *Letter to Father and Mother*, March 20, April 2, 3, 1623
- Sex and Race Relations: *Testimony from Virginia Court Records*, 1681
- Bacon’s Rebellion: Nathaniel Bacon, *Declaration*, 1676

#### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 3:

#### Map Activities

- Map 3.1: Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (p. 78)
- Map 3.2: The West Indies and Carolina in the Seventeenth Century (p. 95)

#### Visual Activities

- Secotan Village (p. 71)
- John Smith’s Dictionary of Powhatan’s Language (p. 74)

#### Reading Historical Documents Activity

- Virginia Laws Governing Servants and Slaves (pp. 84–85)

# The Northern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century

## 1601–1700

### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. How did England become a Protestant nation, and who were the Puritans?
2. How did Puritans come to dominate New England society?
3. How did Puritanism influence the development of New England?
4. How were the middle colonies founded? How did the founding and settlement of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania differ from the founding and settlement of the New England colonies?
5. How did the English monarchy move to consolidate its authority over the American colonies?

### Annotated Chapter Outline

- I. **Puritan Origins: The English Reformation**
  - A. The religious roots of the Puritans who founded New England reached back to the Protestant Reformation.
  - B. England's King Henry VIII understood that the Reformation offered him an opportunity to break with Rome and take control of the church in England; in 1534, Parliament, at his insistence, passed the Act of Supremacy, which outlawed the Catholic Church in England.
  - C. The English Reformation divided the country's people: Some wished to return to Catholicism, while others sought a more genuine reformation.

- D. Those who favored a more genuine, comprehensive Reformation came to be called Puritans.
- E. During the sixteenth century, Puritanism was less an organized movement than a set of ideas and religious principles that appealed strongly to many groups of dissenting members of the Church of England.
- F. The fate of Protestantism waxed and waned under Edward VI, Mary I, Elizabeth I, James I, and Charles I, the successors of Henry VIII; in particular, James I and his son Charles I were especially unreceptive to the ideas of Puritan reformers.
- G. The aggressive anti-Puritan policies of Charles I compelled many Puritans to emigrate; the largest number set out for America.

- II. **Puritans and the Settlement of New England**

- A. The Pilgrims and Plymouth Colony
  1. One of the earliest Puritan groups to emigrate from England, later known as Pilgrims, espoused a heresy known as separatism: They sought to withdraw and separate from the Church of England, which they considered hopelessly corrupt.
  2. The Pilgrims, who had obtained permission to settle in the extensive lands granted to the Virginia Company, landed in present-day Massachusetts in 1620.
  3. Although they had no legal authority from the king to settle in this area, on the day that the Pilgrims arrived they drew up the

- Mayflower Compact to provide order and security as well as a claim to legitimacy.
4. The Pilgrims soon settled at Plymouth and elected William Bradford as their governor.
  5. The colony struggled to survive the first winter, during which half of its members died.
  6. In the spring, nearby Wampanoag Indians rescued the floundering colony from starvation.
  7. The colony's status remained precarious, but the Pilgrims coexisted in relative peace with the Indians.
- B. The Founding of Massachusetts Bay Colony
1. In 1629, a group of Puritan merchants and country gentlemen in England obtained a royal charter for the Massachusetts Bay Company that provided the usual privileges granted to joint stock companies, including land for colonization that spanned present-day Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine, and upstate New York.
  2. In addition, the charter allowed the government of the company to be located in the colony rather than in England, making the Puritans self-governing.
  3. The stockholders of the Massachusetts Bay Company elected John Winthrop, a prosperous lawyer and landowner, to serve as governor.
  4. In a famous sermon, given while aboard ship to America, Winthrop explained to his fellow Puritans the cosmic significance of their journey, introducing the concept of America as a "city upon a hill" that could serve as a model for reforming the Church of England.
  5. This vision of the colony's significance profoundly shaped seventeenth-century New England; between 1630 and 1640, more than 20,000 new Puritan settlers came, inspired by Winthrop's vision of a "city upon a hill," and by 1640 New England had one of the highest ratios of preachers to population in all of Christendom.
  6. New England immigrants tended to come from the middle ranks of English society.
  7. In contrast to the Chesapeake colonies, where women and children were rare, New England immigrants usually arrived as families.
  8. Puritans considered each family a "little commonwealth" that mirrored the

hierarchy among all God's creatures, and New England's social order was defined by the interlocking institutions of family, church, and community.

### III. The Evolution of New England Society

#### A. Church, Covenant, and Conformity

1. To Puritans, the church was composed of men and women who had entered a solemn covenant with one another and with God.
2. Puritan views on church membership derived from Calvinism, which stressed the doctrine of predestination.
3. The doctrine of predestination held that before the creation of the world, God exercised his divine grace and chose a few human beings to receive eternal life.
4. Only God knew the identity of the "elect" or "saints," but Puritans believed that if an individual were among the elect, then that person's behavior would surely reflect his or her special status; "visible saints"—persons who passed their demanding tests of conversion and church membership—were thought probably to be among God's elect.
5. The connection between sainthood and saintly behavior was far from certain and members of Puritan churches ardently hoped that they were among God's elect and tried to act as though they were.
6. Church members oversaw every aspect of life in Puritan communities and enforced a high degree of conformity but, despite the central importance of religion, churches had no direct role in the civil government of New England communities.
7. Puritanism did, however, find its way into the public life of New England's Puritans with the establishment of fines for activities and practices that were not in alignment with God's law.

#### B. Government by Puritans for Puritanism

1. The charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company empowered the company's stockholders to meet as a body known as the General Court and to make laws to govern the company's affairs.
2. Nonstockholders were classified as "inhabitants," and they had the right to vote, to hold office, and to participate fully in town government.
3. One of the most important functions of the New England town governments was land distribution.

4. Unlike in the Chesapeake, land was more equally distributed in New England; once town founders obtained a grant, they apportioned land among themselves and any newcomers they permitted to join them.
- C. The Splintering of Puritanism
  1. Almost from the beginning, Winthrop and other leaders had difficulty enforcing their views of Puritan orthodoxy; Puritans' emphasis on individual Bible study led New Englanders toward different visions of godliness.
  2. After banishing Roger Williams, Winthrop confronted another dissenter, Anne Hutchinson, who held twice-weekly lectures in her home in which she expounded on the sermons of Puritan minister John Cotton.
  3. In those sermons, Cotton stressed the "covenant of grace" and hinted that many of his fellow Puritan ministers were guilty of embracing Arminianism—the false belief that human beings could influence God's will through good works.
  4. The large meetings in Anne Hutchinson's house alarmed Governor Winthrop, who believed that she was subverting the good order of the colony.
  5. Winthrop and other Puritan elders referred to Hutchinson and her followers as antinomians—persons who were opposed to God's law as it was set forth in the Bible and interpreted by the colony's leaders.
  6. The elders finally accused Hutchinson of the heresy of prophecy, the view that God revealed his will directly to a believer instead of exclusively through the Bible, and in 1638 she was formally excommunicated.
  7. Strains within Puritanism exemplified by the ideas and fates of Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams caused it to splinter repeatedly during the seventeenth century.
  8. In 1636, Thomas Hooker led an exodus of more than 800 colonists from Massachusetts to the Connecticut River valley, where they founded Hartford and neighboring towns; in 1639, the towns adopted the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, a quasi-constitution.
  9. Other Puritan churches continued to divide and subdivide throughout the seventeenth century as acrimony developed over doctrine and church government.
- D. Religious Controversies and Economic Changes
  1. Disputes between King Charles I and Parliament escalated in 1642 to a civil war in England, known as the Puritan Revolution.
  2. When the Puritan Revolution began, the stream of immigrants to New England dwindled to a trickle; fewer boats to New England meant fewer customers for the colonists' own products and sky-high prices for scarce English goods.
  3. New England therefore had to find new products and markets, thereby establishing the enduring patterns of New England's economy.
  4. During this period, fish became New England's most important export, followed by shipping and shipbuilding.
  5. Although immigration came to a standstill in the 1640s, the population continued to boom, doubling every twenty years.
  6. However, the increase in population was not reflected in church membership; despite crowded churches, piety during this period slackened, evidenced by the failure of many children of "visible saints" to experience conversion and attain full church membership.
  7. In 1662, a synod of Massachusetts ministers established the Halfway Covenant, which permitted the unconverted children of "saints" to become "halfway" church members.
  8. These halfway members could baptize their infants but could not participate in communion and did not have the voting privileges of church membership.
  9. Beginning in 1656, small bands of Quakers, who believed that God spoke directly to each individual through an "inner light," began to arrive in Massachusetts.
  10. New England communities treated Quakers with ruthless severity including facial branding and hanging.
  11. New England's limited success in realizing the promise of a godly society ultimately undermined the intense appeal of Puritanism and the Salem witch trials of 1692 only augmented the gnawing doubt about the strength of Puritan New Englanders' faith.

**IV. The Founding of the Middle Colonies****A. From New Netherland to New York**

1. In 1626, Peter Minuit, the resident director of the West India Company, purchased Manhattan Island from the Manhate Indians for trade goods worth the equivalent of a dozen beaver pelts; New Amsterdam became the principal trading center in New Netherland and the colony's headquarters.
2. Unlike the English colonies, New Netherland did not attract many European immigrants.
3. Although few in number, the New Netherlanders were remarkably diverse, both geographically and religiously, especially compared with the homogeneous English settlers to the north and south.
4. The West India Company struggled to govern the colonists and never permitted settlers to form a representative government; in 1664, New Netherland became New York after King Charles II "gave" it to his brother James, the Duke of York.
5. As the new proprietor of the colony, the Duke of York exercised almost the same unlimited authority over the colony as had the West India Company.
6. Although the duke permitted religious toleration in the colony, the policy was less an affirmation of liberty of conscience and more a recognition of the reality that New York was the most heterogeneous colony in seventeenth-century North America.

**B. New Jersey and Pennsylvania**

1. The creation of New York indirectly led to the founding of two other middle colonies: New Jersey and Pennsylvania.
2. In 1664, the Duke of York subdivided his grant and gave the portion of land between the Hudson and Delaware rivers to two of his friends; this new colony was called New Jersey.
3. William Penn, a prominent English Quaker, was brought in to arbitrate a dispute between the proprietors.
4. Penn settled the dispute and became interested in establishing a genuinely Quaker colony in America.
5. The Quaker concept of an open, generous God who made his love equally available to all people manifested itself in egalitarian worship services and in social behavior that continually brought

Quakers into conflict with the English government.

6. Penn, however, remained on good terms with Charles II, who granted him land to found a Quaker colony in America; in 1681, Charles made Penn the proprietor of a new colony, called Pennsylvania.

**C. Toleration and Diversity in Pennsylvania**

1. Quakers, who were mostly artisans, farmers, and laborers, flocked to Pennsylvania from England, Ireland, Wales, and the European continent.
2. Penn dealt with the neighboring Indians fairly.
3. Pennsylvania tolerated Protestant sects of all kinds as well as Roman Catholics.
4. Despite its toleration and diversity, Pennsylvania was as much a Quaker colony as New England was a stronghold of Puritanism, and Penn used civil government to enforce religious morality.
5. As proprietor, Penn had extensive powers, subject to review only by the king.
6. Penn stressed that the exact form of government mattered less than the men who served in it.

**V. The Colonies and the British Empire****A. Royal Regulation of Colonial Trade**

1. English economic policies toward the colonies were designed to yield customs revenues for the monarch and profitable business for English merchants and shippers.
2. The Navigation Acts of 1650, 1651, and 1660 set forth two fundamental regulations governing colonial trade: All colonial goods imported into England had to be transported on English ships, and certain colonial goods could be shipped only to England or to other English colonies.
3. By the end of the seventeenth century, colonial commerce was defined by regulations that subjected merchants and shippers to royal supervision and gave them access to markets throughout the British Empire.

**B. King Philip's War and the Consolidation of Royal Authority**

1. In 1675, warfare between Indians and colonists erupted in the Chesapeake and New England.
2. This war, known as King Philip's War, from which the colonists eventually emerged triumphant, left New Englanders with an enduring hatred of Indians, a large war debt, and a devastated frontier.

3. A royal investigation concluded that the colonists had deviated from English rules and as a consequence the English government decided to govern New England more directly.
4. In 1684, an English court revoked the Massachusetts charter, and two years later, royal officials incorporated Massachusetts and the other colonies north of Maryland into the Dominion of New England to be governed by Sir Edward Andros.
5. In England in 1688, the Glorious Revolution reasserted Protestant power and also emboldened colonial uprisings against royal authority in Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland.
6. In 1689 the rebellious colonists destroyed the Dominion of New England, overthrew Andros, and reestablished the former charter governments in both Massachusetts and New York.
7. The rebel governments did not last long and the crown soon reestablished royal control of the colonies.
8. In 1691, Massachusetts became a royal colony, and landowners, rather than church members, could vote in colony-wide elections.
9. As much as colonists chafed under increasing royal control, they still valued English protection from hostile neighbors, including both the Indians and the French.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 4, the *Questions for Analysis* and *Debate* at the end of the *Documenting the American Promise* feature, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 4.

## Review Questions

1. Why did Henry VIII initiate the English Reformation? (p. 105) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Opportunity to consolidate his power:* King Henry saw in the Protestant Reformation a means of separating

from Rome and asserting his own control of the church in England. Although he was not committed to Protestant doctrine, other Englishmen were and pursued a more thoroughgoing reform of the Church of England. (pp. 105–106)

2. Why did the Puritans immigrate to North America? (pp. 106–107) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Crown's opposition to Puritan reform:* When James I and Charles I pursued anti-Puritan policies in governing the church and England, Puritans despaired of ever reforming the English church. (p. 106)

- *Separatism:* In order to withdraw from what they considered the corrupt Church of England, Separatists left England first for Holland, and later in 1620, for lands granted to the Virginia Company. They believed they would be able to live and worship as they thought right only outside of England. (p. 107)

3. Why did Massachusetts Puritans adopt the Halfway Covenant? (pp. 111–119) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Visible Saints:* Protestants believed in the doctrine of predestination, and hoped that living a rigorously moral and upright life might be understood as a sign of one's membership in the elect. Consequently, they organized life in the new colony to help each other pursue these high standards. In order to become part of the church covenant, each new member had to demonstrate that they had experienced conversion; only then would they be considered visible saints. Significantly, only such people could vote in the colony. (pp. 113–114)

- *Slackening religiosity:* In the second half of the seventeenth century, steady population growth and economic change contributed to waning piety. Although all colonists had to attend sermons, church membership, especially amongst men, had declined sharply. (p. 118)

- *Sainthood and inheritance:* Most disturbing to Puritan leaders was the failure of the children of visible saints to experience conversion. Leaders had allowed this generation to be baptized based on the expectation that they were likely to be members of the elect and would eventually experience conversion. When many failed to do so, and began having children of their own, leaders faced another quandary. All church members had to experience conversion and only the children of church members could be baptized. This threatened to leave the third generation without the protection of baptism. (pp. 118–119)

- *Halfway Covenant:* At a Massachusetts synod in 1622, ministers reached a compromise solution: unconverted children of saints would become halfway members of the church, able to baptize their children, but unable to vote or take communion. (p. 119)

4. How did Quaker ideals shape the colony of Pennsylvania? (pp. 124–125) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Quaker conception of God:* Quakers believed God spoke directly to individuals. The expectation that God was equally available to all led them to reject many hierarchies, including social rank and gender. (p. 124)

• *Tolerance:* Pennsylvania attracted Quakers from across England, Wales, and Ireland, as well as immigrants from elsewhere in Europe. Penn established a policy of religious tolerance, allowing all Protestants and Roman Catholics to practice in Pennsylvania without being compelled to attend Quaker worship. The policy of tolerance also extended to Indians, with whom Penn sought to deal fairly. (pp. 124–125)

- *Law:* Penn used his power as proprietor to promote laws that enforced a vision of morality consistent with Quaker ideals. (p. 125)

5. Why did the “Glorious Revolution” in England lead to uprisings in the American colonies? (pp. 128–132) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Identification of the “Glorious Revolution”:* The Glorious Revolution is the name given to the bloodless coup that changed the English crown when a group of Protestant noblemen helped push Catholic James II off the throne in favor of Protestants William and Mary. (p. 128)

• *Invitation to Rebellion:* Protestant colonists saw in the Glorious Revolution an opportunity to overthrow Charles II's initiatives strengthening royal authority in the colonies, most dramatically in Massachusetts, whose charter had been revoked in 1684. (pp. 128–129)

colony. (pp. 113–115) They also expelled and punished those they felt might lead others astray in questions of belief, such as Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson, Quakers, and so on. (pp. 116–117, 119)

- *Implications for New England:* Over time, the religious ardor of colonists lagged and the exacting practices of Puritan conformity became less consistent. The Halfway Covenant offers an example of the difficulty of perpetuating the founding Puritans' vision, as well as the compromises leaders increasingly made to more worldly concerns. (p. 119)

• *Religious Tolerance:* Some colonies responded to the challenge of dissent by attempting to protect the right to engage in relatively diverse religious practice. For example, William Penn made freedom of belief and worship the first principle of government in the colony. (p. 124) Having long wrestled with the question of how people could best know God, Roger Williams came to believe tolerance was indispensable. After his expulsion from New England, he enshrined “Liberty of Conscience” as a guiding principle of the colony he founded, Rhode Island. (p. 104)

- *Implications for more pluralist colonies:* The principle of tolerance contributed to religious and cultural diversity in the colonies where it was established, such as Pennsylvania and Rhode Island. (pp. 124–125)

2. In his sermon aboard the *Arbella*, John Winthrop spoke of the Massachusetts Bay Colony as “a city upon a hill.” What did he mean? How did this expectation influence life in New England during the seventeenth century? In your answer, be sure to consider the relationship between religious and political life in the colony. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Discussion of the sermon:* In the sermon aboard the *Arbella*, John Winthrop explained the significance of the colonists' undertaking in regard to their own salvation, the country they had left behind, and man's relationship to God. (p. 108)

• *Discussion of the history of dissent in England:* English Puritans hoped to make a true reformation of the English church out of Henry VIII's break with Rome. In practice, the crown opposed Puritanism leading many to look beyond England for a place to practice their version of Christianity, and perhaps ultimately achieve their desired change in England. (pp. 105–107)

- *Massachusetts Bay as the “city on the hill”:* Winthrop and the other colonists believed their efforts would be on display to each other, the world, and God, underscoring the stakes of their experiment. As a consequence, the laws of the colony promoted conformity with their best understanding of God's word as revealed in the Bible above all else. This included requiring that all attend church services, eliminating the celebration of Christmas, and so on. (pp. 113–115)

## Making Connections

1. How did the religious dissenters who flooded into the northern colonies address the question of religious dissent in their new homes? Comparing two colonies, discuss their different approaches and the implications of those approaches for colonial development. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Perfecting dissent:* The Puritans who founded and governed New England expected their great experiment would create a place where they could perfect true Christian life and, further, guide the rest of the world to the right path. (p. 108) In their view, deviance from the singular truth of God was a constant danger that could be avoided only with scrupulous effort. To this end, they established laws to promote conformity to Puritan morality within the

- *Church and government:* Although Puritans carefully insulated the church against influence by the state, they fully expected the church to shape the government. For example, voting was restricted to full church members. (pp. 115–116)

- *Tensions as population grew:* The intense demands of Winthrop's vision were difficult to meet, especially as the population grew and other concerns began to consume colonists' attentions. (p. 118)

3. Religious conflict and political turmoil battered England in the seventeenth century. How did political developments in England affect life in the colonies? In your answer, consider the establishment of the colonies and the crown's attempts to exercise authority over them. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *English monarchs and Protestantism:* Although Henry VIII broke with Rome to consolidate his political power, the monarchs that followed him had to negotiate with an increasingly demanding Puritan faction. Charles I proved very hostile to Puritanism, punishing dissenters and ultimately dissolving Parliament, where Puritans enjoyed significant representation. Such actions made Puritans despair of reforming England, leading a large number to make their way to North America. (pp. 106–107)

- *Massachusetts Bay Colony:* Shortly before the dissolution of Parliament, a group of Puritans obtained a royal charter to form the Massachusetts Bay Company. The distinctive charter allowed the government of the company to be based in the colony rather than in England. In effect this meant that the Puritans could govern themselves in the New World. This would enable the Puritans in New England to pass laws designed to protect and ensure adherence to their religious views. (p. 108)

- *Tightening royal control of the colonies:* As the colonies became more established and more profitable, the king took actions to consolidate royal authority over colonial governments. The Navigation Acts tried to ensure that all trade from the colonies would have to go through England using English transport, thereby enriching the crown. (p. 127)

- *King Philip's War:* This violent and costly conflict between New Englanders and Indians prompted Charles II to investigate the colony's conformity with English law. This became the grounds for revoking the Massachusetts charter in 1684 and establishing the Dominion of New England under tighter royal control. (pp. 127–128)

- *Glorious Revolution:* When William and Mary displaced James II from the English throne with the assistance of Protestant noblemen in 1688, Maryland, New York, and Massachusetts all rose up against royal authority. The rebel governments were short-lived, however. Massachusetts again became a royal

colony in 1691, which ushered in an important change in the principle of governance; property ownership rather than church membership became the qualification for voting. This would change the nature of Puritans' influence on the governance and day-to-day life of the colony. (pp. 128–129, 132)

4. Although both colonies were settled by the English, colonial New England was dramatically different from colonial Chesapeake. How did they differ and why? In your answer, consider the economies, systems of governance, and patterns of settlement in each colony. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Patterns of Settlement:* The demographics of settlers in the two regions differed in important ways. For example, the Chesapeake, populated largely through indenture arrangements, drew the bulk of its colonists from the strata of laborers. (See chapter 3, p. 83) In contrast, the Puritans largely came from the middle ranks of English society. (p. 109) They also tended to arrive in families and to settle in towns, rather than in the dispersed, tobacco-oriented settlement pattern of the Chesapeake. This, along with New England's more healthful climate, made natural increase an important source of population growth early in the life of the colony, unlike the Chesapeake's struggle with a high mortality rate (pp. 109, 118; see also chapter 3, pp. 83, 86)

- *Economies:* The tobacco economy and its insatiable appetite for land and laborers along with its promise of wealth organized the economic, social, and political life of the Chesapeake. Its dependence on European markets also left it particularly susceptible to the English crown's attempts to regulate trade to its own advantage, as in the Navigation Acts. (See chapter 3, p. 90) While New England developed an export economy, particularly for fish and timber, in the early days of settlement it was individual farms, churches, and towns that were the axis for the colony. (p. 117)

- *Systems of Governance:* The economy and settlement patterns of the Chesapeake, which had at first produced a kind of frontier equality, gave way to social and economic polarization in the colony. These tensions exploded in the political conflicts culminating in Bacon's Rebellion. (See chapter 3, pp. 90–92) In contrast, the Puritan founders' belief in the cosmic significance of their experiment and their commitment to enforcing conformity with these ideals produced stability for a time. Their growing population and slackening religiosity produced shifts in patterns of governance in the second half of the seventeenth century. (p. 118) Both colonies, however, had to negotiate their relationship to the English crown, bristling at the mounting burden of taxes and royal intrusions into colonial governance. (pp. 127–129, 132; see also chapter 3, pp. 90–92)

## Documenting the American Promise: King Phillip Considers Christianity (pp. 110–111)

1. To what degree is Eliot's dialogue a reliable guide to Philip's doubts about the wisdom of becoming a praying Indian? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Eliot's authorship:* *Indian Dialogues* was written by John Eliot, a Puritan minister, so it is not a primary source actually written by a Native American and we cannot review it without at least questioning its reliability. It probably says more about Eliot than about the Wampanoags themselves.

- *Eliot's larger agenda:* It is important, when reading primary sources, to think about the reasons the document was written. In this case, Eliot had spent a great deal of time studying the languages, customs, and beliefs of the Indians. He did so with the hope that the knowledge might help him convert Indians, but he also hoped to strengthen them against the colonists' encroachments on their land. He was not setting out to undermine Native Americans with this document, but rather to educate the colonists about Wampanoag perspectives, so Eliot was probably not consciously distorting their views in any negative way.

- *Eliot's missionary experience:* John Eliot wrote *Indian Dialogues* based on the knowledge he'd acquired through twenty-five years of study about and interaction with Native Americans in Massachusetts. He undoubtedly knew quite a bit about the Wampanoags and had heard doubts about the wisdom of converting to Christianity from many of them. It is not clear that he had ever met Metacomet, however, or whether he had any firm basis for his specific ideas about Metacomet's thoughts on this particular subject.

2. According to Eliot, was Philip's religion a stumbling block to his acceptance of Christianity? What made Philip fear that he would "fall down the precipice"? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Philip's religion:* When recounting his doubts about Christianity in this document, Philip never mentions his own religious beliefs.

- *Source of Philip's fear:* Rather, the document suggests that Philip's doubts about conversion actually arose from fears that he would lose his power as a chief. In particular, the document suggests that Philip fears that those Wampanoags who do convert will be loyal to God instead of to him, that those who do not convert will give their loyalty and support to other chiefs, and that the "equality" of Christianity will erode his own superior status as a sachem of the Wampanoags.

3. If Philip had written a dialogue proposing that Eliot convert to the Wampanoag way of life, what

arguments might he have made? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Hypothetical nature of the question:* There is no direct evidence in the document to tell us what King Philip thinks about this. We can only guess about how Philip might have tried to convert Eliot.

- *Wampanoags less distracted by material wealth than colonists:* Perhaps Philip would have pointed out that the colonists, instead of focusing primarily on religious devotion, spent a great deal of time trying to increase their economic status. He might also have talked about how the colonists' accumulation of goods distracted them from godly pursuits and tempted them to participate in activities they perceived as corrupt, such as wearing elaborate clothing. He could have argued that the Wampanoags led much more modest lives and that colonists, if they adopted such lifestyles, might have fewer problems.

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Seal of Massachusetts Bay Colony (p. 108)

**Reading the Image:** What does the seal demonstrate regarding the English view of the Indians? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *English view of Native Americans:* The seal clearly depicts the Indian as inferior. Not only is he asking for help, but he is also barely clothed, which in Puritan minds was a sign of sinfulness. He is holding a bow and arrow, which were inferior to English firearms. He is speaking English; however, few English settlers took the time to learn the language of the native tribes, so his words would need to be in English for anyone to understand them. Overall, the apparent impression of North American natives, as demonstrated by the seal, is not very complimentary, but the depiction also reveals the blatant condescension of the Puritan population as well.

**Connections:** How did the viewpoint represented by the seal affect colonization in the Americas? What were the English expecting to find when they traveled to America, and in what ways were those expectations not met? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Depiction of Indians:* The seal's depiction of the native peoples was clearly misleading. The trip to the Americas was undertaken by many who believed that the Indians were in fact friendly and desired help from the British. What many colonists discovered

when they arrived was that many of the indigenous tribes did not trust the English, with good reason: The colonists sought to expel them from their age-old lands.

- *Expectations of New World:* The English settlers who traveled to the Americas were expecting an inferior, desperate people and instead encountered men and women who were willing to fight to retain their traditional holdings. Some tribes remained open to helping the settlers, but as King Philip's War indicated, many others were not willing to allow themselves to be overrun completely by English settlers.

### The Puritan Challenge to the Status Quo (p. 113)

**Reading the Image:** The drawing shows at least a dozen examples of the conventional world turned upside down. Can you identify them? *Answer would ideally include:*

- The reversal of the central figure's hands and feet and the consequent absurdity of wearing his clothes upside down.
- The castle and candle suspended upside down in midair.
- A fish and a snake flying through the air.
- A horse whipping a carriage as it would normally be whipped and a man providing the propulsion for a cart as an animal normally would.
- A rat chasing a cat.
- A rabbit chasing a dog.

**Connections:** Puritans, of course, would claim that the artist had it wrong—that the conventional world had God's order upside down. How might the drawing have been different if a devout Puritan had drawn it? *Answers would ideally include:*

- *The placement of the secular above the divine.* Such an argument might be illustrated by placing a magnificent castle over a plain church or by standing a lavishly dressed man atop a Bible.
- *Prioritizing earthly concerns over divine grace.* Perhaps the image of the man propelling the cart might have served the Puritan purpose equally well as a symbol of mankind's obsession with financial gain and consequent lack of concern for the state of the soul.

### Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 4.1 New England Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (p. 109)

**Reading the Map:** Using the dates on the map, create a chronology of the establishment of towns in New England. What physical features correspond to the earliest habitation by English settlers? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Chronology:* Plymouth (1620), Portsmouth (1624), Salem (1626), Kennebunk (1629), Boston (1630), Portland (1632), Ipswich (1633), Windsor (1635), Hartford (1635), Providence (1636), Springfield (1636), New Haven (1638), Barnstable (1639), Newport (1639), Stamford (1641), New London (1646), Middletown (1650), Northampton (1654), Deerfield (1669), Worcester (1713), Concord (1727).

- *Patterns of settlements in New England:* New Englanders located most of their towns near the Atlantic coast or along a major river. Settlement near a major river or the ocean allowed Puritan farmers to communicate with other colonial towns and with the British Empire. Because sailing ships and small boats constituted the only source of transportation between Europe and America and also served as the primary means of contact between America settlements, New England colonists made sure their towns were placed at points convenient to water transportation.

**Connections:** Why were towns so much more a feature of seventeenth-century New England than of the Chesapeake (*see also chapter 3*)? How did Puritan dissent influence the settlement of New England colonies? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Influence of the Puritans religion of settlement:* Towns predominated in New England because the church was the center of Puritan social life, and living close enough to attend regular worship made towns a more attractive choice for settlement in New England than in the Chesapeake where, despite the presence of the Church of England, regular church attendance did not figure as prominently in everyday life. Puritan colonial legislators reinforced this tendency toward town settlement by restricting full rights of citizenship to male church members—a decision that made access to church essential to Puritan men. Colonial law also distributed land in lots organized around a central township, another inducement to settle in groups. Furthermore, Puritans came to New England in family units, determined to settle permanently in the New World; this expectation and the presence of entire families encouraged the kind of communal settlement that towns provided. By contrast, tobacco planters in the Chesapeake required large tracts of land for commercial farming; they tended to disperse along navigable rivers and deal directly with seafaring merchants rather than work through middlemen clustered in ports.

• *Influence of Puritan dissent:* New England fractured into several small colonies due to the tensions inherent in Puritan religious belief. Puritans encouraged individual reading and interpretation of the Bible, yet in America, Puritans opposed any dispute over the meaning of religious doctrine. Encouraged on the one hand to search their souls for signs of grace, and discouraged, on the other, to disagree with their ministers, many Puritans struggled quietly with the differences between their views and those of their clergy. Some, however, publicly criticized theologians and developed a cadre of like-minded followers. Massachusetts judges sympathetic to church leaders often imposed banishment as the punishment for religious dissent. In some cases, like that of Anne Hutchinson, banishment did not result in the founding of a new colony, but in other instances, as following the banishment of Roger Williams and Thomas Hooker, new colonies—Rhode Island and Connecticut—were carved out of land neighboring Massachusetts.

### Map 4.3 American Colonies at the End of the Seventeenth Century (p. 126)

**Reading the Map:** What geographic feature acted as the western boundary for colonial territorial claims? Which colonies were the most settled and which the least? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Western boundary:* The major geographic feature that bounded the colonial territories was the Appalachian mountain range, which ran north to south from New Hampshire to Georgia.

- *Patterns of Settlement:* The most settled colonies were those in the north and in the Chesapeake region. Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia were relatively highly populated, whereas North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia had only a handful of settlements. The coastal regions harbored far more people than the inland territories, and most of the inland areas that were inhabited were along major rivers like the James and the Hudson.

**Connections:** The map divides the colonies into four regions. Can you think of an alternative organization? On what criteria would it be based? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Organization of colonies by Native American tribes:* The map divides the colonies along the lines of English settlement. However, there are numerous other ways to organize the colonies. For instance, it would be possible to consider them in light of Indian tribes, many of which still had significant claims to the land that Europeans inhabited. That map would show the Iroquois confederacy in New York and

Pennsylvania, the Algonquians along the Atlantic seaboard, and the Muskogeans in the Southeast.

- *Organization of the colonies by economy:* The colonies could also be divided into economic zones, with New England's distinctive fish and timber industry constituting one area, the middle colonies' importing and exporting another, and the Chesapeake and Lower South's tobacco crops a third.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in “Additional Resources for Chapter 4.”*

### LECTURE 1

#### *The Religious Basis of Colonization*

Begin this lecture by highlighting the theme of the textbook—“the American promise.” Ask students to consider the expectations held by the immigrants who came to New England and the middle colonies in the seventeenth century. Ask them to think about how the colonists hoped life in America would satisfy those expectations. It will become evident that students cannot understand why the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, or Pennsylvania were founded or how they developed without a clear understanding of the dissenting religions of seventeenth-century England. Locate the Puritan and Quaker movements socially and chronologically. Discuss the advent of the Protestant Reformation in Europe and how Henry VIII nationalized church institutions in England for his own political reasons. Be ready to explain why many Christians found Henry’s reforms spiritually unsatisfactory. Discuss religious toleration in England and New England. Ask your students, “What constitutes religious toleration?” and ask whether either seventeenth-century England or Massachusetts meets their definitions. Here, you might have students analyze the image *The Puritan Challenge to the Status Quo* on page 113.

Focusing more closely on the Puritan groups who migrated to New England, explore the centrality of conversion to their religious experience. Examine the contractual nature of their “covenant” with one another and with God. Ask students to consider John Winthrop’s sermon and the Salem witch trials to determine what was expected of Puritans in this contract with God, and what were signs of their failing to live up to their contract. You might also want to bring in the feature *Documenting the American Promise: “King Philip Considers Christianity”* (pp. 110–111), pointing

out the difficulties that Puritan missionaries faced when confronting Native American populations. Also show how later generations of colonists failed to achieve the conversion experience, which prevented them from obtaining full church membership, resulting in their lack of political franchise and their inability to have their own children baptized. The Halfway Covenant, instituted a mere thirty-three years after the founding of the colony, reflected the loss of religious zeal and signaled to the community of believers that their society was in a state of decline. Ask how the people of the late seventeenth century interpreted the witch trials of the 1690s and the Indian wars of the 1670s and 1690s. Consider assigning Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative (see "In-Class Activities"), and ask students if these afflictions weakened the religious faith that was the root of Puritan society.

Conclude by pointing out the similarities and differences between the Quakers and Puritans. Both were seen as cults by those not a part of them. But their theologies were distinctly different. Contrast the "inner light" of the Quakers with the "innate depravity" Calvinism of the Puritans. Use extreme care at this point; you may be discussing your students' religious beliefs.

## LECTURE 2

### *The Impact of English Politics on American Colonization*

This lecture highlights the impact that politics in England had on American colonization. Suggest to students that the progress of the American colonies corresponds with the rise and fall of the Stuart dynasty. Begin with the ascension of James I to the throne, and trace the succession of monarchs, pausing to cover Oliver Cromwell's brief interregnum and ending with the ousting of James II in the Glorious Revolution. Be sure to make the connections between British politics and colonial affairs clear. Note, for example, that Charles I dissolved Parliament only one week after granting a charter to the Massachusetts Bay colony. The colony benefited greatly from the king's desire for increased power; nearly 20,000 Puritans immigrated to New England during the 1630s to escape political turbulence back home. When King Charles reconvened Parliament in 1640, Parliament declared war on the king, and the immigrants immediately stopped coming to the Massachusetts Bay colony. Instead, Puritans back in England called on those in America to come back to help fight the king. By 1647, parliamentary forces in this civil war defeated the king and executed him. The Puritans in England then established a commonwealth without a

king, in which their army's general, Oliver Cromwell, acted as dictator.

Ask students what happened to the Massachusetts Bay colony's status as a "city upon a hill" once the biblical commonwealth was established in England. You might also ask students to point out the connections between the failure of Parliament's commonwealth in 1660 and the declaration of the Halfway Covenant by a synod of Massachusetts clergy in 1662. How did these events signal a decline in Puritan society? Quickly cover the Restoration, and note the English conquest of New Amsterdam (renamed New York) and the founding of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. When James II, proprietor of the New York colony, assumed the throne in the 1680s, he allowed William Penn to launch the Pennsylvania colony. Go over the king's revocation of the Massachusetts Bay charter and the formation of the Dominion of New England. Have students suggest why this move angered colonists. Ask students what effect the Glorious Revolution had on colonial affairs, paying particular attention to the rebellions in New York, Massachusetts, and Maryland. Finish with a discussion of the changes in the structure of colonial government by the 1690s.

## LECTURE 3

### *A Social History of the Northern Colonies*

Use this lecture to compare the emerging societies of the northern colonies. The Massachusetts Bay colony and its offshoots—Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire—were densely settled territories with a largely homogeneous population. New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania contained more heterogeneous populations, which made their societies much different from those in New England. Ask students to compare the manner of immigration to New England with that to the middle colonies. Who went to each, and how did they get there? Once they arrived, how did they live?

Introduce the concept of change in societal standards and structures over time. You can illustrate this concept by using the New England example of witchcraft. Avoiding the religious dimensions of the witchcraft trials, ask students to identify who was most likely to be accused as a witch and who was most likely to be an accuser. Explore the social ramifications of a society that perceived itself in spiritual decline, and ask students to describe the material conditions that supported that belief. Land became more scarce with a growing population; the perceived healthiness of the colony decreased as a denser population increased the chances for disease to spread; disparities in wealth became more apparent, reducing the sense

of a harmonious community; and children moved from the communities in which they were raised in order to find land for themselves, reducing parental control and authority. Ask students to consider why some New Englanders were accused of being witches to show how social problems led colonists to identify witches as scapegoats. Next, ask students to consider again New York and Pennsylvania. Did they have the same problems? Why not? Show that New England was not the model that other colonies followed by demonstrating that the middle colonies, like the southern colonies, pursued a path of increasing stability while New England saw itself in decline.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. The Puritans and the Pilgrims Were the Same

Students frequently assume that *Pilgrim* is simply another term for *Puritan*. They get this impression from a linear reading of most texts: The Pilgrims generally drop out of the narrative of American history after surviving the first few years at Plymouth, and then the story focuses on the development of Puritan society in New England. Many students might also erroneously conclude that because both Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay colony were established in present-day Massachusetts, the colonies were one and the same. You can correct this mistaken reading by discussing two points. First, the Puritans considered the Pilgrims minor heretics, or at least severely mistaken schismatics. The Pilgrims considered the Church of England so beyond reform that they believed the only way they could achieve salvation was to separate themselves completely from it and start anew. The Puritans, who also considered the Church of England deeply corrupt, believed such separation sought to achieve perfection on earth and, given their Calvinist belief in the sinful nature of man, saw such attempts as both impossible and sinfully proud. The Puritans insisted that the Church of England had to be reformed, or purified, from within; hence, they did not seek separation while they dissented from its practices.

Second, you can emphasize the differences in community organization between the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. Plymouth was sparsely settled with few colonists. It allowed religious toleration. Massachusetts Bay was densely settled, creating frontier communities in the “howling wilderness” rather than individual farmsteads. If you assigned Mary Rowlandson’s captivity narrative, get students to consider Rowlandson’s farm during the Indian attack. Her farm included thirty-seven people in an extended family, and she literally could see her neighbors dying before her own farm was attacked. She

lived in a community, which was the Puritan mode of development in Massachusetts. The Plymouth colony was much more individualistic and thus allowed more toleration of differences.

### 2. The Puritans Came to America in Order to Pursue Religious Freedom

Students generally understand that the Puritans came to America to practice their religious beliefs unrestrained by a government that disagreed with them over those beliefs. Although this is generally a true statement, students make it false by assuming that seeking religious freedom for oneself logically translates into a policy of religious toleration once the formerly persecuted begin to govern. The textbook makes clear that toleration did not necessarily follow the establishment of a Puritan government, but you cannot assume that students will overcome this misconception merely by reading part of one textbook chapter. Have students look at the opening vignette on Roger Williams. Then, take them step-by-step, from John Winthrop’s sermon on the *Arbella*, in which he told the Puritans that they had to exclude others who disagreed with them in order to maintain their covenant with God, to the exile—forced or voluntary—of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson, to the persecution and execution of members of radical evangelistic sects such as the Quakers. Such practices probably do not conform to students’ notions of religious freedom.

### 3. New England Is the Prototype of American Development

Historians have done a good job of laying this fallacy to rest, yet students continue to assume that because New England’s history is so well documented, because professors and teachers emphasize its development, and because it offers an ideal of freedom and community, it must be the main source of American tradition. Ask students to compare the settlement of Massachusetts with the settlement of Virginia. Who came, and how did they get a start? Ask which pattern was replicated in the American West. Make the point that the colonization of New England was atypical of general British colonization in North America and very different from later American settlement patterns. The Puritans did not strike out on their own to claim their lands individually. They petitioned the General Court as a group. They received their town charter, and only then were lands divided among the settlers.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

When discussing the Salem witch trials of 1692, consider screening the docudrama *Three Sovereigns*

for Sarah, distributed by PBS. The script is based on existing trial manuscripts and the writings of Sarah Cloyce, the youngest of three sisters accused of witchcraft and the only one to escape execution. In order to address popular (and often erroneous) conceptions about the conflicts between Europeans and Native Americans, consider showing the 1992 film *The Last of the Mohicans*, starring Daniel Day-Lewis. You may need to remind your students that the film represents Hollywood's interpretation of the 1839 novel by James Fenimore Cooper and is thus doubly removed from historical reality.

### Class Discussion Starters

Puritanism will undoubtedly be confusing to students. To have your students understand more fully the Massachusetts Bay colony's Puritanism, ask them what would have happened had the Massachusetts Bay colonists practiced religious tolerance. What did the colonists fear would happen? What happened to other colonies that did practice religious tolerance? (Have students consider the middle colonies, for example.) Were the Puritans able to ward off the forces of dissolution by taking such a strict stance on the issue? Why or why not?

### Historical Debates

Using the Bedford Series in History and Culture title "*The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*" by Mary Rowlandson with Related Documents, edited with an introduction by Neal Salisbury, have students formulate a response from one of Rowlandson's captors to her narrative. Would the captor have agreed with Rowlandson's account of her captivity? Where might the two accounts diverge?

### Reading Primary Sources

As the textbook makes clear, the selections excerpted in the feature *Documenting the American Promise*: "King Philip Considers Christianity" (pp. 110–111) were written by a Protestant missionary and contain imaginary conversations between converted Indians and those who resisted Christianity. Have students discuss the ways in which historians read these documents. Emphasize that just because the dialogue is made up does not mean that the source is not valuable to historians. Have students think about what kinds of information the source yields about John Eliot, the person who created it. What does it tell historians about the perceptions of missionaries? Have students focus less on converting Indians and more on the efforts of Protestant missionaries.

## Additional Resources for Chapter 4

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 4 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 4.1: New England Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (p. 109)
- Map 4.2: Middle Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (p. 120)
- Map 4.3: American Colonies at the End of the Seventeenth Century (p. 126)
- Seal of Massachusetts Bay Colony (p. 108)
- David, Joanna, and Abigail Mason (p. 119)

#### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 4 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 4.1: New England Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (p. 109)
- Map 4.2: Middle Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (p. 120)
- Map 4.3: American Colonies at the End of the Seventeenth Century (p. 126)
- Figure 4.1: Population of the English North American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (p. 118)
- Seal of Massachusetts Bay Colony (p. 108)
- The Puritan Challenge to the Status Quo (p. 113)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor's Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 4 include:

- "*The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*" by Mary Rowlandson with Related Documents, edited with an introduction by Neal Salisbury

- *The Diary and Life of Samuel Sewall*, edited with an introduction by Melvin Yazawa
- *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America*, edited with an introduction by Colin G. Calloway

## For Students

### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 4 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- The *Arbella* Sermon: John Winthrop, *A Model of Christian Charity*, 1630
- A Provincial Government Enacts Legislation, *The Laws of Pennsylvania*, 1682
- Observations of New England Indians: Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language of America*, 1643
- Keeping Order in a Puritan Community: *Suffolk County Court Records*, 1671–1673
- Words of the Bewitched: *Testimony against Accused Witch Bridget Bishop*, 1692

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map, visual, and document activities are available for chapter 4:

### Map Activities

- Map 4.1: New England Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (p. 109)
- Map 4.3: American Colonies at the End of the Seventeenth Century (p. 126)

### Visual Activities

- Seal of Massachusetts Bay Colony (p. 108)
- The Puritan Challenge to the Status Quo (p. 113)

### Reading Historical Documents Activity

- King Philip Considers Christianity (pp. 110–111)

# Colonial America in the Eighteenth Century

## 1701–1770

### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. How were eighteenth-century colonial population growth and economic growth linked?
2. How did the market economy develop in New England, and in what ways was Puritanism weakened?
3. How did the population growth of the middle colonies, particularly Pennsylvania, differ from that of New England and the South? What role did immigration play, and why was Pennsylvania considered by some to be the “best poor [white] man’s country”?
4. How did the large influx of slaves into the southern colonies shape the region’s economy, society, and politics?
5. What shared experiences served to unify the culture of the disparate colonies of British North America?
6. How did the policies of the British Empire provide a common framework of political expectations and experiences for American colonists? What relations did colonists have with their Native American neighbors, both in British North America and in Spanish California?

250,000 colonists in 1700 to over 2 million in 1770.

2. The growth and diversity of the colonial population in the eighteenth century stemmed from both natural increases and immigration, which shifted the ethnic and racial balance of the colonies.
3. The colonial economy also expanded during the eighteenth century.
4. In 1700, nearly all the colonists lived within fifty miles of the Atlantic coast.
5. The almost limitless wilderness stretching westward made land relatively cheap; land used for agriculture was worthless without labor and with the rapidly expanding economy the demand for labor in the colonies was high.

#### II. **New England: From Puritan Settlers to Yankee Traders**

- A. Natural Increase and Land Distribution
  1. The burgeoning New England population grew mostly by natural increase, much as it had during the seventeenth century, and soon pressed against the limited amount of land.
  2. By the eighteenth century, the original land allotments had to be subdivided to accommodate grandsons and great-grandsons, causing many plots of land to become too small for subsistence.
  3. During the eighteenth century, colonial governments in New England abandoned

### Annotated Chapter Outline

#### I. **A Growing Population and Expanding Economy in British North America**

1. New England experienced a tremendous population explosion during the eighteenth century, rising from

- the seventeenth-century policy of granting land to towns and sold land directly to individuals, including speculators.
4. Money, rather than membership in a community bound by a church covenant, determined whether a person could buy land; settlement on individual farms meant that colonists regulated their behavior in newly settled areas by their own individual choices and not those of a larger community.
- B. Farms, Fish, and Atlantic Trade
1. New England farmers grew food for their families, but their fields did not produce a huge marketable surplus.
  2. As consumers, New England farmers were the foundation of a diversified commercial economy that linked remote farms to markets throughout the world.
  3. Fish accounted for more than one-third of New England's eighteenth-century exports; livestock and timber made up another one-third; Atlantic commerce provided jobs for laborers, tradesmen, ship captains, clerks, merchants, and sailors.
  4. Merchants, the largest and most successful of whom lived in Boston, dominated New England commerce; by 1770 the richest five percent of Bostonians owned half of the city's wealth.
  5. During the eighteenth century, the incidence of genuine poverty did not change much from patterns established in the seventeenth century, with about five percent qualifying for poor relief in the eighteenth century.
  6. By 1700, Yankee traders had replaced Puritan saints as the symbolic New Englanders.
- III. The Middle Colonies: Immigrants, Wheat, and Work
- A. German and Scots-Irish Immigrants
1. Germans made up the largest contingent of migrants from the European continent to the middle colonies.
  2. German immigrants included artisans and merchants, but the great majority of them were farmers and laborers.
  3. By the 1720s, German immigrants wrote back to their friends and relatives, extolling the virtues of life in the New World, which encouraged yet more Germans to emigrate.
  4. Similar motives propelled the Scots-Irish to come to the middle colonies.
5. German immigrants belonged to a variety of Protestant churches while Scots-Irish were generally Presbyterians; both groups were clannish, residing among relatives or neighbors from the old country.
  6. Scots-Irish immigrants flooded British North America during the decades before the American Revolution.
  7. Many German immigrants were forced to become "redemptioners," a variant of indentured servants; Scots-Irish immigrants paid for their passage by contracting as indentured servants before they sailed to the colonies.
- B. Pennsylvania: "The Best Poor [White] Man's Country"
1. New settlers, whether free or in servitude, poured into the middle colonies because they perceived unparalleled opportunities, particularly in Pennsylvania.
  2. Most servants in the middle colonies worked in Philadelphia, New York City, or one of the smaller towns or villages.
  3. Slaves comprised a relatively small percentage of the total population of the middle colonies because only the affluent could afford them.
  4. Small numbers of slaves managed to obtain their freedom, but free African Americans did not escape whites' firm convictions about black inferiority and white supremacy; African Americans became scapegoats for European Americans' suspicions and anxieties.
  5. Immigrants swarmed to the middle colonies because of the availability of land.
  6. Pennsylvania's policy of negotiating with Indian tribes to purchase additional land reduced violent frontier clashes even though the Penn family sometimes pushed such land agreements to the limit and beyond.
  7. The price of farmland varied, depending on soil quality, access to water, distance from a market town, and the extent of improvements.
  8. The standard of living in rural Pennsylvania was probably higher than in any other agricultural region of the eighteenth-century world.
  9. By 1776, Philadelphia was at the center of the crossroads of trade in wheat exports and English imports and boasted a population greater than any other city in the British empire, except London.

10. Many of Philadelphia's wealthiest merchants were Quakers and influenced aspiring tradesmen like Benjamin Franklin, whose popular *Poor Richard's Almanack* preached the likelihood of long-term rewards for tireless labor.

**IV. The Southern Colonies: Land of Slavery****A. The Atlantic Slave Trade and the Growth of Slavery**

1. The number of southerners of African ancestry rocketed from just over 20,000 in 1700 to well over 400,000 in 1770.
  2. Southern colonists clustered into two distinct geographic and agricultural zones: the upper South, which specialized in growing tobacco, and the lower South, which specialized in growing rice and indigo.
  3. The enormous growth of the South's slave population occurred through natural increase and the flourishing Atlantic slave trade, which subjected hundreds of thousands of Africans to the infamous Middle Passage.
  4. In 1789, Olaudah Equiano published his account of the Middle Passage and his experiences as a slave.
  5. Most slaves who were brought into the southern colonies came directly from Africa, and almost all the ships that brought them belonged to British merchants.
  6. Mortality during the Middle Passage varied considerably from ship to ship, but on average about 15 percent of slaves perished during the journey.
  7. Individual planters purchased, at any one time, a relatively small number of newly arrived Africans and relied on already enslaved Africans to help acculturate or "season" new slaves to the physical as well as the cultural environment of the southern colonies.
  8. The slave population soon grew due to a high rate of natural increase and, by the 1740s, the majority of southern slaves were country-born.
- B. Slave Labor and African American Culture
1. Southern planters expected slaves to work from sunup to sundown and beyond.
  2. Some slaves resisted their bondage with direct physical confrontation with the master, mistress, or an overseer.
  3. In 1739, a group of about twenty slaves launched an unsuccessful rebellion at Stono, South Carolina.

4. The Stono rebellion illustrated that eighteenth-century slaves had no chance of overturning slavery and almost no chance at all of defending themselves in any bold strike for freedom.
5. Slaves maneuvered constantly to protect themselves and to gain a measure of autonomy within the boundaries of slavery.
6. Eighteenth-century slaves planted the roots of African American lineages whenever possible, establishing kinships and incorporating many other features of their West African heritage, such as diet, music, dance, and religious practices in their lives on New World plantations.

**C. Tobacco, Rice, and Prosperity**

1. The slavery system brought much wealth to the white plantation masters, as well as British merchants and the monarchy.
2. The products of slave labor made the southern colonies by far the richest in North America.
3. The vast differences in wealth among white southerners engendered envy and occasional tension between rich and poor, but remarkably little open hostility.
4. The slaveholding gentry dominated both the politics and economy of the southern colonies and also set the cultural standards.

**V. Unifying Experiences****A. Commerce and Consumption**

1. The success of eighteenth-century commerce whetted the colonists' appetite for consumer goods, thus supporting the growing Atlantic trade that took colonial goods to markets in England and brought consumer goods back to the colonies.
2. Despite the many differences among the colonists, the consumption of English exports built a certain material uniformity across region, religion, class, and status.
3. The rising tide of colonial consumption compelled colonists to think of themselves as individuals who had the power to make decisions that influenced the quality of their lives.

**B. Religion, Enlightenment, and Revival**

1. Eighteenth-century colonists could choose from almost as many religions as they could consumer goods.
2. The varieties of Protestant faith and practice ranged across an extremely broad spectrum.

3. Many educated colonists became deists, looking to nature for God's plan rather than to the Bible.
  4. Deists shared the ideas of eighteenth-century Enlightenment thinkers, who tended to agree that science and reason could disclose God's laws in the natural order.
  5. Most eighteenth-century colonists went to church seldom or not at all, although they probably considered themselves Christians.
  6. The spread of religious indifference, of deism, of denominational rivalry, and of comfortable backsliding compelled some ministers to a new style of preaching that appealed more to the heart than to the head; historians have called this wave of revivals the "Great Awakening."
  7. The most famous revivalist in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world was George Whitefield.
  8. Like consumption of goods, revivals contributed to a set of common experiences that bridged colonial divides of faith, region, class, and status.
- C. Borderlands and Colonial Politics in the British Empire
1. The British Empire kept the door to its colonies open to anyone, but restricted colonial trade to British ships and traders.
  2. Both the colonists and the competing empires of France and Spain fought for control of the North American fur trade.
  3. Native American tribes often took advantage of this competition, promising access to territory and furs to both the French and English at the same time; shifting alliances and complex dynamics struck a fragile balance along the frontier.
  4. In 1754, the colonists' endemic competition with the French flared into the Seven Years' War, which would inflame the frontier for years.
  5. During this period neither the colonists nor the British developed a clear policy of dealing with the Indians, but quickly recognized the value of the tribes as allies.
  6. The Indians' potential as allies prompted officials in New Spain to mount a campaign to block Russian access to present-day California by building forts (called *presidios*) and missions.
  7. By 1772 the Spanish had established a trail of Catholic missions from San Diego to Monterey; for Indians, the Spaniards California missions had horrendous consequences, such as the spread of diseases that decimated Indian populations, as they had elsewhere in the Spanish borderlands.
  8. British attempts to exercise political power in colonial governments met with success so long as British officials were either on or very near the sea.
  9. The British government envisioned colonial governors, most of whom were born in England and appointed by the king, as mini-monarchs, able to exert as much influence in the colonies as the king did in England, but in reality, they were unable to wield absolute authority in the internal affairs of colonies.
  10. British policies did not clearly define the powers and responsibilities of colonial assemblies, so the assemblies seized the opportunity to make their own rules.
  11. By 1720, colonial assemblies had won the power to initiate legislations, including tax laws and authorizations to spend public funds.
  12. The heated political struggles between royal governors and colonial assemblies that occurred throughout the eighteenth century taught colonists to employ traditional British ideas of representation, and that power in the British colonies rarely belonged to the British government.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 5, the *Questions for Analysis* and *Debate* at the end of the *Documenting the American Promise* feature, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 5.

## Review Questions

1. How did the North American colonies achieve the remarkable population growth of the eighteenth century? (pp. 138–139) *Answer would ideally include:*
  - *Description of the increase:* The colonial population underwent an eightfold increase during the

eighteenth century, growing from around 250,000 colonists in 1700 to over 2 million in 1770. (p. 138)

- *Natural increase:* About three-fourths of the population growth arose from reproduction, demonstrating the stabilization and maturation of colonial settlements. (p. 139)

- *Immigration:* Immigration accounted for about one-fourth of the growth, as people from Europe and Africa continued to flow into North America. (p. 139)

2. Why did settlement patterns in New England change from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century? (pp. 140–141) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Population growth:* Though it grew more slowly than other colonies, the population of New England continued to increase, primarily through natural increase. The stringency of Puritanism and density of settlement made it a less attractive destination to potential immigrants than other colonies. (p. 140)

- *Limited availability of land:* Smaller than the southern colonies, New England pressed against hostile frontiers in the North and the West. This restricted New Englanders' access to new land for settlement. (p. 140)

- *Partible inheritance:* The seventeenth-century practice of distributing land equally among male heirs resulted, by the eighteenth century, in allotments too small for subsistence farming, forcing some descendants to leave their home settlements. (p. 140)

- *From land grants to sales:* Needing revenue, colonial governments in the eighteenth century abandoned the practice of granting land to towns and instead sold it directly to individual purchasers. This practice eroded the seventeenth-century patterns of settlement in towns and villages, as New Englanders increasingly settled on individual farms. (p. 141)

3. Why did immigrants flood into Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century? (pp. 146–147) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Appeal of Pennsylvania:* During the eighteenth century, Pennsylvania held a reputation for unparalleled economic opportunity and the vast availability of land. William Penn's policy of negotiating with Indian tribes lessened the occurrence of land disagreements and encouraged immigration and potential land buyers. (p. 147)

- *Freedom of religion:* The freedom of conscience promised in Pennsylvania was especially attractive to the large amounts of German and Scots-Irish immigrants who belonged to dissenting Protestant sects. (p. 146)

4. How did slavery influence the society and economy of the southern colonies? (pp. 151–157) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Population:* Slaves of African ancestry grew from 20 to 40 percent of the population between 1700 and 1770, due to natural increase and the Atlantic slave trade. (pp. 151–153)

- *African influence:* Large numbers of newly enslaved Africans came into the southern colonies, bringing with them African kinship structures, naming patterns, food crops, and music. (p. 156)

- *Labor force:* Slaves formed the basis of the agricultural workforce on the tobacco, indigo, and rice plantations. Their productivity allowed the export of these products and made their masters and the southern colonies quite wealthy. Slaves supported slave-owners' leisure and achievement. (pp. 156–157)

- *Slave ownership determines gentry:* Slaveholders were the wealthiest and most powerful southerners. They dominated culture, politics, and the economy, and created a society that made slave rebellions nearly impossible. (pp. 155–157)

5. What experiences tended to unify the colonists in British North America during the eighteenth century? (pp. 158–165) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Economy:* All of the colonies in North America experienced an increase in both trade practices and consumer goods. Each region relied on some form of agriculture for trade: the northern colonies produced lumber and shipping; the middle colonies, like Philadelphia, exported wheat and flour; and the southern colonies grew rice and tobacco. Despite exporting different products, each region of North America was linked through the Atlantic trade system, exporting agricultural products and importing British consumer goods. (p. 158)

- *Decline of religion:* The boom period of immigration during the eighteenth century brought not only different cultures to North America, but also a variety of dissenting Protestant faiths. Along with the influence of the Enlightenment and Deism, previous Puritan practices began to decline in this period and a general indifference toward traditional religious practices swept through the colonies. (p. 163)

- *Identity as British Colonists:* During this period the colonists began to identify themselves as not only colonial, but also British, subjects. The consumer trade practices brought decidedly British goods to the colonies, and the institution of the Navigation Acts solidified the colonies' close connection with Britain. The colonies also felt the influence of British ideas of representative government within their colonial assemblies. The colonial assemblies gradually established a strong tradition of representative government, which they saw as analogous to English Parliament. The colonists used British ideas of representative government to defend their own colonial interests. (pp. 167–170)

## Making Connections

1. Colonial products such as tobacco and sugar transformed consumption patterns on both sides of the Atlantic in the eighteenth century. How did consumption influence the relationship between the American colonies and Britain? In your answer, consider how it might have strengthened and weakened connections. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Unifying dimensions of consumption:* The economy that made patterns of eighteenth-century consumption possible forged bonds throughout the Atlantic world. For example, New England fish fed the Caribbean slaves who produced the sugar that graced the tables of English consumers. (pp. 141–142, 158) The wealth that these economies concentrated in the hands of planters, merchants, and the crown created shared interests amongst Atlantic elites. (p. 142) Protecting trade from Indian disruptions and competing European powers led colonies to look to England for military support. (pp. 163–167)

- *Colonial consumption and British identity:* The availability of English goods throughout the colonies offered colonists ways to assert their British identity despite geographic separation. (p. 158)

- *Colonial consumption and colonial identity:* The opportunities to exercise individual choice through consumption provided colonists lessons in individual prerogative and self-determination. (p. 158) The bonds of the Atlantic community could not soothe all the tensions between the colonies and England, especially in the face of royal attempts to closely direct colonial affairs and colonists' growing sense of distinct interests and privileges. Nevertheless, colonists would draw on British ideas of representative government in attempting to negotiate their disputes with England. (pp. 167–170)

2. Why did the importance of religion decline throughout the colonies from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century? How did American colonists respond to these changes? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Massachusetts example:* The religiously organized colonies of New England offer case studies in the difficulty of maintaining religious fervor, especially in the face of expanding and diversifying populations. (p. 140)

- *Enlightenment influence:* Deism, and its compatibility with explorations of science and reason, attracted many educated colonists. These beliefs demoted the value of the Bible and churches. (p. 162)

- *Denominational rivalry:* The dizzying diversity of religious options available in the colonies made it increasingly difficult for a single church to dominate a region. (p. 162)

- *Responses:* Many colonists embraced the freedoms of religious indifference, declining to attend, let alone become members of, churches. Others, however, were troubled by these developments and tried to revive Americans' religious fervor. The preachers closely associated with the Great Awakening stoked these fires with appeals to emotion. Their message of individual value and capacity to act found an audience amongst thousands of colonists in the mid-eighteenth century. (pp. 162–163)

3. How did different colonies attempt to manage relations with Indians? How did Indians attempt to manage relationships with Europeans? In your answer, consider disputes over territory and trade. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *New England:* Sharing borders with powerful tribes such as the Iroquois and the Mohicans, as well as the French to the North, constricted New England's territorial expansion, suggesting the ways that other groups in North America could constrain colonial expansion. (p. 140)

- *Pennsylvania:* From the time of its establishment, Pennsylvania had pursued policies of negotiation with Indians, purchasing rather than simply annexing Indian lands. This policy of purchase reduced the frequency of violent conflict with Indians in the colony. (p. 148; see also chapter 4)

- *Indians' engagement with Europeans:* Indians both desired to protect their territorial claims and derive benefit from trade with European powers. They recognized and took advantage of the availability of multiple European powers in North America, often attempting to play one off the other to their best advantage. (p. 165)

- *Trade and shifting alliances:* British colonists recognized that Indians could be pivotal allies or enemies in conflicts with the French and Spanish in the New World. These complex power dynamics were on display in the conflicts that arose in relation to the fur trade. (p. 165)

4. Varied immigration patterns contributed to important differences between the British colonies. Compare and contrast patterns of immigration to the middle and southern colonies. Who came and how did they get there? How did they shape the economic, cultural, and political character of each colony? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Diversity in Pennsylvania:* Available land, freedom of conscience, and a reputation for economic opportunity drew immigrants from Germany, England, Scotland, and Ireland. Many were farmers and artisans—members of European middle classes. (pp. 142–143, 146–151)

- *Redemptioners:* Many Europeans who immigrated to Pennsylvania had to take the gamble of a

hazardous ocean trip and selling themselves for a time as indentured servants in the colony. Such servants supplemented family-based labor, which dominated Pennsylvania agriculture. (p. 147)

- *Land availability:* Residents of the middle colonies pushed westward in pursuit of cheap land, establishing flourishing farms that produced affluence for them and food for other colonies. The ratio of available land to labor helped ensure that most colonists avoided poverty. (p. 148)

- *Urban life:* Agricultural production made possible high levels of consumption in the middle colonies, as well as giving rise to an urban merchant class concentrated in Philadelphia. (pp. 150–151)

- *Shifting southern populations:* The white population of the southern colonies continued to grow through natural increase and immigration. The most dramatic development in the demographics of the southern colonies was the growth of the slave population, both through natural increase and forced migration of enslaved Africans. The proportion of southerners who were black grew from 20 percent in 1700 to 40 percent in 1770. (p. 151)

- *Regional divergence in the South:* The influence of the slave trade produced two distinct regions: the upper South around the Chesapeake Bay, which continued to focus on tobacco production and maintain a white majority, and the lower South, which specialized in rice and indigo production. The labor demands of these crops led to a black majority population in this region. (p. 152)

- *Slavery versus servitude:* Most Africans, unlike white immigrants, came as slaves, forced to endure the dangers of the Middle Passage under duress, only to be sold into permanent servitude in North America. (p. 153) Slavery differed from indentured servitude not just in the near impossibility of freedom, but also in the absence of legal checks on masters' authority over slaves. The inherited status of slavery also meant that slaves would increasingly be born in the United States, living for generations in the colonies but without ever enjoying the benefits of the freedoms and opportunities immigrants pursued. (pp. 153–155)

- *Wealth and disparity:* Slavery produced enormous wealth for the southern colonies and England. Free whites in the South enjoyed per capita wealth four times greater than that of New Englanders. Although this wealth was distributed very unevenly in the region, hostility between whites in the South was largely restrained. The gentry enjoyed great power, controlling voting and acting as arbiters of cultural standards. The sense of whites' common interest and privilege, made stark against the backdrop of black slavery, helped unify southern whites even in the face of internal inequality. (pp. 156–157)

### Documenting the American Promise: Missionaries Report on California Missions (pp. 168–169)

1. In what ways did Jayme and Serra agree about the motivations of the Indians in and around Mission San Diego de Alcalà? In what ways did they disagree? How would Serra's recommendations for rebuilding the mission address the problems identified by Jayme that caused the revolt? Answer would ideally include:

- *Agreements:* Jayme and Serra agree that the Indians' rebellious behavior at the mission was motivated, at least in part, by Indians' desires to protect themselves against soldiers' actions. Jayme sees Indians' responses to the soldiers as self-defense; Serra sees the Indians' actions as an enraged response to soldiers' efforts to chastise them.

- *Disagreements:* Jayme sees the Indians as more virtuous and moral in their behavior than the soldiers, while Serra sees the Indians as heathens and the soldiers as people who were trying to do their jobs, but approaching those jobs in the wrong way.

- *Serra's recommendations for soldiers:* Serra believed that the soldiers' job was to protect the mission and the missionaries, not to conquer the Indians. If Jayme had ordered the soldiers to focus on protecting the mission and prevented them from maltreating the Indians, the revolt might not have happened.

2. How did the goals and activities of the Spanish soldiers compare to those of the Catholic missionaries? What accounted for the differences and similarities? Answer would ideally include:

- *Missionaries' goals and activities:* The missionaries seem to be genuinely interested in converting the Indians to Christianity but they—and especially Serra—appear to think that successful conversion of the Indians requires at least some element of control over them.

- *Soldiers' goals and activities:* The soldiers are interested in controlling the Indians, but also in exploiting and harassing them, such as by raping Indian women, ruining their crops, punishing them for perceived misdeeds, and so on.

- *Reasons for differences and similarities:* The primary differences come from motivation. The missionaries are religiously motivated in their efforts with the Indians and the soldiers are motivated more by their own self-interest. Missionaries' and soldiers' desires to control the Indians come from their mutual belief that they are racially and culturally superior to the Indians.

3. How did the religious convictions of Jayme and Serra influence their reports? What might Spanish soldiers or Indians have said about these events?

What might they have said about missionaries like Jayme and Serra? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Religion and Jayme's point of view:* Jayme seems to be most concerned about Christian behavior. He suggests that the Indians behave virtuously and morally and that they want to be Christians. He wants Indians to convert officially, but is very pleased that they behave "like Christians." He sees soldiers, on the other hand, as Christians in name who behave in very unchristian ways. His report is focused on the need to bring soldiers' behavior in line with their avowed religion.

- *Religion and Serra's point of view:* Serra, unlike Jayme, focused on bringing Indians into the Christian church. He sees them as heathens who need to be saved. He is less explicitly critical of the soldiers. He doesn't condemn their behavior but only suggests that they need to guard the missionaries more effectively.

- *Soldiers' likely perspective:* If soldiers had made a report, they probably would have focused on the Indians as pagans who needed to be controlled first and forced into Christianity second. They would likely focus on the Indians' paganism and their lack of virtuous behavior. They would frame their treatment of the Indians as a necessary part of converting them.

- *Indians' likely perspective:* If the Indians were reporting, they would probably focus on the ways the soldiers' exploited them. They might also complain about the missionaries who did not respect their culture and whose criticisms legitimated the soldiers' bad treatment of them. Indians' report of the attack on the San Diego Mission would be framed as a partially successful self-defense against Christians and soldiers' efforts to annihilate them.

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### "Dummy Board" of Phyllis, a New England Slave (p. 139)

**Reading the Image:** Compare this image to that of Mrs. Willing on page 150. What differences and similarities do you see in their styles of dress? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Differences—Modesty:* Phyllis' dress is much more modest than that of Mrs. Willing. Mrs. Willing's dress is low-cut at the neck and tight at the waist to emphasize her femininity, while Phyllis' is demure and obscures her body's shape.

- *Differences—Quality:* Mrs. Willing's dress is made of silk and lace and covered with a colorful floral print. The silk was designed by an English designer, woven by a British artisan, and exported to a mercantile establishment in Philadelphia, where Mrs. Willing must have purchased the silk and had it sewn into the dress in the portrait. Phyllis' dress was probably homemade and emphasizes function over style. The headwear of the two women offers a similar distinction, with Mrs. Willing's cap making a fashion statement while Phyllis' serves merely to keep her hair out of her face as she works.

- *Similarities—Gender roles:* Although the dresses are quite different in style and fabric, both reveal the basic expectations for feminine dress during this period. Women were expected to keep their hair modestly covered and wear floor-length dresses to cover their legs from public view.

**Connections:** What do these differences suggest about colonial life in America? How were women like Phyllis and Mrs. Willing affected by the burgeoning transatlantic trade in the colonies? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Class divisions:* As the eighteenth century progressed, a growing disparity between the richest and poorest members of American society began to emerge. Families such as the Willings became as wealthy and fashionable as many aristocratic families in Europe, while slaves such as Phyllis had neither wealth nor personal freedoms.

- *Impact of trade:* Families such as the Willings could aspire to such a fashionable and aristocratic status only because of the growing trade that permeated the American colonies during the eighteenth century. Not only did trade create the tremendous wealth of most of these families, but the goods that were shipped from Europe to the colonies allowed them to keep pace with the fashions of European capitals such as London and Paris. During the seventeenth century, for example, the Willings would have had neither the wealth nor the access to goods that enabled them to purchase the dress that Mrs. Willing wore in this portrait. On the other hand, slaves such as Phyllis were relatively scarce during the seventeenth century because the transatlantic trade had not yet incorporated the transmission of African slaves to the North American colonies to any great extent. Thus the growth of trade not only accounted for Phyllis' presence in the colonies, but also for her lack of freedom.

### Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (p. 149)

**Reading the Image:** What does this painting indicate about settlers' priorities? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Priorities:* This painting of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, shows an orderly settlement dominated by straight lines and right angles. Crops (to the right of center) and garden areas (center) are laid out in tidy rows; the houses and buildings are rectangular. The only exceptions are the roads that follow the banks of waterways: Presumably, even the industrious residents of Bethlehem could not convince the channels to change course. Settlers in the town clearly believed in keeping things in their places, with penned livestock separated from fields and forested areas banished to well beyond the outskirts of human habitation. It also is evident from the multistory, centrally located town buildings that residents appreciated communal life, even if they did settle on individual farms like the one in the foreground.

**Connections:** Why might Pennsylvanians have been so concerned about maintaining order? *Answer would ideally include:*

- The importance of order:* Moravian immigrants, members of a dissenting Protestant sect who were persecuted in Europe for their refusal to bear arms and swear loyalty oaths, founded the town of Bethlehem. For immigrants like these, it was very important to establish control over their lives and also over their surroundings. The name “Bethlehem” indicates that they saw their new town as a sanctuary or the birthplace of something holy. They would not have wished to encourage disorder to such symbolic new beginnings. Moreover, many Europeans reacted to the wilderness of the New World by working extremely hard to maintain what they saw as civilized standards of behavior and life, including the imposition of “rational” towns on an inherently irrational landscape.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 5.2 Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century (p. 143)

**Reading the Map:** What were the major markets for trade coming out of Europe? What goods did the British colonies import and export?

- Imports and Exports of the British Colonies:* European products went to the major port cities of the North American colonies (Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, and Charleston) and also to the West Indies and the Ivory, Gold, and Slave coasts of

western Africa. The most common items that colonists imported from England were manufactured goods; there was some trade in linens and horses as well. There was, however, a thriving trade between the colonies and both Africa and the West Indies, with the colonies exchanging fish, livestock, flour, lumber, rice, and rum for slaves and sugar. Most other exports went to England and revolved around raw materials and foodstuffs. Boston, for instance, shipped fish, furs, and naval stores, while Norfolk provided tobacco, and the West Indies shipped molasses and fruit.

**Connections:** In what ways did the flow of raw materials from the colonies affect British industry? How did British colonial trade policies influence the Atlantic trade?

- Raw materials:* The raw materials provided by the colonies provided a spur to the growth of the mass market. Colonial flour, sugarcane, and tobacco leaf could be processed into relatively inexpensive consumer commodities, like crackers, sweets, and pipe tobacco, which were within the reach of a broad range of purchasers.

- Trade policies:* Colonial trade policies guaranteed that the British benefited from the Atlantic trade; they had a virtual monopoly over colonial raw materials, and so collected customs duties on them and also re-exported them at considerable profit.

### Map 5.3 The Atlantic Slave Trade (p. 152)

**Reading the Map:** Where in Africa did most slaves originate? Approximately how far was the trip from the busiest ports of origin to the two most common New World destinations?

- Origin of the slave trade:* Most slaves originated from the Congo and Angola in West Africa. The trip to Brazil, one of the two most common New World destinations, was about 3,250 miles; the trip to the West Indies was about 5,400 miles.

**Connections:** Why were so many more African slaves sent to the West Indies and Brazil than to British North America?

- Patterns of the slave trade:* More slaves went to the West Indies and Brazil for several reasons. West Indian and Brazilian planters grew sugarcane, a labor-intensive crop that required year-round attention under unhealthy working conditions. In British North America, not only did slaveholders grow less demanding crops, like tobacco and rice, they also lived in societies with higher numbers of free workers whose labor supplemented that of slaves. The more healthful conditions of North American agriculture meant that slaves in those colonies experienced natural

increase—that is, more births than deaths—whereas slaves in the sugar colonies experienced the reverse: natural decrease. The West Indies and Brazil imported the most slaves because of their high demand for labor, an absence of free workers to perform it, and the need to replace existing slaves who died quickly under the harsh conditions of the sugar economy.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in “Additional Resources for Chapter 5.”*

### LECTURE 1

#### *Ethnic and Religious Heterogeneity in Colonial America*

Colonial America demonstrated remarkable diversity in the eighteenth century. Consider focusing on ethnicity and religion to prove this point, going from region to region. New England was the most homogeneous, with a predominance of English descendants who practiced a mainly Puritan-derived religion. Even in New England, however, diversity was present. Explain the Great Awakening in New England, and then ask how widespread deep religious devotion was at the time. (Be sure to cover the “threats” that the Enlightenment, denominational rivalry, and backsliding posed to religiosity in New England.)

Next, move on to the middle colonies and explain the coming of the Germans and the Scots-Irish. With them came more diverse religions, such as the Lutheran and Presbyterian denominations. Discuss George Whitefield’s visits to America and how the revivalism he championed paralleled the egalitarian values expressed by colonists’ patterns of consumption. Finally, discuss the ethnicity of immigrants to the South. You may want to direct students’ attention to Map 5.1, “Europeans and Africans in the Eighteenth Century” (p. 140), to demonstrate the racial and ethnic diversity of the colonies. Leave most of the discussion on slavery for the next class, but point out that southerners differentiated between ethnicities among slaves. Using the discussion of ethnicity as a starting point, begin exploring the construction of the concept of race.

### LECTURE 2

#### *Solidly Establishing Slavery*

In this lecture, you can introduce students to the institution of slavery. Direct students’ attention to Map 5.3,

“The Atlantic Slave Trade” (p. 152), and Table 5.1, “Slave Imports, 1451–1870” (p. 152), to emphasize the solidification of the institution of slavery in the Western Hemisphere. Using the textbook, reconstruct the violence that permeated slavery. Africans were kidnapped, abused, and sold to slave traders. The Middle Passage killed at least 15 to 20 percent of all Africans transported to the Americas. Here, you can refer students to the account of Olaudah Equiano’s capture and his experience of the Middle Passage (p. 153). Slavery in the West Indies meant certain death, and even coming to mainland America did not drastically improve a slave’s chances for survival. Ten to 15 percent died in their first year as slaves in America, while they were “seasoned.” They could not communicate with the master, who often considered them little more than livestock. Other slaves helped them make the transition from free persons embedded in systems of social relations to slaves who had no legal rights at all. Slaves might have been able to negotiate and resist the will of the master to a certain degree (describe such instances if possible), but ultimately the master prevailed through sheer brutality and a legal system that legitimized all that he chose to do. Ask students to consider the textbook’s account of the Stono rebellion and its consequences as a means for understanding how slavery permeated society. Finally, reintroduce your discussion of race and extend it to define the word *racism*. Students may need an explanation that racism means more than mere prejudice. Help students understand that racism stems from the belief in the biological inferiority of other races—in this case, nonwhites. They also need to understand that eighteenth-century racism entailed action and that it was goal oriented: Racism amounted to the systematic oppression of a racial minority designed to maximize exploitation of that minority. There will be a lot to talk about.

### LECTURE 3

#### *The Colonial Economy in the Eighteenth Century*

The British colonies in America were embedded in a system of economic relations that benefited crown and colony alike. Draw students’ attention to Map 5.2, “Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century” (p. 143), and to Figure 5.1, “Colonial Exports, 1768–1772” (p. 159). Ask students to consider the questions posed by Map 5.2, focusing on the ways in which trade policies influenced both Britain and the colonies. Reintroduce the original Navigation Acts of the 1650s and 1660s as they related to the American colonies. Explore the impact of the Board of Trade on American

commerce (it was minimal, with the exception of the re-exporting of tobacco). Show the agricultural basis of colonial prosperity (and how it rested on slave labor) and how that prosperity translated into increasing consumerism. Explore the extent of that prosperity by discussing the distribution of wealth in America compared with that of England. Who became rich in America? Did one's region make a difference in one's options? How important were merchants? Were farmers absolutely independent of the market? Use the Benjamin Franklin vignette at the start of the chapter to discuss how widespread prosperity and consumerism encouraged people to think of themselves as individuals capable of making their own choices for good or evil. Finally, discuss the perks of the empire that made this prosperity possible. The crown regulated trade and collected some taxes in the process, but the colonists benefited from being included in the empire's commerce on the same basis as citizens of England. The American colonists could trade with other British colonies and enjoyed the protection of the British navy. These advantages could not have been provided by the colonies themselves.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. Slavery Was a Monolithic Institution

Many students consider slavery a monolithic institution and are unable or unwilling to see the differences in ancient, medieval, African, and New World slavery. You should quickly clear up this misconception. Be sure to illustrate the role that race played in African slavery in the New World. You will also want to cover the role of natural increase and a resident master class in the American South. To explore the variances in the institution of slavery, point students to the differences outlined in the textbook in the tobacco and rice cultures in the American South. You may have a student who asks which system was better. Resist value judgments and stress *difference* instead. The brutality of the system should be self-evident in both cultures.

### 2. Colonists Were Self-Reliant Frontiersmen

Students frequently misunderstand the social and economic order of colonial America in the eighteenth century. They believe that a general self-sufficiency translates into absolute self-reliance. They fail to understand that, whether colonists were located in coastal cities or on the frontier, they continued to be embedded in a network of relations: political, economic, social, and familial. As the textbook makes clear, the colonists did engage in market activities, in pursuit of consumption of manufactured goods. But

even when colonists failed to participate in market economic relations, there was still an exchange of goods taking place. Consumption did not necessarily mean that a cash transaction took place. One might exchange one's own labor or the loan of livestock for a manufactured good. The nonmarket, local exchange of goods, even on the frontier, rested on the ability of merchants to obtain goods, and sometimes credit, from Britain and Europe. Have students look at Figure 5.1 on colonial exports and the photo of the English glass mirror (p. 158) to demonstrate the web of market relations. Discuss how people perceived themselves as interdependent within the colonial economy.

### 3. American Colonists Did Not Profit from Their Participation in the British Empire

Because the colonies ultimately rebelled against the British Empire, some students will assume that the Americans never benefited from being a part of the empire. Make the point that the American colonies' prosperity, as evidenced by the increasing consumption described in this chapter, was a direct result of their participation in the British Empire. In many ways, the colonists got the best of all worlds. The British navy protected them and their ships of commerce, while the American merchants did their best to avoid taxation whenever possible. The colonists benefited from a stable governmental system in which they (at least the elites) helped make the rules. And they benefited from governmental policies that promoted immigration. Very little was asked in return at this time. The crown profited from its American colonies, but the colonies profited as well.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

When discussing the Great Awakening, you may want to consider showing your class "Revolution," the second episode of the PBS series *Africans in America*, which covers the revival's impact on the institution of slavery.

### Class Discussion Starters

Have your students consider the possible course of colonial development had New England and the middle colonies adopted cash-crop agriculture. How would the patterns of settlement have been different? Would plantations have been possible in the northern colonies, considering the climate? Would slavery have become more entrenched in the North if a plantation-based economy had prevailed? If your students respond positively, follow up by asking them to

consider whether slavery was merely an economic institution—in other words, whether it reflected ideological differences between northern and southern whites, or whether it was merely a response to economic needs.

### Historical Debates

Have your students debate the degree to which colonists considered themselves British (or French, Dutch, German, and so on) and the degree to which they considered themselves Americans. You might wish to have students review the conclusion of the chapter, “The Dual Identity of British North American Colonists” and then discuss the growth of public opinion and its influence on the creation of an American culture. When can (or should) historians reasonably begin to speak of something as identifiable as “American culture”? Did it exist by 1760? Why or why not?

### Reading Primary Sources

Have students read through the feature *Documenting the American Promise*: “Missionaries Report on California Missions” (pp. 168–169), and ask them what kinds of reasonable conclusions historians can draw from these two documents. Initiate a discussion, if you have not done so already, on the art of crafting an argument. If students devise arguments that are not supported by the documents, ask them to think of the kinds of sources to which they could turn and where they might find those sources. Take a few minutes to discuss the kind of primary or archival research in which historians are engaged.

## Additional Resources for Chapter 5

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 5 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 5.1: Europeans and Africans in the Eighteenth Century (p. 140)
- Map 5.2: Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century (p. 143)
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### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 5 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 5.1: Europeans and Africans in the Eighteenth Century (p. 140)
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Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor's Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 5 include:

- *What Caused the Pueblo Revolt of 1680?* by David J. Weber
- *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano: Written by Himself*, edited with an introduction by Robert J. Allison
- *The Diary and Life of Samuel Sewall*, edited with an introduction by Melvin Yazawa
- *The Lancaster Treaty of 1744*, by James Merrell
- *The Great Awakening, 1735–1775*, by Thomas S. Kidd
- *The Autobiography of Ben Franklin*, edited with an introduction by Louis P. Masur

### For Students

#### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 5 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- Confessions of a Thief and Rapist, *A Boston Broadside*, 1768
- Poor Richard's Advice: Benjamin Franklin, *Father Abraham's Speech from "Poor Richard's Almanac,"* 1757
- An Anglican Criticizes New Light Baptists and Presbyterians in the South Carolina Backcountry: Charles Woodmason, *Sermon on the Baptists and the Presbyterians*, c. 1768
- Advertisements for Runaway Slaves: *South Carolina Gazette* and *Virginia Gazette*, 1737–1745
- A Moravian Missionary Interviews Slaves in the West Indies: Christian George Andreas Oldendorp, *History of the Evangelical Brethren's Mission on the Caribbean Islands*, 1777

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the

skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map, visual, and document activities are available for chapter 5:

### Map Activities

- Map 5.2: Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century (p. 143)
- Map 5.3: The Atlantic Slave Trade (p. 152)

### Visual Activities

- “Dummy Board” of Phyllis, a New England Slave (p. 139)
- Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (p. 149)

### Reading Historical Documents Activity

- Missionaries Report on California Missions (pp. 168–169)

# The British Empire and the Colonial Crisis

## 1754–1775

### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. How did the American colonies fit into the British Empire's campaigns against other European powers? How did the Seven Years' War lay the groundwork for the imperial crisis of the 1760s between British leaders and American colonists?
2. What were the Sugar and Stamp Acts, and why and how did American colonists oppose these measures?
3. How did the British respond to the colonists' growing opposition to royal policy and authority?
4. What events led to an escalation of tension between the British and the colonists? What were the Intolerable Acts, and what were the purposes and goals of the First Continental Congress?
5. What were the origins of the battles of Lexington and Concord? What implications did the battles of Lexington and Concord have for slaves and slavery?
2. French soldiers advanced into Indian territory in the Ohio Country and built a series of forts, hoping to create a western barrier to British-American expansion.
3. In 1753, Robert Dinwiddie, Virginia's royal governor, sent George Washington as a messenger to warn the French that they were trespassing on Virginia land; he returned with crucial intelligence about French military plans.
4. Dinwiddie, impressed with Washington's handling of the mission, appointed the youth to lead a small military expedition west to assert and, if need be, defend Virginia's claim, but to respond with force only if the French attacked first.
5. Washington returned to the Ohio Country with 160 armed Virginians aided by Indian allies of the Mingo tribe.
6. In May 1754, a detachment of some of Washington's men, led by Mingo chief Tanaghrisson, surprised French soldiers in the woods; the resulting panicked skirmish led to fourteen French deaths at the hands of the Americans and Indians and marked the violent start of the Seven Years' War.
7. In response, French soldiers attacked the American Fort Necessity in July 1754, killing or wounding a third of Washington's men, and making it clear that the French would not leave the disputed territory.

### Annotated Chapter Outline

- I. **The Seven Years' War, 1754–1763**
  - A. French-British Rivalry in the Ohio Country
    1. French fur traders had a long-term alliance with Indians in the Ohio country; in the 1740s Pennsylvanian and Virginian land speculators asserted claims to the same Ohio territory, obtained a land grant from the British king, and planned to sell land to Anglo-American colonists seeking fresh land.

- B. The Albany Congress and Intercolonial Defense
1. Even as Virginians, Frenchmen, and Indians fought and died in the Ohio Country, British imperial leaders still hoped to prevent the struggle from turning into a larger war.
  2. In June and July 1754, twenty-four delegates from seven colonies met with Iroquois Indians of the Six Nations in Albany, New York to strengthen British alliances with the powerful and seemingly neutral Indian tribes who might otherwise support the French.
  3. But Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Hutchinson took the opportunity to coauthor the Albany Plan of Union, which proposed to provide for colonial defense by instituting a unified but limited government over all the colonies.
  4. Having learned of Washington's defeat at Fort Necessity during their congress, the Albany Delegates approved the Albany Plan, which called for a president general appointed by the crown, together with a grand council, who would meet annually to consider questions of war, peace, and trade with the Indians.
  5. Not a single colony approved the plan, and it likewise failed to garner British or Indian support.
- C. The War and Its Consequences
1. By 1755, Washington's frontier skirmish had turned into a major mobilization of British and American troops against the French.
  2. Unfortunately for the British, the French were not only prepared to fight but also had cemented respectful alliances with many Indian tribes from Canada down through the Great Lakes region and into Ohio.
  3. French and Indian forces ambushed British troops near Fort Duquesne, killing nearly one thousand British soldiers and for the next two years, the British stumbled badly on the American front.
  4. The rise to power in 1757 of William Pitt, England's prime minister, finally turned the war around by paying colonial assemblies to raise and equip provincial soldiers to mount military assaults.
  5. Battles continued to flare in the American colonies and Canada from 1758 to 1760, culminating in the fall of Quebec and Montreal.
6. After further fighting abroad, France and Spain capitulated, and the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1763.
  7. The complex peace negotiations reorganized the map of North America: the British retained control of the eastern half of North America, and gained control of Canada; French territory west of the Mississippi was transferred to Spain.
  8. However, the Treaty of Paris ignored the main threat to the safety of the colonies: the Indians.
  9. England's version of the victory of 1763 awarded all credit to the British army, and blamed colonists for prolonging the war by engaging in illegal trade with the French.
  10. Colonists felt differently, claiming that they had turned out in great force but had been relegated to grunt work by arrogant British military leaders.
  11. The human costs of the war were also etched sharply in the minds of New England colonists, many of whom had either served or lost loved ones in the war.
  12. The enormous expense of the war caused by Pitt's no-holds-barred military strategy cast another huge shadow over the victory.
- D. British Leadership, Pontiac's Uprising, and the Proclamation of 1763
1. In 1760, in the middle of the Seven Years' War, twenty-two-year-old George III came to the British throne; his tutor, the Earl of Bute, served briefly in the king's cabinet of ministers and made one significant decision—to keep a standing army in the mainland colonies even though the last battles had ended.
  2. The ostensible reason for keeping several thousand British troops in America was to maintain the peace between the colonists and the Indians.
  3. Three months after the Treaty of Paris was signed, Pontiac, chief of the Ottawa tribe, attacked British forts across the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes region, ultimately killing 400 soldiers and 2,000 colonists.
  4. To minimize violence, the British government issued the Proclamation of 1763, which forbade colonists to settle west of the Appalachian Mountains, limited trade with Indians to licensed traders, and forbade private sales of Indian land.
  5. The 1763 proclamation proved impossible to enforce because settlers had already

moved west of the line, and land speculators had no desire to lose opportunities for a profitable resale of the lands they had been granted more than a decade earlier.

## II. The Sugar and Stamp Acts, 1763–1765

### A. Grenville's Sugar Act

1. To find revenue to fund debt from the war, British Prime Minister George Grenville scrutinized the customs service, insisting on rigorous attention to paperwork and strict accounting of collected duties.
2. The hardest duty for Grenville to enforce was the one imposed by the Molasses Act of 1733, a law Americans had ignored for decades.
3. Grenville's solution was the Revenue Act of 1764, popularly dubbed the Sugar Act; it lowered the duty on French molasses from six pence to three pence, making it more attractive for shippers to obey the law, and at the same time raised the penalties for smuggling.
4. The Sugar Act toughened enforcement policies, but was not sufficient to offset the attractions of smuggling; objections to the act came from Americans in the shipping trades who found the law inconvenient.
5. From the British point of view, the 1763 proclamation and the Sugar Act seemed to be reasonable efforts to administer the colonies, but to Americans the British supervision appeared to be a disturbing intrusion into colonial practices.

### B. The Stamp Act

1. In 1765, Grenville escalated his revenue program with the Stamp Act, which imposed a tax on all paper used for official documents and required a special stamp to be affixed to the paper proving that the tax had been paid.
2. Unlike the Sugar Act that regulated trade, the sole purpose of the Stamp Act was to raise revenue for the Britain, precipitating a major conflict between England and the colonies over Parliament's right to taxation.
3. Grenville argued that the colonists were “virtually” represented in Parliament—the House of Commons represented all British subjects, wherever they were.
4. Colonial leaders emphatically rejected this British view, arguing that virtual representation could not withstand the stretch across the Atlantic.

### C. Resistance Strategies and Crowd Politics

1. Colonial leaders had seven months to prepare for a response before the Stamp Act was to take effect.
2. Virginia's assembly was the first to object to the Stamp Act, passing the Virginia Resolves, a series of resolutions proposed by Patrick Henry.
3. Henry's successive resolutions pushed the assembly towards one conclusion: that the Virginia assembly alone had the right to tax Virginians.
4. The assembly eventually rescinded their vote on the most radical measures, but their caution hardly mattered because newspapers in the other colonies printed all seven Virginia Resolves, creating the impression that a daring first challenge to the Stamp Act had taken place.
5. Reaction to the Stamp Act ran far deeper than political debate in the assemblies; the first organized resistance to the Stamp Act began in Boston in 1765 under the leadership of Samuel Adams.
6. Adams mobilized shopkeepers, craftsmen, dockworkers, and laborers into a group of protesters called the Sons of Liberty.
7. The Boston Sons of Liberty organized a large street demonstration highlighting a ritualized mock execution designed to convince Andrew Oliver, the stamp distributor, to resign.
8. The demonstration proved effective: Oliver resigned the following day.
9. Twelve days later, another crowd attacked the houses of three detested customs and court officials, and then Thomas Hutchinson's house, which they destroyed.
10. The violence of the demonstration brought a temporary halt to the protests; nevertheless, the opponents of the Stamp Act in Boston had triumphed.

### D. Liberty and Property

1. Boston's protests to the Stamp Act sparked similar eruptions by groups calling themselves Sons of Liberty in nearly fifty towns throughout the colonies.
2. Some colonial leaders, disturbed by the riots, hastened to mount a more moderate challenge to parliamentary authority.
3. Twenty-seven delegates representing nine colonial assemblies met in New York City in October 1765 as the Stamp Act Congress.

4. Though deferential to the crown and Parliament, the Stamp Act Congress rejected the concept of virtual representation.
5. The rallying cry, “Liberty and property!” made sense to many white Americans of all social ranks, who feared that the Stamp Act threatened their traditional rights as British subjects; some Americans began to speak and write about a plot by British officials to enslave them.
6. Politicians and merchants in England reacted with alarm to the American demonstrations and petitions and in March 1766, Parliament repealed the Stamp Act but passed the Declaratory Act, which asserted Parliament’s right to legislate for the colonies “in all cases whatsoever.”

### **III. The Townshend Acts and Economic Retaliation, 1767–1770**

#### A. The Townshend Duties

1. Charles Townshend, Britain’s chief financial minister, proposed new taxes under the Revenue Act of 1767, establishing new duties on tea, glass, lead, paper, and painters’ colors imported into the colonies, to be paid by the importer but passed on to consumers in the retail price.
2. The Townshend duties were not especially burdensome, but the principle they embodied—taxation extracted through trade duties—looked different to the colonists in the wake of the Stamp Act crisis.
3. A controversial provision of the Townshend duties directed that some of the revenue generated would be used to pay the salaries of the royal governors.
4. Townshend hoped the measure would strengthen the governors’ position as well as curb the growing independence of the colonial assemblies.
5. The Massachusetts assembly took the lead in protesting the Townshend duties by circulating a letter of grievances, penned by Samuel Adams, urging other colonial assemblies to endorse the idea that parliamentary taxation was unjust because Americans were not represented in Parliament.
6. Massachusetts governor Francis Bernard received orders from England to dissolve the assembly if it refused to take back the letter of grievances.

7. The assembly refused and consequently was dissolved.
- B. Nonconsumption and the Daughters of Liberty
1. The Boston town meeting had already passed resolutions, called “nonconsumption agreements,” which called for a boycott of all British-made goods.
  2. But nonconsumption agreements were very hard to enforce and it proved even more difficult to get merchants to agree to nonimportation of British goods.
  3. Doing without British products, whether luxury goods, tea, or textiles, presented an opportunity for the colonial women, the Daughters of Liberty, to demonstrate their patriotism and introduced the idea that women might play a role in public affairs.
  4. Homespun cloth became a prominent symbol of patriotism and spinning bees appeared in over sixty towns.
  5. Although this surge of public spinning was related to the politics of the boycott, it was clear that the women spinners, who manifested their patriotism quietly and selflessly, were not the direct equivalent of the raucous marching, drinking, and protesting Sons of Liberty.
  6. On the whole, the anti-British boycotts were a success.
- C. Military Occupation and “Massacre” in Boston
1. In the fall of 1768, three thousand uniformed British troops arrived to occupy Boston and by the early months of 1770, tensions had reached heightened levels.
  2. On March 5, 1770, British soldiers fired on a small but hostile crowd, wounding six men and killing five.
  3. The Boston Massacre, as the event soon became known, was over in minutes; Hutchinson tried to respond in a way that would prevent further violence.
  4. The Sons of Liberty made sure that the five colonial victims had funerals befitting heroic martyrs.
  5. Eight jailed British soldiers and their captain Thomas Preston, brought before a court of law in the fall of 1770, were defended by John Adams and Josiah Quincy, patriots who believed strongly that even unpopular defendants deserved a fair trial.
  6. The five-day trial resulted in acquittal for Preston and all but two of the soldiers,

who were convicted of man-slaughter, branded on the thumbs, and released.

#### IV. The Tea Party and the Coercive Acts, 1770–1774

##### A. The Calm before the Storm

1. The repeal of the Townshend duties brought an end to nonimportation and caused a trade boom in 1770 and 1771.
2. In 1772, however, several incidents once again brought the conflict with England into sharp focus.
3. One incident was the burning of the *Gaspée*, a British navy ship chasing down suspected smugglers off the coast of Rhode Island.
4. A British investigating commission failed to arrest anyone but announced that suspects, if found, would be sent to England for trial on charges of high treason, a decision that seemed to fly in the face of the traditional English right to a trial by a jury of one's peers.
5. Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and Thomas Jefferson proposed that a network of standing committees, called "committees of correspondence," be established to link the colonies and pass along alarming news; by mid-1773, each colonial assembly had such a committee.
6. In 1772, the British decided to pay the salaries of superior court justices out of the tea revenue, only further alienating the colonists.
7. The third and final incident that irrevocably shattered the relative calm of the early 1770s was the Tea Act of 1773. This act favored the East India Company, allowing it to sell tea directly to special government agents rather than through public auction to independent merchants, thus lowering the price and cutting back on smuggling.

##### B. Tea in Boston Harbor

1. In the fall of 1773, news of the Tea Act reached the colonies.
2. Three ships bearing tea arrived in Boston in November 1773; they cleared customs and unloaded their other cargoes, but not the tea.
3. Pressure continued to build in Boston as Hutchinson demanded that the tea duty be paid before the ships returned to England; the tea sat for 20 days while pressure built in Boston.
4. On December 16, 1773, a group of Boston citizens, disguised as Indians, boarded the

ships and dumped thousands of pounds of tea into Boston Harbor.

##### C. The Coercive Acts

1. Lord North's response was swift and stern; within three months, Parliament passed the first of the Coercive Acts—four laws meant to punish Massachusetts for the destruction of the tea.
2. The first, the Boston Port Act, closed Boston Harbor to all shipping traffic for as long as the destroyed tea was not paid for.
3. The second, the Massachusetts Government Act, altered the colony's charter, underscoring Parliament's claim to supremacy over Massachusetts.
4. The third, the Impartial Administration of Justice Act, stipulated that any royal official accused of a capital crime would now be tried in a court in England.
5. The fourth, an amendment to the 1765 Quartering Act, permitted military commanders to lodge soldiers wherever necessary, even in private households.
6. An ill-timed fifth act, the Quebec Act, was not aimed specifically at Massachusetts, but greatly fed American fears, confirming the continuation of French civil law, French government form, and Catholicism for Quebec, and giving Quebec control of disputed land in the Ohio Valley that Virginia, Pennsylvania, and a number of Indian tribes had claimed.
7. Via the committees of correspondence, colonial leaders arranged to meet in Philadelphia in the fall of 1774 to respond to the crisis.

##### D. Beyond Boston: Rural Massachusetts

1. By the time of the Philadelphia meeting, all of Massachusetts was on the brink of open insurrection.
2. Troops occupying Boston shifted the revolutionary momentum from urban radicals to rural farmers; crowds of armed men converged on county courts to prevent their opening by crown-appointed judges.
3. When British General Thomas Gage sent troops to capture a supply of gunpowder outside Boston, false news spread that the troops had fired on those defending the powder and killed six of them.
4. Within 24 hours, thousands of armed New Englanders set out for Boston to avenge the violence; when the error was corrected, the crisis was defused, but the

- determination of Massachusetts' rebels was made clear.
5. Massachusetts citizens began serious planning for the crisis everyone assumed would come.
  - E. The First Continental Congress
    1. Notable statesmen from every colony except Georgia assembled in Philadelphia in September 1774 in what would later be called the First Continental Congress.
    2. The delegates wanted to articulate their liberties as British subjects and they debated possible responses to the Coercive Acts.
    3. The congress met for seven weeks and produced a declaration of rights couched in traditional language: "We ask only for peace, liberty and security. We wish no diminution of royal prerogatives, we demand no new rights."
    4. From England's point of view, the rights already assumed to exist were in fact radical.
    5. To put pressure on England, the delegates agreed to a staggered and limited boycott of trade.
    6. To enforce the boycott, they called for the creation of a Continental Association, with chapters in each town to monitor all commerce and punish suspected violators of the boycott.
    7. Many towns and localities heeded the call and established committees of public safety and committees of inspection.
    8. Britain's severe reaction to Boston's destruction of the tea made many colonists from New Hampshire to Georgia finally realize that the problems of British rule went far beyond questions of taxation by infringing on liberty and denying self-government; the threat of general war was on the doorstep.
  - V. Domestic Insurrections, 1774–1775
    - A. Lexington and Concord
      1. Over the winter of 1774–1775, Americans pressed on with the boycotts.
      2. General Gage requested twenty thousand reinforcements and planned a surprise attack on a suspected ammunition storage site at Concord, Massachusetts.
      3. Paul Revere and William Dawes raced ahead to alert the minutemen of the impending raid, and when the British reached Lexington they were greeted by seventy armed minutemen.
    4. No one knew who fired the first shot but the skirmish left eight Americans dead and ten wounded.
    5. As the British returned to Boston after the skirmishes in Lexington and Concord, militiamen attacked from the roadsides, wounding or killing 273 British soldiers. It was April 19, 1775, and the Revolutionary War had begun.
  - B. Rebell ing against Slavery
    1. News of the battles of Lexington and Concord spread rapidly to Virginia and the other colonies.
    2. In November 1775, the royal governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, issued a proclamation promising freedom to defecting able-bodied male slaves who would fight for the British.
    3. Dunmore had no intention of liberating all slaves or of starting a real slave rebellion, but he understood how to produce panic among the planters.
    4. By December 1775, around 1,500 slaves in Virginia had fled to Lord Dunmore, who armed them and called them his "Ethiopian Regiment."
    5. Camp diseases decimated the regiment, and when Dunmore returned to England, he took just 300 black survivors with him.
    6. In the northern colonies as well, slaves clearly recognized the evolving political struggle with England as an ideal moment to bid for freedom.
    7. Some slaves in Boston petitioned Thomas Gage, promising to fight for the British if he would liberate them.
    8. In Maryland, soon after the news of the Lexington battle arrived, blacks exhibited impatience with their status as slaves.
    9. In North Carolina, a planned uprising was uncovered, and scores of slaves were arrested.
    10. By 1783, when the Revolutionary War ended, possibly as many as 20,000 blacks had voted against slavery with their feet by seeking refuge with the British army.
    11. Most failed to achieve the liberation they sought, but some eight to ten thousand persisted through the war to start new lives of freedom in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 6, the *Questions for Analysis* and *Debate* at the end of the *Documenting the American Promise* feature, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 6.

## Review Questions

1. How did the Seven Years' War erode relations between colonists and Britain? (pp. 176–186)  
*Answer would ideally include:*

- *A thumbnail account of the war:* In the 1750s, Indians, French, Virginians, and Pennsylvanians all claimed land in the Ohio Valley. The colonists' failure to defend their claims against French fortifications, along with Britain's inability to defuse the conflict, led to a major mobilization of British and American troops against the French and the Indian allies in the Seven Years' War. (pp. 176–181)

- *Wartime roots of British/colonial conflict:* Differing views of colonists' contributions to the war soured relations between Britain and the colonists. The colonists felt they had contributed greatly to victory over the French despite brutal and disrespectful treatment from British troops. The British complained the colonists had contributed little and even undermined their efforts by smuggling French goods. (p. 182)

- *Inadequacy of the Treaty of Paris:* The treaty failed to address the greatest threat to colonists—Indians. Disputes over Indian policy following the war would inflame tensions between Britain and the colonies. (pp. 181–182)

- *Debt:* The war had doubled England's national debt, laying the groundwork for conflict over taxation between Britain and colonies. (pp. 182, 186)

- *Standing British army:* The retention of a standing British army in the colonies further raised tensions. (pp. 182–183)

- *Proclamation of 1763:* The proclamation aimed to reduce Indian violence against the standing British army and forbade colonial settlement west of the Appalachians, a provision that was unacceptable to colonists. (p. 183)

2. Why did the Sugar Act and the Stamp Act draw fierce opposition from colonists? (pp. 186–192)  
*Answer would ideally include:*

- *British context:* Facing enormous debt after the Seven Years' War, British leadership sought ways to increase revenue and looked to the colonies as an ideal source. (p. 186)

- *Perceived intrusion into colonial practices:* For example, the Revenue Act of 1764 ostensibly regulated trade, but its primary objective was to raise revenue. The act was an effort to force Americans to abandon smuggling and bribery by lowering duties to ease compliance with the law and stiffening penalties for smuggling. The attempt to ensure that duties would flow to Britain rather than into the pockets of customs officials offended some Americans as intrusions into their colonial prerogatives. (pp. 186–187)

- *Perceived violation of British tradition of taxation by consent only:* Sir George Grenville, prime minister and author of the Sugar and Stamp acts, argued that the acts met this test because the Parliament, virtual representatives of the colonists, had consented to it. Colonists rejected this interpretation. See, for example, the Virginia Resolves, in which Patrick Henry went beyond the assertion that as Britons, colonists enjoyed the right to self-taxation, to suggest that only the House of Burgesses, the colonial representative body, had the right to tax Virginians. (p. 187)

- *Illegitimate taxation:* British taxes on the colonies were perceived as violations of longstanding British rights to life, liberty, and property. (p. 192)

3. Why did British authorities send troops to occupy Boston in the fall of 1768? (pp. 193–196)  
*Answer would ideally include:*

- *A show of force to restore order and reassert British control:* Britain sent troops at the request of pro-British loyal colonial leaders such as Governor Francis Bernard and Thomas Hutchinson, following successful efforts of colonists to defy the Townshend duties. (p. 196)

- *Thumbnail of the Townshend duties:* The Revenue Act of 1767, proposed by Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer, established duties on a variety of goods imported into the colonies. Although not exorbitant, Americans objected to the duties as another instance of taxation without consent. (p. 193)

- *Colonists' protest of the Revenue Act:* The Massachusetts Assembly led objections, prompting the governor to call for its dissolution. (p. 194)

- *Nonconsumption and nonimportation agreements:* These agreements called on colonists to boycott British goods. Women and men enthusiastically supported such moves by abstaining from consuming British goods and increasing domestic production. The Sons of Liberty engaged in street protests. (pp. 194–196)

4. Why did Parliament pass the Coercive Acts in 1774? (pp. 197–200) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Thumbnail of the Coercive Acts:* The Coercive Acts intended to punish colonial dissidents and strengthen British authority in the colony in matters of trade, governance, and administration of justice. They included the Boston Port Act, the Massachusetts Government Act, the Impartial Administration of Justice Act, the 1765 Quartering Act, and the Quebec Act. (pp. 199–200)

- *Dumping of tea in Boston Harbor:* This protest of the Tea Act of 1773 was the proximate provocation leading to passage of the Coercive Acts. (p. 198)

- *Summary of events leading up to the tea party:* Events leading to the dumping of the tea included the burning of the *Gaspée*, a plan to use tea revenue to pay superior court justices' salaries, and the Tea Act of 1773. (pp. 197–198)

5. How did enslaved people in the colonies react to the stirrings of revolution? (pp. 206–207) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Drawing parallels between colonists' protests and the denial of slaves' liberty:* Many colonists struggled to gain freedom from British rule, but at the same time supported the institution of slavery. Phillis Wheatley's writings drew attention to the hypocrisy of simultaneously embracing ideals of freedom and slavery. Inspired by the ideals of revolutionary freedom, some slaves organized uprisings, which were thwarted by colonists. Sometimes revolutionary bodies, such as the committee of public safety, were directly responsible for punishing rebelling slaves. (pp. 206–207)

- *Dramatic response to Lord Dunmore's promise of freedom to slaves who would fight for the British:* Dunmore intended to produce panic among colonial planters, but had no intention of freeing all of the slaves or inciting an actual rebellion. Dunmore's offer of freedom in exchange for military service did not extend to the women, children, or the elderly. Nevertheless, many slaves enlisted in the British army, and those who survived eventually won their freedom. (p. 206)

## Making Connections

1. In the mid-eighteenth century, how did Native Americans influence relations between European nations? Between Britain and the colonists? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Indians' claims to Ohio territory:* Indians populated the Ohio territory and in the mid-eighteenth century had developed profitable alliances with

French traders. The French sought to protect their economic interests from English colonists who began to encroach on Ohio country, intruding on the French fur trade and even eying the land for settlement. The Indians who inhabited the area stood in the middle of these conflicting interests. (p. 177)

- *Efforts by Indians and Europeans to use each other to advance territorial claims:* Washington established an ineffective alliance with the Mingo chief Tanaghrisson. In 1754, they went to Ohio territory to force the French out of the area. Tanaghrisson, disobeying Washington's orders, killed fourteen French soldiers, probably with the aim of inflaming hostilities between the colonists and the French. Fearing retaliation, Washington established Fort Necessity, but the Mingos fled. The French, aided by Indians, attacked Washington's army, killing or wounding a third of his men. (pp. 177–179)

- *Indians' significant participation in diplomatic negotiations:* The Indians attempted to negotiate to their advantage with the British and French, for example, in the failed Albany Plan and the Covenant Chain. (p. 179)

- *Disagreement between colonists and Britain regarding Indian policy:* The colonists, who generally favored expansion into Indian lands, and the British, who more often sought peaceful relations with the Indians, often did not see eye to eye on Indian policy. See, for example, the Proclamation of 1763 and other territorial disputes, which illustrates the gap between British and colonial interests and views. (p. 183)

2. Why did disputes over taxation figure so prominently in the deteriorating relations between Britain and the colonies? In your answer, refer to specific disputed British attempts to raise revenue and the colonial response. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Importance of revenue to governments:* Britain incurred a large debt in the Seven Years' War and expected colonists to help service that debt through the payment of taxes. Colonists perceived such taxation as a violation of their rights and liberties as British subjects. (p. 186)

- *Significance of British understanding of taxation:* The British understood taxes to be gifts freely given to the crown by the people. This concept of taxation depended upon the consent of authorized representatives to validate any effort of the crown to gather revenue. (p. 187)

- *Right to property as a fundamental feature of British citizenship:* British subjects believed in fundamental rights, including the right to life, liberty, and property; colonists shared these ideals, though they were quick to deny these rights to others, such as Indians and slaves. One might cite *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, or consider the rights of non-Britons set out in the Proclamation of 1763 and the Quebec Act. (pp. 182–193, 200)

• *Disputes over colonial prerogatives in self-governance:* Colonial leaders rejected the idea of virtual representation and questioned the authority of Parliament to levy taxes on colonists. Without direct representation in Parliament, many colonists felt that British taxes violated their right to self-taxation. The Virginia assembly and later the First Continental Congress formally expressed a belief in the colonies' right to self-governance. (pp. 187–189, 192–193, 201–204)

3. How did the colonists organize to oppose British power so effectively? In your answer, discuss the role of communications in facilitating the colonial resistance, being sure to cite specific examples. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Publications:* The Virginia Resolves, even those rejected by the House of Burgesses, circulated to the other colonies through newspapers. Newspapers blacklisted merchants not complying with nonimportation. Also consider women's home production as a form of protest. Other important publications include John Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania* and the writings of Phillis Wheatley. (pp. 187–188, 194–195, 206–207)

- *Collective Action:* Colonists communicated their opposition to British policies through collective action. Groups calling themselves the Sons of Liberty formed in nearly fifty towns, terrorizing stamp distributors throughout the colonies. The Daughters of Liberty supported nonimportation through home production of goods and enforcement of nonconsumption agreements. Colonists also organized minutemen for defense and formed committees of public safety to monitor commerce and punish violators of the boycott of British goods. (pp. 194–196, 204)

- *Establishment of Committees of Correspondence:* Following the burning of the *Gaspée*, colonists formed committees of correspondence to facilitate the exchange of information. The committees politicized ordinary townspeople and by-passed the official control of information by the royal government. As the relationship between the crown and the colonists continued to deteriorate, the committees of correspondence facilitated the meeting of the First Continental Congress. (p. 198)

### Documenting the American Promise: How News of the Powder Alarm Traveled (pp. 202–203)

1. Compare and contrast the different ways news of the Powder Alarm traveled: a hand-delivered letter passed by committees of correspondence, word of mouth as described by Ezra Stiles, and newspaper

articles. How do these accounts differ in speed of transmission, reliability, and authenticity? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Hand-delivered letter:* The letter was written by Israel Putnam, who heard from someone else via word of mouth that violence had occurred. The letter traveled very quickly (for that time) across considerable geographic distance. That speed, combined with its written form, its connection to the Committees of Correspondence, the growing chain of names, and the orderly transmission from town to town made the letter seem like a very credible source. There was no way for new readers to know that, despite appearances, it was based on a rumor that was unverified.

- *Word of mouth:* In the case of Ezra Stiles's account of McNeil's experience, word of the alleged attack is traveling from person to persons in Shrewsbury, not far from Boston, in the immediate aftermath of the event. Generally, hearing information through word of mouth engenders skepticism. In this case, however, people hearing and communicating the news were immediately agitated by it. The communication of that agitation and intensity, along with the information, must have added to the story's credibility as it was being spread.

- *Newspaper articles:* The newspaper article appeared nearly a week after the event took place and at a late enough date that it was already clear that no deaths had occurred. The tone of the newspaper article differs greatly from Ezra Stiles's account, which was also written down after the event occurred. The newspaper article lacks the emotion and sense of urgency that the word of mouth account expresses and the description of the evening in the newspaper is much more brief than Stiles's account. The article, which was published in many newspapers throughout New England, must have been credible and convincing to many.

2. What was the point of having members of Connecticut's committees of correspondence add their names to the first document as it made its way to New York City? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Credibility:* Adding names to the letter as it made its way through Connecticut made it more credible. If readers could be sure that the letter had come from a trustworthy source and through a trustworthy chain of communication, they would be more likely to believe it and act accordingly.

- *Aid in organizing response:* Adding names to the letter would also be very useful in terms of mounting a response to the alleged conflict in Boston. Readers could know who had already seen the letter and then proceed to think about who else needed to see it.

3. What message about women and war does the second document convey? What does this suggest about the colonists' readiness to fight the British in 1774? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Women's knowledge of and support for colonial defense:* The document reports that women were urging their husbands, sons, and other men to go to Boston to respond to the conflict, despite the inherent danger in doing so. The women were clearly aware of what was going on and had definite opinions about how colonists' should react.

- *Women's participation in the conflict:* According to the document, women were not just passive bystanders, but were actively participating in preparing the colonial response to the situation by making cartridges, running bullets, making wallets, baking biscuits, etc.

- *Colonists' readiness to fight:* This document makes it clear that large numbers of colonists were ready to drop everything and fight the British. Not only does it describe their preparations for the fight, which they thought was imminent, but it suggests that they must have been in a state of heightened tension even before the Powder Alarm.

4. Do you think it likely that the third document was actually first printed in a Boston newspaper? What constraints might have operated in Boston in September 1774 that could have affected what got printed there? What or who else might have been the source of the article in the three other papers? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *British presence in Boston:* Given that Boston was essentially occupied by the British in September of 1774, it might have been difficult for Boston newspapers to print an article like this one. The newspaper's account of the Powder Alarm is neither in favor of the British or the colonists. The article mentions twice that the event was a false report and the brief account seems to downplay the importance and response of the men, which would suggest some sort of editing on the part of the newspaper. Conversely, the article does make a point to state the colonist's determination to fight against British rule—it does not treat the colonist's reaction as an exaggerated one, and mentions that the events were communicated by "credible gentlemen".

- *Possible sources of article:* It's difficult to guess the real source of this article. The information seems credible and authentic and like it came from someone who knew what was happening. The author of the article purports that the information about the Powder Alarm comes mostly from the letters and several unnamed but "credible gentlemen." But the several references to other sources reveal that the author of

the article most likely did not witness the event as it occurred. The description of the entire event feels distant and uninterested, which perhaps is due to the article's publication in Boston.

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Chief Hendrick and John Caldwell (p. 180)

**Reading the Image:** What might it mean that Chief Hendrick dressed in English clothes and John Caldwell wore native attire when posing for these portraits? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Chief Hendrick:* This portrait seems to suggest that the Chief's political authority should not be seen as inferior to that of European leaders. The inclusion of wampum and the tomahawk suggest that Hendrick does not intend to abandon his own culture for that of the Europeans, but his choice to dress predominantly in the clothes of an English gentleman suggests a belief in his political equality to those esteemed aristocratic figures. While in England, he met Queen Anne and subsequently adopted the new title of King Hendrick, another suggestion of his effort to assert his political authority beyond the Mohawk tribe.

- *John Caldwell:* Like Hendrick, Caldwell's adoption of dress from another culture probably should not be viewed as a sign of his abandonment of English society. Instead, this portrait might be seen as an assertion of his authority over the Indian societies with which he had recently concluded a diplomatic mission. Such an authority might have given Caldwell greater stature within Anglo-American society as a man who could exert control over the troublesome tribes that hounded the western borders of the United States. Alternatively, his purchase of this outfit for the mission might suggest a desire to pay his respects to the Indian leaders with whom he would be negotiating, but such an interpretation offers less of an explanation as to why he would choose to have his portrait painted in this attire.

**Connections:** Do you think these examples of imitation indicate a willingness to cross cultural boundaries? Is the co-opting just play or a sign of something deeper? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Chief Hendrick:* This portrait appears to extend beyond a sense of simple play. Instead, it appears to be an assertion of political authority and equality.

Whether it suggests a willingness to cross cultural boundaries is a tougher question; the answer probably depends upon what it means to make such a crossing. Hendrick's decision to hold wampum and a tomahawk offers a clear indication of his assertion of pride in his Mohawk heritage; his adoption of English clothing may also offer an indication of respect toward English culture, or it may serve as a diplomatic move to please the leaders with whom he was negotiating. It seems doubtful, however, that such a portrait suggests a willingness to move toward an English perspective on the disputes between the two cultures.

- *John Caldwell:* As with Hendrick, this portrait appears to be about more than mere play. In some ways the question of Caldwell's willingness to cross cultural boundaries is even tougher to answer than the question of Hendrick's intentions. Hendrick is clearly making a political statement in his portrait. Is Caldwell doing the same by asserting his dominance over the Indian societies with which he had negotiated? Or is he merely showing his respect for the Indian societies with which he had engaged? The answer is difficult to ascertain without further information about Caldwell and his experiences.

### The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King Street, Boston, on March 5, 1770 (p. 197)

**Reading the Image:** How does this picture attempt to sway its viewers' sympathies? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Political Propaganda:* Paul Revere's depiction of the Boston Massacre is a clear attempt to rouse political support for the colonial resistance to British trade policies. The scene is one of clear aggressors and victims, with the British filling the former role and the colonists the latter. One of the colonists has raised his hand as if to implore the soldiers to stop firing; others are already turning around to leave the scene. The British, by way of contrast, are on the attack. The captain in the lower right corner is actively ordering his troops to fire, and they are complying readily: Some of the soldiers seem to be smiling, and the one at the far end of the line is lunging forward with his bayonet.

**Connections:** Does this picture accurately represent the events of the Boston Massacre? What might account for its biases? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Accuracy of events:* In Paul Revere's version of the Boston Massacre, the British are guilty of unprovoked violence against innocent and unarmed colonists, who want nothing more than to get away from the gunfire. Nothing in the picture explains why so many colonists gathered around so few soldiers or

why the firing started in the first place. In reality, the crowd taunted and threw sticks and snowballs at eight British soldiers guarding the customs house, finally hitting one. A soldier fired; the rest of the guard followed his lead. The British attack was neither planned nor unprovoked, but Revere, a supporter of the patriot cause, had every reason to downplay the American contribution to the melee.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 6.2 North America after the Seven Years' War (p. 181)

**Reading the Map:** How did European land claims change from 1754 (see Map 6.1 on page 178 of the text) to 1763, as shown here? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *European claims in North America:* By 1763, following the Seven Year's War, almost all of land previously held by France and Canada, and some of the land west of the Mississippi and St. Lawrence rivers, now belonged to Britain. Spain's territory expanded to cover Louisiana and all of the land west of the Mississippi River. France, who in 1754 held a sizable amount of land in North America, by 1763 had control only over St. Domingue in the Caribbean and coastal fishing land in Nova Scotia.

**Connections:** What was the goal of the Proclamation of 1763?

- *Goals of the Proclamation Act:* The Proclamation Act of 1763 was announced in the aftermath of Pontiac's uprising in northern Ohio following the Seven Years' War. Treaty negotiations assigned the land to the English, but the Indians who lived there and had fought with the French were not consulted and did not acknowledge English sovereignty. The fighting was expensive and bloody, and the British decided to limit contact between colonists and Indians and protect the lucrative fur trade as well. Their solution was the Proclamation Line, which set a boundary down the ridge of the Appalachian Mountains from Canada to Georgia, beyond which colonists could not move. The problem was that both settlers and speculators refused to respect the line, and even an expensive standing army could not prevent them from infringing on territory the British were trying to reserve for the Indians.

### Map 6.3 Lexington and Concord, April 1775 (p. 205)

**Reading the Map:** William Dawes was, like Paul Revere, a messenger who raced ahead of British troops to warn the minutemen of British plans for raiding their supply of weapons. How did Dawes's route differ from Revere's? What kinds of terrain and potential dangers did each man face during his ride, according to the map?

- *Route to Concord:* William Dawes's ride differed from Paul Revere's ride because Dawes rode to the south, while Revere took the shorter, northern route. To some degree, Dawes took the more difficult route because it was longer, required him to cross two broad rivers, and took him along the same roads traveled by British soldiers on their way to Concord. On the other hand, Dawes did not have to travel by boat to get out of Boston, as did Revere, and neither did he try to go all the way to Concord with Revere.

**Connections:** Why might it have mattered who shot first on the Lexington green? What was at stake for each side in claiming the other shot first?

- *Britain as the aggressor:* Neither side wanted to appear to be the aggressor; therefore, neither the patriot militiamen nor the British troops wanted to accept responsibility for firing the first shot. The British wanted to find a way to bring the colonies back into the empire, and shooting first would only further antagonize the Americans.

- *America as the aggressor:* For their part, American supporters of independence sought to portray the British as tyrants who were trampling on the people's freedom. They needed to appear as defenders of freedom rather than as hotheads who provoked a war.

of social hierarchy in which individuals knew their place, their society was much more fluid than British society. But American politics remained the province of the elite. In discussing politics, show how the elite mobilized the non-elite—the lesser farmers, mechanics, and artisans—to support them in their campaigns against one another. Explain how colonial politics differed from politics in England. Using the specific example of Thomas Hutchinson in the opening vignette, show how a royal governor's power was limited by his distance from the source of his power (the king) and his proximity to his adversaries (the colonial elite).

Explore the structure of colonial society. How stratified was it? What were one's chances for advancement? In order to discuss these class differences, try to get students to define the term *class*. They will inevitably start their definition with gradations of wealth, but if you point out that many tradesmen (e.g., plumbers) can become wealthy today, students will soon see how amorphous the term can really be. Using a broad definition of class that includes gradations of wealth, occupation, education, family connections, and so forth can be helpful in arguing that more classes existed during the eighteenth century than we usually acknowledge today. Next, examine how class differences help us to understand who supported the Revolution and why.

Look closely at Boston society, and describe how social changes may have led to a propensity for radical action there. Wealth was not necessarily the primary indicator of whether one might support the Revolution, although it played a role. Explore why many of the political elite remained loyal, while many wealthy merchants supported the patriots. How did a group such as the Sons of Liberty fit into the social context of these times? Compare the divergence of class interests in Massachusetts with elite support for the revolutionary movement in Virginia, particularly following Lord Dunmore's proclamation in April 1775.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in "Additional Resources for Chapter 6."*

### LECTURE 1

#### *Political and Social Determinants of the Propensity for Radical Action*

This lecture compares the social and political arrangements of the American colonies with those of England in the years leading up to the Revolution and suggests ways to understand how people chose sides in the conflict. The American colonies were more egalitarian than Britain but were still very unlike modern American society. While Americans had an increasing sense

### LECTURE 2

#### *The Ideology of the American Revolution*

This lecture should explain the intellectual environment that promoted the misunderstandings between American patriots and the British. Those patriots who came to resent the policies of George Grenville subscribed to the political theories of the English Country Party, while most Englishmen held those theories in low esteem. The Country Party held that *liberty* and *power* were constantly at war. Unpack the definitions of these terms, and help students to understand that an ideology filters new information and validates it by comparing the new information to knowledge and

beliefs already known to be true. Country Party theories led Americans to expect conspiracies of power subduing liberty. Show how the British reinforced preexisting American fears of (1) a standing army, (2) the ministry's ability to corrupt the political system by offering patronage positions, and (3) the reintroduction of Roman Catholicism:

1. Many Americans feared that, in the absence of any outside threat to the peace, a standing army would be used to subdue a free people, particularly when the crown stationed the army away from the frontiers, where it could have been used to put down Indian insurrections.
2. Many Americans feared a “conspiracy of the placemen.” Colonists used the term placemen to describe members of Parliament (MPs) whom the crown “placed” in Parliament in its efforts to regain control of the mechanisms of British government. Because the crown could not gain control of Parliament by constitutional methods, it tried to do so by manipulating elections in certain districts to ensure that approved candidates were elected. The crown could then appoint these placemen to bureaucratic positions that would earn them an additional salary. In addition to believing that the new tax-collecting effort of the crown encroached on their right to tax themselves, colonists feared that the newly created patronage position of tax collector would be offered to MPs who would then be beholden to the crown and thus willing to restrict the colonies’ efforts at self-government.
3. Many Americans feared an ecclesiastical conspiracy to force on the colonies an Anglican bishop with all the trappings of Rome. The Congregational Church in New England would then suffer disestablishment, and church property would be taken over by the Anglican Church. In addition, the Quebec Act’s official recognition of the Catholic Church in Quebec seemed further proof to the patriots of the crown’s tyrannical schemes.

### LECTURE 3

#### *An Overview of the Events Leading toward Revolution, 1754–1775*

Use this lecture to introduce to students the events from 1754 to 1775 that led toward revolution, and show the evolution of the patriot movement from opposition to taxation to rebellion against the king and Parliament. You may want to have students make a time line to list the major events, and then distill the essentials of each event with special notice of how

ideology or class interests affected its outcome. Start with the Seven Years’ War, showing that Americans assumed that the English did not appreciate their efforts, while the English believed that the Americans failed to contribute their fair share toward winning the war. With increased Indian hostilities, and a barely subdued French population in Canada, Parliament stationed an army to defend the colonies from Indian attack and limited the westward encroachment on Indian territory. Examine the Proclamation of 1763 and the stationing of troops. Here, you might want to draw your students’ attention to Map 6.2, “North America after the Seven Years’ War” (p. 181), which shows European land claims in North America after the French and Indian War. Note that Parliament wanted the colonies to pay for their own defense, which the British thought was eminently reasonable. Thus, Parliament passed the Revenue (Sugar) Act, which actually lowered taxes but added swift punishment for criminal evasion of the law. It provoked protest in the colonies about common-law rights of taxation and trial by one’s peers, and about the relationship of the colonies to Parliament. Explore the question of whether the British ministry dealt with Americans in bad faith or whether Americans simply evaded their responsibilities. Define *virtual representation*, and then explain why the British suggested it and the political basis on which the Americans rejected it. Explore how Americans forced the repeal of the Stamp Act and how the Declaratory Act saved face for Parliament by reaffirming Parliament’s power to tax the colonies. When Parliament reintroduced taxes in the colonies, the Townshend duties were considered external rather than internal taxes. Describe the difference, and explain why the crown thought external taxes would be acceptable to Americans. Explain how the use of these revenue-enhancing taxes to subsidize the salaries of governors and judges threatened to corrupt the entire colonial political system.

Explain nonimportation, and show class and regional differences in implementing it. Next, outline the Boston Massacre, and explain how Boston attorneys John Adams and Josiah Quincy successfully defended the British soldiers accused of murder, and how the massacre reinforced notions that a standing army was a menace to the citizenry. Here, you might refer students to Paul Revere’s engraving of the Boston Massacre (p. 197) and ask students to compare Revere’s strongly patriotic version with the account in the textbook. Explain the significance of the *Gaspée* affair and how it led to the establishment of committees of correspondence, which became informal political institutions existing outside the legal political system. Finally, describe the Tea Act, the Boston Tea Party, and the Coercive (Intolerable) Acts as the

beginning of the final descent into open rebellion by radicalized colonists who thought Parliament was attempting to reduce their basic political rights. Describe the Coercive Acts and their impact on American political ideology. The battles of Lexington and Concord forced all Americans to consider which side they should support and loosened the ties to the empire nearly completely. Explain the philosophical, social, and institutional differences between the British and the Americans that made constitutional questions difficult but not impossible to resolve. Had either side been able to see the other's point of view, the crises of the 1760s and 1770s might have been averted and American history perhaps radically altered. You have a lot to cover here—you will need to make choices. But students will find a quick overview helpful as they try to make sense of the road to revolution.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. Colonists Naturally Supported the Revolution

Students come out of high school with a very Whigish view of the American Revolution. They frequently believe that everyone in the American colonies naturally wanted independence from England, and they believe that everyone knew that the colonists would ultimately win. Because students know the outcome of the Revolution, they unconsciously assume that historical actors clearly understood what the outcome of their actions would be. To correct this error, ask them how many colonies the British had in North America during the American Revolution. Many will answer "thirteen"; others may remember Canada. Few will know about Nova Scotia or the Floridas. And practically none will even consider the dozen or so island colonies. Why then, you should ask, did none of these other colonies seek independence? Quickly discuss each of the nonrebellious regions: Canada was a recently conquered French province without traditions of self-government. Nova Scotia was the site of the main artillery base for British North America, and most of its inhabitants owed their living to supplying the military with goods. The Floridas had just been acquired from Spain in 1763, and few British subjects resided there. The island colonies were slave societies controlled by elites residing in England. Most of their ambitious citizens aspired to go to England, and the rest were so oppressed that politics of self-government had no meaning for them. Only in the well-established British colonies on the North American mainland was

the question important. And even there, well-meaning and intelligent people disagreed.

### 2. The Seven Years' War

This chapter gives increased coverage of Native Americans during the Seven Years' War. Much of this material may be unfamiliar to your students, who think only of the Anglo-Americans' discontent with British policies. Have your students turn to the feature *Historical Question*: "How Long Did the Seven Years' War Last in Indian Country?" (pp. 184–185) to impress upon them the serious nature of the Native Americans' grievances. Point out to students that the British engaged in open warfare with Native Americans a full decade before the start of the Revolutionary War. Have students think about the implications of Pontiac's War and how it might force them to rethink the period leading up to the war.

### 3. The Revolutionary Spirit Was a "Revolution from Above"

Because history is frequently presented to students as a top-down phenomenon, students rarely consider the lower classes as having a leading role in any event in American history. Having read about the merchants and planters who "led" the Revolution, students naturally think that everyone else in society just fell in line with their "betters." In the American Revolution, however, common folk frequently played the role of radical vanguard. John Adams and other wealthy patriots were infuriated when the common people took to the streets and destroyed Peter Oliver's home. They were not so much concerned about destruction of property as they were alarmed that "the mob" might not need its upper-class leaders. Sailors in Boston and artisans in Philadelphia held views about the Revolution's direction that were measurably more radical than those of their wealthier "leaders." You may also want to have students consider the ways in which countless slaves used the rhetoric of the Revolution to assert their rights to freedom.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

Consider screening "The Reluctant Revolutionaries," the first episode of the PBS series *Liberty!*, which chronicles the road to revolution beginning with the end of the French and Indian War. You might also want to show "Blows Must Decide," the second episode of the same series, which picks up the story in the fall of 1774 with British troops occupying Boston

and moves through the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

### Class Discussion Starters

Ask your students whether the American Revolution was inevitable. Had the British put down the colonists more forcefully, for example, would the revolutionary impulse have been extinguished? Had the British responded more favorably to colonists' demands in the 1760s and early 1770s, would the colonial relationship have continued past 1776? Impress upon your students that the road to revolution could have veered off in many different directions.

### Historical Debates

After the first two lectures, have your class debate the nature of the Revolution. Was it an ideological revolution, led by the philosophers and rhetoricians, or a social revolution, led by the masses? Most historians reject such simplification, but students will benefit from the exercise, learning to hone their skills in historical argumentation. You may have them consider the outcome, which should be familiar in its basic form. Did the Revolution precipitate social change (did it free the slaves, did it change the status of women, etc.), or did it engender a new way of viewing politics?

### Reading Primary Sources

Using the feature *Documenting the American Promise*: "How the News of the Powder Alarm Traveled" (pp. 202–203) have your students discuss historical evidence and the ways historians make decisions about how to make sense of questionable sources and contradictory ones. Ask them which of these documents they would see as the most credible if they were seeking information about the Powder Alarm event. Have a discussion about whether or not our assumptions about the credibility of sources in the present are transferable to historical evidence from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Why or why not?

## Additional Resources for Chapter 6

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 6 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 6.1: European Areas of Influence and the Seven Years' War, 1754–1763 (p. 178)
- Map 6.2: North America after the Seven Years' War (p. 181)
- Map 6.3: Lexington and Concord, April 1775 (p. 205)
- Spinning Wheel (p. 195)
- Tarring and Feathering Cartoon (p. 201)

### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 6 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 6.1: European Areas of Influence and the Seven Years' War, 1754–1763 (p. 178)
- Map 6.2: North America after the Seven Years' War (p. 181)
- Map 6.3: Lexington and Concord, April 1775 (p. 205)
- The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King Street, Boston, on March 5, 1770 (p. 197)
- George Grenville, Prime Minister 1763–1765 (p. 186)
- Newspapers Protest the Stamp Act (p. 188)
- Teapots for Patriots (p. 192)
- Edenton Tea Ladies (p. 194)
- Tossing the Tea (p. 199)
- Phyllis Wheatley's Title Page (p. 207)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor's Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for using the Bedford Series in History and Culture volume *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America*, edited with an introduction by Colin G. Calloway, in the U.S. history survey.

### For Students

#### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 6 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- An Oration on the Second Anniversary of the Boston Massacre: Joseph Warren, *Boston Massacre Oration*, March 5, 1772

- A Boston Shoemaker Recalls British Arrogance and the Boston Tea Party: George R. T. Hewes, *Memoir*, 1834
- Daniel Leonard Argues for Loyalty to the British Empire: *To the Inhabitants of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, 1774–75
- George Washington Concludes That the Crisis Has Arrived: *Letters*, 1774
- Edmund Burke Urges Reconciliation with the Colonies: *Speech to Parliament*, March 22, 1775

**Online Study Guide at  
[bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)**

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The

following map and visual activities are available for chapter 6:

**Map Activities**

- Map 6.2: North America after the Seven Year's War (p. 181)
- Map 6.3: Lexington and Concord, April 1775 (p. 205)

**Visual Activities**

- Chief Hendrick and John Caldwell (p. 180)
- The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King Street, Boston, on March 5, 1770 (p. 197)

**Reading Historical Documents Activity**

- How News of the Powder Alarm Traveled (pp. 202–203)

# The War for America

## 1775–1783

### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. What were the objectives of the Second Continental Congress?
2. What were the British and the American armies' strengths and weaknesses during the first year of the Revolutionary War?
3. How did conflicts between patriots and loyalists play out on the local level?
4. How did the war proceed in the North and West? What roles did Native Americans play in the war?
5. What was King George III's southern strategy from 1778 to 1781? What went wrong for the British, and what were the terms of the peace?

### Annotated Chapter Outline

#### I. The Second Continental Congress

- A. Assuming Political and Military Authority
  1. Delegates to the Second Continental Congress were well-established figures in their home colonies, but they had to learn to know and trust each other and often did not agree.
  2. Most of the delegates were not yet prepared to break with Britain; the few who did desire independence were from Massachusetts, the colony the British had stripped of its civil government under the Coercive Acts and whose capital was occupied by the British army.
  3. Even the hesitant moderates agreed that the colonies needed to take swift action to coordinate a military defense, for the

Massachusetts countryside was under threat of further attack.

4. Congress chose southerner George Washington as commander in chief of the newly created Continental army, a move designed to signal to the British that there was commitment to the war beyond New England.
5. Congress then drew up "A Declaration on the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms," which rehearsed familiar arguments about the tyranny of Parliament and the need to defend English liberties.
6. To pay for the military buildup, the congress authorized a currency issue of \$2 million.
7. In just two months, the Second Continental Congress had taken on the major functions of a legitimate government, both military and financial, without any legal basis for its authority.
- B. Pursuing Both War and Peace
  1. Three days after the congress voted to raise the Continental army, one of the bloodiest battles of the Revolution occurred as British generals tried to root out Boston rebels.
  2. The Battle of Bunker Hill proved costly for the British, who, despite winning the battle, suffered many more casualties than the Americans.
  3. British general William Howe decided against pursuing the fleeing Americans, unwilling to risk more raids into the countryside, and pulled his army back to Boston.

4. A week after Bunker Hill General Washington arrived to take charge of the new Continental army; he found enthusiastic but undisciplined troops and quickly imposed hierarchy and authority.
  5. While military plans moved forward, the Second Continental Congress pursued its second, contradictory objective: reconciliation with Britain.
  6. By the fall of 1775, however, reconciliation was out of the question.
- C. Thomas Paine, Abigail Adams, and the Case for Independence
1. Pressure for independence started mounting in January 1776, when a pamphlet titled *Common Sense*, outlining a lively and compelling case for independence, appeared in Philadelphia.
  2. In simple yet forceful language, Thomas Paine elaborated on the absurdities of the British monarchy and argued for republican government.
  3. Paine's pamphlet sold more than 150,000 copies in a matter of weeks; his arguments influenced many, including Abigail Adams, who hoped a new government would "remember the ladies."
- D. The Declaration of Independence
1. In early June, partly in response to France's offer of military support if the colonies separated from Britain, the Virginia delegation introduced a resolution calling for independence.
  2. On July 2, after intense politicking, all but one state voted for independence; New York abstained.
  3. Congress then turned to the document drafted by Thomas Jefferson and his committee.
  4. For two days, the congress wrangled over the list of grievances, especially the issue of slavery.
  5. On July 4, the amendments to Jefferson's text were complete, and the document was formally adopted.
  6. On July 15, the New York delegation switched from abstention to endorsement, making the vote on independence unanimous.
- II. The First Year of War, 1775–1776**
- A. The American Military Forces
1. Americans claimed that the initial months of war were purely defensive, triggered by the British army's invasion, but the war quickly became a rebellion, an overthrowing of long-established authority.
  2. Local colonial militias were best suited for limited engagements, in the past attending to the occasional Indian attack, and not for extended wars requiring campaigns far from home.
  3. The newly formed Continental army found one-year enlistments inadequate; they encouraged three-year enlistments by offering new soldiers a \$20 bonus, while men who committed for the duration of the war were promised a postwar land grant of one hundred acres.
  4. Women also served in the Continental army, cooking, washing, and nursing the wounded.
  5. Black Americans were at first excluded from the Continental army, a rule that slave owner George Washington made as commander in chief, but as the need for manpower increased the northern states began to welcome free blacks into service; even slaves could serve, with their masters' permission.
  6. Military service helped to politicize Americans during the early stages of the war.
  7. The American army was at times raw and inexperienced and much of the time woefully undermanned—but it was never as bad as the British continually assumed.
- B. The British Strategy
1. The American strategy was relatively straightforward—to repulse and defeat an invading army; the British strategy was not nearly so clear, for a decisive defeat of the Continental army was essential but not sufficient to end the rebellion, and the British would still have to contend with an armed and highly motivated insurgent population.
  2. Furthermore, there was no single political nerve center whose capture would spell certain victory for the British.
  3. Britain's delicate task was to restore the old colonial governments, not to destroy an enemy country, so British generals were reluctant to ravage the countryside, confiscate food, or burn villages and towns.
  4. The British needed a large land army and counted on the help of Americans who remained loyal to the king.
  5. The overall British plan was a divide-and-conquer approach, focusing first on New York, the state judged to harbor the greatest number of loyal subjects.

- C. Quebec, New York, and New Jersey
1. In late 1775, an American expedition was swiftly launched to capture the British cities of Montreal and Quebec before British reinforcements could arrive.
  2. The main action of the first year of the war came not in Canada, however, but in New York, a city crucial to England's winning the war.
  3. Washington knew it would be difficult to hold Manhattan against British attack, so he withdrew north.
  4. For two months, the armies engaged in limited skirmishing, but in November, General Howe finally captured Fort Washington and Fort Lee, taking thousands of prisoners.
  5. Howe unaccountably failed to press his advantage, and on Christmas, Washington moved his large army across the Delaware River at night and made a quick capture of British-allied German soldiers at Trenton.
  6. This impressive victory did much to restore the sagging morale of the patriot side.
  7. In the first year of declared war, the rebellious Americans had a few isolated moments to feel proud of, but also much to worry about.

### III. The Home Front

- A. Patriotism at the Local Level
1. Committees of correspondence, of public safety, and of inspection dominated the political landscape in patriot communities.
  2. Loyalists were dismayed by what seemed to them to be arbitrary power taken on by patriots.
  3. White women increasingly demonstrated a capacity for patriotism at the local level as wartime hardships dramatically altered their work routines.
  4. Women from prominent Philadelphia families formed the Ladies Association, which collected money to help support the Continental soldiers.
  5. Esther Reed, wife of Pennsylvania's governor, published "The Sentiments of an American Woman," defending female patriotism.
- B. The Loyalists
1. About a fifth of the American population remained openly loyal to the British monarchy in 1776, and another two-fifths were probably neutral.
  2. In general, loyalists were people who still felt strong cultural and economic ties to

the British Empire and who believed that American prosperity and stability depended on British rule and on a government anchored by monarchy and aristocracy.

3. The most visible and dedicated loyalists were royal officials, wealthy merchants, conservative urban lawyers, and some backcountry farmers who resented the political and economic power of the lowlands gentry.
4. Many Indian tribes hoped to maintain neutrality at the start of the war, but eventually most were drawn in, many taking the British side.
5. Pockets of loyalty thus existed everywhere in the middle colonies, in the backcountry of the southern colonies, and out beyond the Appalachian Mountains in Indian country.
6. The loyalists were most vocal between 1774 and 1776, when the possibility of a full-scale rebellion against England was still uncertain.

C. Who Is a Traitor?

1. By 1776 state laws defined treason as acts of joining or provisioning the British army, saying or printing anything that undermined the patriot morale, or discouraging men from enlisting in the Continental army.
2. Wives of loyalists convicted of treason were often allowed to keep one-third of their husbands' property.
3. Tarring and feathering, property confiscation, deportation, terrorism—to the loyalists, such denials of conscience and of freedom to own private property proved that democratic tyranny was more to be feared than the monarchical variety.
4. Throughout the war, probably 7,000 to 8,000 loyalists fled to England, while 28,000 found closer haven in Canada.
5. Many loyalists chose to remain in the new United States and tried to swing with the changing political winds.

D. Financial Instability and Corruption

1. The Continental Congress printed money to cover the costs of war, but within a few short years, its value deteriorated because the congress held no reserves of gold or silver to back the currency.
2. Soon the congress had to resort to other means to procure supplies and labor. One method was to borrow hard money from wealthy men, who were given, in

exchange, certificates of debt promising repayment with interest; the second method was to pay soldiers with land grants.

3. Depreciating currency inevitably led to rising prices; the wartime economy of the late 1770s, with its unreliable currency and price inflation, was extremely demoralizing to Americans.
4. Inevitably, some Americans turned this unsuitable situation to their advantage and a brisk black market in prohibited luxury imports soon sprang up.

#### **IV. The Campaigns of 1777–1779: The North and the West**

##### A. Burgoyne's Army and the Battle of Saratoga

1. In 1777, British general John Burgoyne assumed command of an army of 7,800 soldiers in Canada and began the northern squeeze on the Hudson River valley.
2. Burgoyne first captured Fort Ticonderoga with ease.
3. The logical second step in isolating New England should have been to advance British troops up the Hudson River from New York City to meet Burgoyne.
4. George Washington, watching from New Jersey, was stunned to see Howe's men sail south; Howe had instead decided to try to capture Philadelphia.
5. Burgoyne awaited reinforcements from the west, but that group encountered Americans at Fort Stanwix who refused to surrender.
6. When the British laid siege to the fort, 800 Palatine German militiamen and 40 Oneida Indians rushed to aid them; the resulting Battle of Oriskany between Palatines and Oneidas on one side and Mohawks, Senecas, and Loyalists on the other, involved all American-born combatants and had a very high casualty rate.
7. The British suffered a loss at Fort Stanwix, depriving General Burgoyne of the additional troops that he expected to carry out his Hudson River strategy.
8. The Continental army secured an important victory in the second battle at Saratoga, forcing Burgoyne to surrender to American forces on October 17, 1777.
9. General Howe, meanwhile, had succeeded in occupying Philadelphia in September 1777.
10. The British government proposed a negotiated settlement—not including

independence—to end the war; the American side refused.

11. Spirits ran high but American arms and food supplies ran precariously low, and the American army suffered a devastating winter at Valley Forge on account of disease and desertion.
12. Washington blamed the citizenry for lack of support, and indeed, evidence of corruption and profiteering was abundant.

##### B. The War in the West: Indian Country

1. Burgoyne's defeat in the fall of 1777 and Washington's long stay at Valley Forge up to June 1778 might suggest that the war had paused for a time, and while this was true on the Atlantic coast, in the interior western areas, native tribes struggled against the pro-independence Americans for their own independence, freedom, and land.
2. The slaughter at Oriskany in August 1777 marked the beginning of three years of terror for the inhabitants of the Mohawk Valley; Loyalists and Indians together raided many farms throughout 1778, killing and capturing residents, and American militiamen responded in kind.
3. In the summer of 1779, General Washington authorized a campaign to wreak “total destruction and devastation” on all the Iroquoian villages of central New York; forty Indian towns were obliterated.
4. Much farther to the west, another complex story unfolded, of alliances and betrayals between American militiamen and Indians.
5. In Tennessee, militias attacked Cherokee settlements, destroying thirty-six villages and burning fields and livestock.
6. By 1780, very few Indians remained neutral; most sided with the British or fled to Spanish territory.
7. The occasional Indian support for the American side had emerged out of a strategic sense that the Americans were unstoppable in their westward pressure and that it was better to work out an alliance than to lose in a war.
8. But American treatment of even friendly Indians showed that there really was no winning strategy for the Indians.

##### C. The French Alliance

1. Essential help for the Americans arrived as a result of the victory at Saratoga, which convinced the French to enter the war; a formal alliance was signed in February 1778.

2. Although France had been waiting for a promising American victory to justify a formal declaration of war, the French had been providing aid to the Americans in the form of war materiel and advisers since 1776.
3. The main attraction of an alliance for France was simply the opportunity to defeat England.
4. French support materialized slowly, leading some Americans to grumble that the partnership would prove worthless; but French help would prove indispensable to the American victory.

## V. The Southern Strategy and the End of the War

1. When France joined the war, some British officials wondered whether the fight was worth continuing.
  2. But the king was determined to crush the rebellion, and he encouraged a new strategy for victory, which abandoned New England and instead focused on the South, thought to be easier for the crown to recapture.
- A. Georgia and South Carolina
1. The British hoped to recapture the southern colonies one by one, restore the loyalists to power, and then move north to the more problematic middle colonies, saving prickly New England for last.
  2. Georgia, the first target, fell easily at the end of December 1778 because most of the Continental army was still in New York and New Jersey.
  3. The next target was South Carolina which, despite the presence of ten Continental regiments, finally surrendered in May 1780.
  4. British general Henry Clinton returned to New York, leaving the task of pacifying South Carolina to General Charles Cornwallis and 4,000 troops.
  5. In August 1780, the Continental army was ready to strike back at Cornwallis.
  6. American troops suffered a devastating loss at Camden, South Carolina.
  7. The new British strategy succeeded in 1780 in part because of improved information about American troop movements that was secretly furnished to the British by Benedict Arnold, the onetime American hero of several key battles.
  8. Arnold's treasonous plot to deliver West Point to the British was foiled by the capture of the messenger carrying plans of the fort's defense from Arnold to General Clinton.

B. The Other Southern War: Guerrillas

1. Shock at the Continental army's defeat at Camden and Arnold's treason revitalized rebel support in western South Carolina, an area that Cornwallis had believed to be pacified and loyal.
2. The backcountry of the South soon became the site of guerrilla warfare.
3. The British southern strategy counted on sufficient loyalist strength to hold reconquered territory as the army moved north, but the backcountry civil war proved this assumption false.

C. Surrender at Yorktown

1. In 1781, Cornwallis and his troops moved back to North Carolina, and thence to Virginia, where they achieved some minor victories.
2. By the time British ships arrived to defend the Chesapeake Bay, the French fleet was already there; a five-day naval battle left the French navy in control of the Virginia coast.
3. The French navy's control of Chesapeake Bay proved to be the decisive factor in ending the war because it eliminated a water escape route for Cornwallis's land army, encamped at Yorktown, and prevented the arrival of British reinforcements.
4. General Cornwallis and his 7,500 troops now faced a combined French and American army numbering over 16,000; Cornwallis surrendered in October, 1781.

D. The Losers and the Winners

1. The surrender at Yorktown proved to be the end of the war with England, but it took some time for the principal combatants to realize that; the frontier areas in Kentucky, Ohio, and Illinois still blazed with Indian warfare.
2. The British army still occupied three coastal cities including New York, requiring the Continental army to stay in the field.
3. The peace treaty took six months to negotiate and resulted in eighty-two articles of peace, agreed upon by commissioners from America, Britain, and France. It acknowledged the United States to be independent, drew the western boundary of the country at the Mississippi River, and guaranteed that creditors on both sides could collect debts owed them in sterling money.
4. The final, official peace treaty—the Treaty of Paris—was signed on September 2, 1783.

5. As in the treaty that ended the Seven Years' War, no article in this treaty recognized the Indians as players in the conflict and Indian lands were assigned to the victors as though they were uninhabited; although Britain conceded defeat, the Indians did not.
6. With the treaty finally signed, the British began their evacuation of New York, Charleston, and Savannah, a process complicated by the sheer numbers involved—soldiers, fearful loyalists, and runaway slaves by the thousands.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 7, the *Questions for Analysis* and *Debate* at the end of the *Documenting the American Promise* feature, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 7.

## Review Questions

1. Why were many Americans reluctant to pursue independence from Britain? (pp. 215–220) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Commitment to hierarchy:* Many colonists were wary of how dissolving relations with the king might affect other aspects of the hierarchical social organization. It was difficult for many to conceive of independence from a king. (p. 215)
- *American vulnerability:* Some colonists feared that severing ties with Britain would leave the colonies vulnerable to attacks by France and Spain. (p. 215)
- *Hope for negotiated resolution:* In 1775, many colonists hoped that negotiation rather than separation could resolve differences between the colonies and the crown. The Second Continental Congress pursued this goal with the Olive Branch Petition. (p. 220)
- *Economic ties to Britain:* Most colonists recognized that revolution carried economic risks, and some whose livelihoods were particularly dependent on British trade remained loyal to the crown. (p. 215)

2. Why did the British exercise restraint in their efforts to defeat the colonies? (p. 225) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *British objectives:* The British desire to regain colonists' loyalty, rather than to conquer them,

contributed to their restrained engagement in the conflict. For example, rather than supplying their armies with plunder, they supplied them from a great distance and at great cost. Britain's task was to restore the old system of government, not effectively destroy the country, and so generals were reluctant to ravage the countryside, confiscate food, and destroy towns. (p. 225)

- *Confidence in British military superiority:* The well-trained, well-supplied British forces underestimated the inexperienced Continental army. British confidence diminished the sense of urgency they felt in pressing their cause. (p. 225)

- *Assumption that many colonists were loyal:* British military strategy presumed that many colonists remained loyal to the crown and would come to the aid of British troops. (p. 225)

3. How did the patriots promote support for their cause in the colonies? (pp. 228–229, 233) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Penalties for treason:* After the First Continental Congress declared loyalists traitors, state laws established severe punishments for treason, including house arrest, suspension of voting privileges, confiscation of property and deportation for offenses such as supporting the British army, unpatriotic speech, and discouraging enlistment in the Continental army. (p. 233)

- *Grassroots patriotism:* Women's associations such as the Ladies Association of Philadelphia collected money to support Continental soldiers. Committees of correspondence, of public safety, and of inspection helped enforce loyalty. (pp. 228–229)

4. Why did the Americans need assistance from the French to ensure victory? (pp. 232–241) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Poor provisions:* By 1777, profiteering and corruption had undermined the already constrained provisions reaching the Continental army. France helped supply munitions. (pp. 238–240)

- *Military strategy:* France provided skilled military advisers to the inexperienced Continental army. (pp. 240–241)

- *Indian support of the British cause:* The large number of Indians assisting the British, especially in the West, enlarged the Americans' task. The French could assist by disrupting British supply lines. (p. 232)

5. Why did the British southern strategy ultimately fail? (pp. 241–244) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Southern strategy:* Lack of decisive success in New England and the entry of the French into the conflict on the side of the Americans led the British to refocus their attack on the southern colonies. They hoped greater loyalist sentiment there would facilitate

the task of recapturing control and establishing a foundation from which to pursue the middle colonies and New England. (p. 241)

- *Resurgence of patriotic sentiment:* Devastating defeat at Camden, South Carolina, along with outrage at the revelation of Benedict Arnold's treason, helped revive American support for the patriots' cause. Surging loyalty, apparent in the prevalence of guerrilla warfare in the southern colonies, undermined the British strategy of relying on loyal colonists to maintain reconquered territory. (pp. 241–243)

- *French support:* In 1781, the French navy gained control of the Virginia coast, thereby cutting off British naval reinforcements for Cornwallis's army in the decisive Battle of Yorktown. (p. 244)

## Making Connections

1. Even before the colonies had committed to independence, they faced the likelihood of serious military conflict. How did they mobilize for war? In your answer discuss specific challenges they faced, noting any unintended consequences of their solutions. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Challenges of financing war:* To pay for the military build-up, congress issued paper currency, but without gold or silver reserves. The ensuing depreciation of currency contributed to wartime inflation, the rise of black markets, and corruption. (p. 236)

- *Raising an army:* Turning colonial militias into the Continental army required making these informal forces conform to hierarchy and discipline to ensure that troop numbers remained steady, despite the hardships of an extended military engagement. (pp. 218, 220, 223–225)

- *Courting outside support:* Americans benefited greatly from their alliance with France, in the forms of informal aid and later national recognition and naval support. They suffered, however, for their inability to build effective alliances with Indians, many of whom gave support to British troops. (pp. 239–241)

- *Enforcing loyalty:* Americans recognized that military success depended in large part on cultivating and enforcing loyalty. Consequently, the congress and local governments established punishments for colonists who supported the crown. Patriots also formed grassroots organizations, such as the committees of correspondence, to strengthen support for their cause. (pp. 228–229, 233, 236)

2. Congress's adoption of the Declaration of Independence confirmed a major shift in the conflict between the colonies and Britain. Why did the colonies make this decisive break in 1776? In your

answer, discuss some of the arguments for and against independence. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Tensions leading up to the war:* Disputes over taxation and the regulation of trade, the principle of self-governance, and the British occupation of Boston precipitated the crisis between the colonies and the crown. (p. 215; *see also chapter 6*)

- *Arguments of proponents of reconciliation:* Many colonists thought the risks of separation outweighed the potential benefits. Some were wary that denying the legitimacy of the monarchy might undermine the hierarchies that organized colonial life. Many also feared the economic risks of severing ties, given the importance of commerce with Great Britain. Some also feared that the colonies would fall to aggression of other European powers without British support. (pp. 215, 218)

- *Arguments of proponents of independence:* Thomas Paine articulated a compelling case for independence in his pamphlet, *Common Sense*, by critiquing monarchy and promoting republican government. After considerable negotiation, congress adopted the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776, endorsing its account of the rights of colonists and the wrongs of the king. (pp. 220–222)

- *Proximate causes:* The ongoing military occupation in Massachusetts and the king's rejection of the Olive Branch Petition made reconciliation look impossible by fall 1775. (pp. 218, 220; *see also chapter 6*)

3. The question of whether colonists' loyalty would be to the new government or to the old king was crucial during the Revolutionary War. Discuss the importance of loyalty to the outcome of the conflict. In your answer, consider both military and political strategy. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Importance of loyalty in shaping British military strategy:* The war objective of regaining colonists' loyalty lessened the intensity of the British military offensive, including Britain's decision to rely on distant supply sources instead of commandeering supplies from colonists. (p. 225)

- *Importance of loyalty in shaping British political strategy:* The expectation that the presence of loyalists would ease the task of maintaining reconquered territory was central to southern strategy and contributed to its ultimate failure. (p. 225)

- *Importance of loyalty to patriots' military cause:* Americans depended on citizens to fill the ranks of the army, despite deferred payment through land grant certificates. These challenges increased the importance of popular efforts to promote loyalty, for example through the Ladies' Association of Philadelphia. George Washington and others in the Continental army suggested the risks of disloyalty to the military effort when they complained that disloyalty and

corruption were compromising the provision of supplies. (pp. 223–225, 228–229, 238)

- *Importance of loyalty to domestic colonial governance:* The efforts of the congress and local governments to ensure loyalty through patriot committees and the punishment of loyalists illustrates the value placed on ensuring consistent political support. (pp. 228–229)

4. American colonists and British soldiers were not the only participants in the Revolutionary War. Discuss the role of Native Americans in the war. How did they shape the conflict? What benefits did they hope to gain? Did they succeed? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Longstanding territorial conflicts between Indians and colonists:* The colonists cited the king's mobilization of Indians in frontier warfare in their list of grievances. Indians hoped that they might use the conflict between the British and the colonists to advance, or at least protect existing, claims to the land. Tribes differed on the question of which side offered the best prospects for protecting their interests. For example, tribe leader Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea) lent Mohawk support to British troops and fought Oneida Indians who supported the Americans in the battles at Oriskany and Fort Stanwix. (p. 232)

• *Hardship suffered:* The impossibility of neutrality contributed to vicious fighting in the West, including destructive raids in Mohawk Valley and Ohio Valley. Indians suffered greatly from American raids. (p. 239)

- *Failure of Continental Army to protect Indians aiding their cause:* Violence, including the murder of friendly Shawnee chiefs, Cornstalk and Red Hawk, undermined Americans' limited efforts to form alliances with Indians. (p. 239)

• *Indians strengthened British cause:* American brutality led most Indians to side with the British, which bolstered their ranks. (p. 239)

- *Failure of Treaty of Paris to address claims of the Indians:* Despite the important role Indians played in the conflict both as soldiers and as claimants in disputes over territory, the Treaty of Paris did not address their claims. The British did not protect Indian claims to land in negotiating peace with the Americans, leading many Indians to flee west. Conflict with Americans would continue for decades to come. (p. 246)

### Documenting the American Promise: Families Divide over the Revolution (pp. 234–235)

1. Why was Mary Almy "cut to the soul" by the remarks of her sons? She was frightened for her husband's safety. Was she also angry with him? Why or why not? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Source of pain in boys' remarks:* When Almy's daughters worry that the French and American troops will hurt them, her sons whisper "Who do you think will hurt you? Ain't your papa coming with them?" which implies that they think loyalists like their mother are the dangerous people, and that the French and American troops should be welcomed. Almy is hurt that her sons are siding with their father and not her.

- *Sources of Mary Almy's anger with her husband:* Almy is definitely afraid for her husband's safety and angry with him that he is not there to help and support her during the French/American siege of Newport. She is also angry that he supports a cause and a group that she finds abhorrent.

2. What did Benjamin Franklin mean by the emphasized words "*Natural Duties*"? Do you think Franklin really believed that his son was entitled to his own political opinions on the Revolutionary War? What factors help explain why William remained loyal to the crown? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Franklin's meaning behind "natural duties":* Franklin is referring to the "natural" duties of sons to remain loyal to their fathers and especially, probably, the natural duties of sons not to take up arms against their fathers.

- *Franklin's real opinions about his son's loyalty:* Although Franklin's letter makes some effort at conciliation, it is full of thinly veiled criticism of his son, revealing that he thinks William did the wrong thing by siding with the British and that he is still angry about it.

- *Reasons for William's loyalty:* William remained loyal because of his strong sense of duty to the king and his ideas about what regard for his country required.

3. Why did the Oneida warrior believe that his brother deserved death? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Siding with the enemy:* The Oneida warrior first suggests that his brother had a choice about which side to join and that, even though he begged his brother to join his side, his brother chose the opposition.

- *Betrayal of his people:* Second, he suggests that not only did his brother join the wrong side, but that he led his chosen allies to the Indians' homes.

- *Colluding in the deaths of other Indians:* Finally, the warrior suggests that, because he sided with the rebels, his brother is responsible for the deaths of many Indians and therefore merits death himself.

### Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Death of Jane McCrea (p. 238)

**Reading the Image:** How does this artist portray McCrae? How does he portray the Indians? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *McCrae:* The painter clearly portrays her as a victim rather than as a traitor to the patriot cause. Kneeling with her throat exposed to the Indians who restrain her, she has no power and thus no realistic possibility of acting for either good or evil. She is also quite sexualized in this image, with her dress exposing her chest and the raised hem of her dress exposing undergarments which, again, villainizes the role of the Indians.

- *The Indians:* These characters are portrayed as powerful, heartless, and predatory. Their nearly naked bodies are heavily muscled; in concurrence with the sexuality of McCrae's pose, they suggest the possibility of a sexual attack as well as a murder. This suggestion, combined with the violence of the poised tomahawk and the pulling of her hair to expose her throat, heightens the sense of viciousness faced by the defenseless young woman.

**Connections:** Had McCrae been a man, her flight would have been traitorous. Why this different treatment of a woman? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Gender roles:* The treatment of McCrae as a victim rather than a traitor suggests a lack of power for women in American society. As the text notes, many Americans of this period viewed women as "political blank slates," or beings incapable of exerting political or social independence.

- *Patriotism:* By accentuating the weakness of McCrae, the painter heightens the viciousness of the attack by the Iroquois, who are allied with the British against the patriots. The suggestion is that the forces aligned against the revolutionary cause during this era were both powerful and vicious, which makes the American victory even more impressive and justified, thus providing a cause for celebrating the founding of the nation that was still relatively new when this painting was created in 1804. Also, it is clear that McCrae's status as a loyalist did not save her from her untimely death. Both Loyalists and Patriots were equally at risk of attack and therefore the Indians became a common enemy for all colonists during the Revolutionary Era.

### "The Ballance of Power," 1780 (p. 245)

**Reading the Image:** What does the cartoon reveal about the British perceptions of the American Revolution? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Perceptions of the Revolution:* The cartoon suggests that the British believed that their European

enemies had deceived Americans into rebellion in order to advance their own base interests. The image also indicates that Britain will win the war because it is a strong and virtuous nation that still commands the loyalty of Americans. The cartoon makes these points in several ways. The figures representing France and Spain are dressed in aristocrats' clothes and stand above a despondent Indian woman who signifies America. The French and Spanish appear to be leading the opposition, not the Americans. The corrupt intentions of Britain's European enemies are expressed by the Dutch boy who says he will "do anything for money." To reinforce the point that European intrigue, rather than the popular sentiments of Americans, caused the Revolution, the caption below the cartoon begins by claiming that America had been "duped by a treacherous train." The artist alludes to Americans' loyalty by having the Indian maiden express remorse for her "ingratitude," a reference to the Revolution. She also believes that Britain's conduct in the Revolution is just punishment—that it is deserved. To illustrate the righteousness of Britain's cause, the British artist depicts his nation as a strong, classical woman who embodies steadfast virtue. To show that America's true loyalty is to Britain, the caption promises that Americans will turn on their false friends and "will with Britons unite" to share in "mutual delight."

**Connections:** How did British attitudes toward the colonies contribute to British defeat in the war? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Underestimating the colonies:* The British dismissed the idea that the Revolution enjoyed the support of most Americans. Instead, as the cartoon "The Ballance of Power" suggests, Britons thought that the Revolution was the work of a few colonial conspirators and Britain's European enemies. Associated with this impression of colonial loyalty was the British conviction that their colonial polices were wise and just. Because the British government believed that the grievances of the colonists were fictions created to delude the masses into rebellion, Britain did little after 1775 to change its policies in ways that would win back American allegiance. British faith that most colonists were loyal British subjects consistently led British commanders to miscalculate in their campaigns. Lord Cornwallis's Southern campaign of 1780–1781 was the most disastrous example of such miscalculations. Cornwallis marched through the southern backcountry hoping to find loyalists who would join his army. Although a few loyalists did emerge, Cornwallis's campaign energized a much larger number of patriots to take up arms against him. Unable to support his army in the southern interior, where Cornwallis had hoped to find friends, Cornwallis marched to Yorktown

where he hoped to be supplied by the British navy. It was at Yorktown where the British effort to recapture the colonies ended in failure.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 7.1 The War in the North, 1775–1778 (p. 226)

**Reading the Map:** Which general's troops traveled the farthest in each of these years: 1775, 1776, and 1777? How did the availability of water routes affect British and American strategies?

- *Troop movements during the American Revolution:* American general Arnold's troops appear to have traveled the farthest in 1775, moving north from Newburyport into Maine and then into Canada toward Quebec and Trois Rivières. In 1776 and 1777, British General Howe took his troops over the most territory. First, he occupied Boston; then, in 1776, he abandoned the city and occupied the port of New York. He advanced south from New York in 1777 to capture Philadelphia, traveling by sea to a point on the Chesapeake Bay south of Philadelphia. Howe was able to cover so much distance because the British controlled the Atlantic Ocean and major rivers, such as the Saint Lawrence, which supplied Canada. On the other hand, the Americans controlled much of the interior, and that control prevented the British from marching over large amounts of ground without a fight. American land power also required the British to supply themselves via water, which was difficult given that supplies had to originate in Britain or one of its distant colonies. Britain tried to occupy major seaports and expand its control from these points inland. Americans tried to surround British enclaves and harass commanders who tried to occupy the countryside.

**Connections:** Why did the French wait until early 1778 to join American forces against the British? What did they hope to gain from participating in the war?

- *France's Role in the American Revolution:* France delayed its entry into the American Revolution because it was reluctant to support a cause that had little hope of succeeding. The Americans had to win a major battle on their own to prove to France that they might win the war. Such a victory occurred late in 1777 at the battle of Saratoga, where the Americans, commanded by General Gates, defeated a large expeditionary force led by British General Burgoyne. The

American victory at Saratoga showed the French that their investment in the Revolution was worth the risk. For France, a monarchy, supporting the Revolution was a way to harm their longtime rival, Britain, rather than a philosophical cause that the French government supported. The French monarchy opposed the Revolution's premise that governments derived their powers from the consent of the governed and could be overthrown if the people felt their liberties had been abused. Nonetheless, the French monarchy wanted to avenge their losses to Britain in the Seven Years' War and saw a revolution that denied Britain its valuable American colonies as an effective means for achieving that goal.

### Map 7.2 Loyalist Strength and Rebel Support (p. 232)

**Reading the Map:** Which forces were stronger, those loyal to Britain or those rebelling? (Consider the size of their respective areas, centers of population, and vital port locations.) What areas were contested? If the contested areas ultimately sided with the British, how would the balance of power change?

- *Strength of the British forces vs. the Patriot forces:* The patriot forces enjoyed greater overall strength. The rebels dominated almost all of New England, including Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. They also held most of Delaware, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the coastal areas of the southern colonies. The British, by way of contrast, had isolated pockets of strength within several of the colonies, often centered around urban areas. For example, New York City was a loyalist stronghold, as were Newport, Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, and even Philadelphia, where the Second Continental Congress met for much of the war.

- *Contested Areas:* There were a few contested areas, mostly coastal or far inland, along the Appalachian Mountains. The coastal regions of North Carolina and South Carolina, for instance, firmly were patriot, but, about halfway inland, the areas became contested. New Jersey was fought over, as were parts of Maryland and a bit of western Virginia. Unlike the rest of solidly patriotic New England, Vermont did not firmly favor independence from Great Britain.

If the contested areas had sided firmly with the British, they would have been able to move outside of their urban bases in those colonies. It probably would have helped their overall supply situation: One problem the British encountered repeatedly was that they could not venture into the countryside to get food. The patriots still would have commanded the allegiance of a greater swathe of territory. However, the British would have received a definite strategic

advantage if they could have swung contested regions in their favor.

**Connections:** Who was more likely to be a loyalist, and why? How many loyalists left the United States? Where did they go?

- *Loyalists during the war:* Loyalists were people who had ties to the British empire. In some cases, those ties were ideological or cultural, such as people who believed that hierarchy kept society together; in the case of royal officials and merchants involved in transatlantic trade, loyalist sentiments were based primarily on financial concerns. Those who felt themselves to be outsiders to American colonial culture were drawn to loyalism as well. Indians, for instance, saw the British government as a hedge between themselves and land-hungry colonists. Black slaves in the South had no reason to support an independence that did not affect their own status. In the South, back-country farmers resented the political dominance of the lowlands gentry who were identified closely with the Revolution.

- *Destinations of Loyalists fleeing North America:* Over 35,000 loyalists fled the United States over the course of the war. Between 7,000 and 8,000 relocated to England; another 28,000 emigrated to Canada. Others tried to remain in the United States but often were hurt by the British practice of invading and then abandoning colonies, leaving loyalists exposed to retaliation from patriots.

## Lecture Strategies

See also the maps and images for presentation in “Additional Resources for Chapter 7.”

### LECTURE 1

#### *Indecision in the Early War*

Although an intellectual revolution in colonial attitudes toward Great Britain had been taking place since the 1760s, many Americans were uncertain about declaring absolute independence from England in the earliest part of the war. In this lecture, explain that the fighting began and a military commander was appointed before independence was actually declared. Such actions in 1775 did not convince the king that the Continental Congress’s peace overtures were sincere. Here, cover the twin but contradictory goals of the Second Continental Congress.

The most momentous force for intellectual revolution came from publication of the pamphlet *Common Sense*. Discuss how *Common Sense* altered the intellectual landscape by changing the focal point of anger

from the king’s ministers to the king himself. Ask students to describe Thomas Paine’s motives for publishing the pamphlet. You will also want to explore how colonists received *Common Sense*. You might want to have students compare *Common Sense* with the Declaration of Independence. Have them consider the purposes of these two documents and the intended audiences. Then, have students discuss the different rhetorical strategies employed in the two documents. Put an end to the misconception that the patriot movement was united for independence from the start; but make clear that once independence was declared, everyone understood the significance of what the patriots had done. At this point, you might direct students in a discussion of the “promise” of American independence. Ask students what independence meant to the patriots. What did they hope to gain?

### LECTURE 2

#### *The Home Front*

This lecture should have two themes: (1) The American Revolution was a social as well as a political revolution, and (2) the war imposed real hardships on people for their political beliefs.

To drive home the first theme, describe the world of the American Revolution as one in which the old social hierarchies came under attack. In the midst of this civil war, Americans redefined their society. Sometimes, members of the traditional elite continued as the social and political leaders; at other times, new men without established social standing were elected to lead their communities. Without a king at the top of a social hierarchy, the whole social order was called into question. Who would rule and by what justification? The Virginians knew that mere wealth would not be sufficient to allow the elite to receive traditional deference from their social inferiors. Society had to become more egalitarian for free white males. But it did not necessarily follow that this new leveling applied to women, blacks, or Native Americans. Note the ways in which these groups participated in the war, and then ask your students to consider how society remained unaltered for these socially dependent groups. The feature *Documenting the American Promise: “Families Divide Over the Revolution”* might be useful to reinforce this point.

The second theme depicts a society changed as a result of the process of waging war. Committees ran local government without any higher justification for their own existence. One’s local opponents could be arrested, imprisoned, exiled, or executed. Neighbors fought neighbors and confiscated their property. Men had to examine the legal status of women to determine how to deal with the wives and daughters of their opponents. The uncommitted and the pacifists were

suspected as enemies and profiteers because they did not actively support the cause. Real profiteering took place with price fixing, inflation from unsupported Continental currency, and a brisk black market. Patriot Americans came to doubt the virtue of the people engaged in the war effort on their own side.

Finally, get students to consider the loyalist perspective on the war and how loyalists were abused both by the patriots and the British army. You may want to ask your students how many Americans opposed the Revolution and remained loyal to the crown. Explain that at least 90,000 people chose to emigrate following the war and that many more probably wanted to leave but were unable to do so. Also, ask why people chose to remain loyalists during the war. The textbook indicates that a desire for social stability was one of the primary motivating factors for loyalty to the crown and that many loyalists believed that local government was full of petty tyrants who had a more direct impact on their lives than the so-called tyranny of a distant king. To show students where the main areas of loyalist support were, refer them to Map 7.2, “Loyalist Strength and Rebel Support” (p. 232). You might want to end this lecture by reviewing the ways in which patriots defined traitorous acts and the punishments levied for these offenses.

## LECTURE 3

### *The Military Campaigns*

Use this lecture to help students make sense of the military strategies of the American Revolution. Take the students from Bunker Hill to Yorktown, and focus on the essentials rather than on the details of the many campaigns. Map 7.1, “The War in the North, 1775–1778” (p. 226), and Map 7.3, “The Indian War in the West, 1777–1781” (p. 240), are particularly helpful in demonstrating military campaigns. Show that the war was long and difficult for the American revolutionaries as they fought against the world’s best-equipped army. At this point, you might want to have students review the feature *The Promise of Technology: “Arming the Soldiers: Muskets and Rifles”* (pp. 216–217), and have students consider whether soldiers on the American side of the war were combat-ready. Note that George Washington was appointed commander for political reasons rather than for his military abilities, and he rushed to Massachusetts to direct and train the militias that surrounded Boston in the aftermath of the Battle of Bunker Hill. The Continental army forced the British to evacuate Boston but then lost its offensive into Canada and its defense of New York and retreated to Philadelphia at the end of 1776. From there, discuss the general British strategy of isolating New England, the radical hotbed of the Revolution, from the rest of the colonies. Make a special note

of the importance of Saratoga in formally bringing the French into the war. Discuss the role of King George III in formulating British military strategy; then show the shift to a southern strategy that ultimately failed because the real battles were won in the backcountry by partisan guerrilla fighters, rather than in traditional battles fought by the armies. Make the point that although the British occupied every major city in the colonies, their occupation had little real effect. After Yorktown, the military battles ended in North America as France continued to fight Britain on other fronts. After two years of diplomatic maneuvering, the British finally offered the Americans all they wanted and more, which convinced them to sign a separate treaty without waiting for the French to make peace. In the end, the Americans did not really “win” the war so much as the British failed to pursue it with a winning strategy. Consider ending this lecture with a discussion of gun ownership in the colonies. Ask students to consider the logistical problems faced by colonists who needed to gear up for the Revolution. What were the implications of an unarmed nation at war?

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. The Patriots Were a United Group Determined to Achieve Independence

The revolutionaries were a mixed group with many agendas at the beginning. Many wanted reconciliation with England that would create an autonomous position for the colonies within the empire, much like the commonwealth countries of today. Even when they agreed on the need for independence, patriots disagreed on the reasons for independence. New England wanted independence because of its extended confrontation with England and the imposition of the Coercive Acts. Virginia promoted independence to gain freedom from debts owed to British merchants. Finally, make the point that although all agreed on the need for military buildup, few outside New England would commit to an offensive posture until they were forced by the British.

### 2. The Loyalists Were Self-Serving and Short-sighted

Students rarely consider the loyalists. The Revolutionary War, according to most, was fought by the British army (and mercenaries) and the Continental army of the United States. If they think about loyalists at all, they think of them as the few government employees in America—the tax collectors, customs agents, royal governors, and so forth. To counter such beliefs, it is important to make the loyalists real to students. Discuss why common people were loyalists. Remind them of the folks who lived in the Carolina backcountry, for example, and review the reasons why they

tended to support the British. You might also want to have students speculate about why most Indian tribes backed the British. Ask students how many people chose to leave the independent colonies rather than live without a king. The loyalists obviously did not know the revolutionaries would win, and they suffered great hardships at the hands of their patriot neighbors just as patriots suffered at the hands of their loyalist neighbors.

### 3. The American Revolution Was Short, Painless, and Won by American Fortitude

Lasting from 1775 to 1783, the American war for independence was lengthy by the standards of its day and in relation to all other wars fought by the United States. Only the Vietnam War was longer for Americans. And the American Revolution caused as much disorder in America as did the U.S. Civil War, if not more. Neighbors killed one another and confiscated or destroyed property. Some merchants profited by the desperation of the public by charging higher prices.

By 1783, the British public was clearly unhappy with the war, and Parliament voted to bring the conflict to a speedy conclusion. Britain failed to prosecute the war because it sought not only to conquer the colonies but also to reintegrate them into the empire. Hence, political objectives limited military tactics, while incompetence weakened the military's ability to carry forward a winning strategy.

Finally, make sure students understand the crucial role France played in the war by supplying soldiers, equipment, training, and an effective and coordinated land-sea strategy that dealt the British a fatal blow at Yorktown. Americans conducted a revolution without first consulting the French, but the outcome might have been different without France's official and clandestine support.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

Three videos from PBS's *Liberty!* series work well with this chapter. Episode 3, "The Times That Try Men's Souls," picks up the story the day after the signing of the Declaration of Independence and covers the war through the end of 1776. Episode 4, "Oh Fatal Ambition!" touches on America's efforts to enlist the aid of the French and details Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga, providing the evidence of American ability that France needed before committing to the patriots' cause. Episode 5, "The World Turned Upside Down," considers British efforts to exploit the contradiction inherent in America's efforts to fight a war in the name of liberty while also justifying slavery. The episode also covers Britain's southern policy, its defeat at Yorktown,

and the signing of the Paris peace treaty. You may also want to consider showing "Revolution, 1750–1805," the second episode from the PBS series *Africans in America*, which examines the influence of revolutionary ideology on American slaveholding and the ways in which slaves used that ideology to their advantage.

### Class Discussion Starters

Most of your students will be unfamiliar with the war in the West. Have students review the textbook's discussion of the war in Indian country, and ask them if this information compels them to reassess the patriots. You might want to launch into a broader discussion of how historians interpret "new" or conflicting evidence and revise narrative accounts of the past.

### Historical Debates

You may want to have students debate whether the war for American independence was a radical or conservative revolution. Consider assigning the Historians at Work Series volume *What Did the Declaration Declare?*, edited by Joseph J. Ellis, to help them understand the historical trends and influences that shaped the drafting of the Declaration of Independence.

### Reading Primary Sources

Have students read the feature *Documenting the American Promise*: "Families Divide Over the Revolution" (pp. 234–235). Ask them what these documents suggest about the reasons people within the same families took different sides during the Revolution. Ask them what the documents tell us about the hierarchical structures that operated within families. To what degree, if any, did the war lead people to re-evaluate those hierarchical structures along with their reevaluation of other forms of hierarchy? How do these documents change their perceptions about the actions and activities of the patriots during the war?

## Additional Resources for Chapter 7

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 7 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 7.1: The War in the North, 1775–1778  
(p. 226)
- Map 7.2: Loyalist Strength and Rebel Support  
(p. 232)

- Map 7.3: The Indian War in the West, 1778–1782 (p. 240)
- Map 7.4: The War in the South, 1780–1781 (p. 242)
- Global Comparison: How Tall Were Eighteenth-Century Men on Average? (p. 224)
- George Washington’s Camp Chest (p. 219)
- “The Swamp Fox” of South Carolina (p. 243)

### Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 7 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 7.1: The War in the North, 1775–1778 (p. 226)
- Map 7.2: Loyalist Strength and Rebel Support (p. 232)
- Map 7.3: The Indian War in the West, 1778–1782 (p. 240)
- Map 7.4: The War in the South, 1780–1781 (p. 242)
- Global Comparison: How Tall Were Eighteenth-Century Men on Average? (p. 224)
- Death of Jane McCrea (p. 238)
- “The Balance of Power,” 1780 (p. 245)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 7 include:

- “*Common Sense*” and Related Writings by Thomas Paine, edited with an introduction by Thomas P. Slaughter
- *Benjamin and William Franklin: Father and Son, Patriot and Loyalist*, by Sheila L. Skemp
- *What Did the Declaration Declare?*, edited by Joseph J. Ellis

## For Students

### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 7 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- Thomas Paine Makes the Case for Independence: *Common Sense*, January 1776
- Letters of John and Abigail Adams: *Correspondence*, 1776
- George Washington Seeks Congressional Support for Continental Army, *George Washington to John Hancock, President, Continental Congress*, September 24, 1776
- Boston King Seeks Freedom by Running Away to the British Army: *Memoir*, 1798
- Joseph Brant Appeals to British Allies to Keep Promises: *Address to British Secretary of State Lord Germain*, 1776; *Message to Governor of Quebec*, Frederick Haldimand, 1783

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 7:

### Map Activities

- Map 7.1: The War in the North, 1775–1778 (p. 226)
- Map 7.2: Loyalist Strength and Rebel Support (p. 232)

### Visual Activities

- Death of Jane McCrea (p. 238)
- “The Balance of Power,” 1780 (p. 245)

### Reading Historical Documents Activity

- Families Divide over the Revolution (pp. 234–235)

# Building a Republic

## 1775–1789

### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. What concerns did delegates to the Second Continental Congress have about issues of sovereignty, representation, taxation, and citizenship, and how did these concerns shape the Articles of Confederation?
2. What role did state governments play under the Articles of Confederation? How did different state governments define citizenship and handle the issue of slavery?
3. What were the major issues confronting the new United States during the 1781 to 1788 period? How did the Articles of Confederation limit the government's ability to solve these problems?
4. How did the U.S. Constitution come into existence? What was the debate over the Virginia Plan and the New Jersey Plan, and how was it reconciled? What was the Constitution's position on slavery?
5. Who were the Federalists and the Antifederalists, and what were their different visions for the federal and state governments?
6. By what process was the U.S. Constitution ratified? How did its proponents secure ratification, and why did some people oppose ratification?
2. Delegates agreed on key governmental powers but disagreed about the extent of congressional authority to define the western boundaries of the states.
3. Congress tinkered with the Articles of Confederation for more than a year; the final version emerged in November 1777, defining the Union as a loose confederation of sovereign states.
4. The structure of the confederation government paralleled that of the existing Second Continental Congress.
5. Routine decisions in the congress required a simple majority of seven states; for momentous powers, such as declaring war, nine states needed to agree; to approve or amend the Articles required the unanimous consent of both the thirteen state delegations and the thirteen state legislatures.
6. The Articles provided an ingenious but ultimately troublesome solution to the question of raising revenue to finance the war: Each state was to contribute in proportion to the property value of the state's land.
7. The lack of centralized authority in the confederation government was exactly what many state leaders wanted in the late 1770s.
8. The requirement for unanimous approval stalled the acceptance of the Articles for five years, because of disputes over claims on western lands.
- B. Running the New Government
  1. No fanfare greeted the long-awaited inauguration of the new government.

2. State legislatures were slow to select delegates, appointees were often reluctant to attend, and absenteeism was a constant problem.
  3. Also, many politicians preferred to serve in state governments.
  4. To address the difficulties of an inefficient congress, executive departments of war, finance, and foreign affairs were created to handle purely administrative functions.
- II. The Sovereign States**
- A. The State Constitutions
1. In May 1776, the Second Continental Congress recommended that all states draw up constitutions based on “the authority of the people.”
  2. A shared feature of all the state constitutions was the conviction that the government ultimately rests on the consent of the governed and exists to promote the people’s welfare.
  3. Widespread agreement about the virtues of republicanism went hand in hand with the idea that republics could succeed only in relatively small, local units.
  4. Nearly all of the state constitutions severely limited the powers and terms of the governor.
  5. Most states made their lower houses responsive to popular majorities, with annual elections and guaranteed rotation in office.
  6. Six of the state constitutions included bills of rights—lists of basic individual liberties that governments could not abridge.
- B. Who Are “the People”?
1. Government officials had to define who met the requirements of citizenship and how far the principle of democratic government extended.
  2. The idea prevailed everywhere that the propertied classes were the only legitimate participants in government.
  3. Property qualifications disfranchised one-fourth to one-half of adult white males and this policy was for the most part widely accepted; opponents of this policy often argued against the notion that owning property made men good citizens.
  4. Another exclusion from voting—women—was so ingrained that very few stopped to question it.
  5. Only three states bothered to specify that voters had to be male, so powerful was the unspoken assumption that only men could vote.
6. Questions existed over whether women and free blacks who met property qualifications should be allowed to vote; New Jersey enfranchised property-owning women and free blacks until 1807 when a new state law specifically disfranchised them.
  7. In the 1780s, voting everywhere was class-specific.
- C. Equality and Slavery
1. Restrictions on political participation did not mean that propertyless people enjoyed no civil rights and liberties.
  2. Various state bills of rights applied to all individuals who had “enter[ed] into a state of society.”
  3. Legislators, however, had to decide whether slaves could enter into civil society; most states’ constitutions exempted slaves from the protections included in their bills of rights.
  4. The ideals of the Revolution about natural equality and liberty presented some challenges to the institution of slavery.
  5. Northern enslaved blacks challenged their bondage by petitioning state legislatures, asking for their natural right to freedom.
- D. Legal Changes to Slavery, 1777–1804
1. Several slaves in Massachusetts won their freedom in the courts in the 1780s and by 1789 slavery had been effectively abolished by judicial decision in that state.
  2. Pennsylvania ended slavery by issuing a statute in 1780 providing for gradual emancipation; the state fully abolished slavery in 1847.
  3. Pennsylvania slaves did not always wait for legal emancipation but ran away from their owners and claimed freedom; by 1790 free blacks outnumbered slaves in Pennsylvania by nearly a factor of two.
  4. Rhode Island and Connecticut adopted gradual emancipation laws in 1784; New York did so in 1799, and New Jersey followed suit in 1804.
  5. Republican government protected people’s liberties and property, yet slaves were both people and property; gradual emancipation balanced the civil rights of blacks and the property rights of their owners by delaying freedom.
  6. Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, where slavery was vital to the economy, rejected emancipation bills but allowed individual acts of emancipation for adult slaves under age forty-five; by 1790 10,000 newly

- freed Virginia slaves lived in free black communities.
7. In the deep South, freedom for slaves was unthinkable, yet several thousand had defected to the British during the war and subsequently shipped out of Charleston and Savannah, destined for freedom; Britain also evacuated several thousand other freed slaves from New York in 1783.
  8. Emancipation's symbolic importance in the North was enormous but the South continued to be closely associated with slavery.

### III. The Confederation's Problems

#### A. Financial Chaos and Paper Money

1. Seven years of war produced a chaotic economy in the 1780s and the confederation government found itself in a terrible financial fix.
2. The congress appointed Robert Morris superintendent of finance, charging him with remedying the confederation's economic problems.
3. Robert Morris's first proposal, a 5 percent import tax, had no legal basis under the Articles of Confederation and required a constitutional amendment and unanimous agreement; because Rhode Island and New York refused to agree to the tax, unanimous agreement proved impossible.
4. Morris's next idea was the creation of a private bank, the Bank of North America, which would hold the government's hard money and private deposits, providing it with short-term loans; Congress voted to approve the bank in 1781.
5. The Bank of North America had limited success in curing the confederation's economic woes and Congress allowed its charter to expire in 1786.

#### B. The Treaty of Fort Stanwix

1. Indians had not been party to the Peace of Paris of 1783, so the Confederation government planned for U.S. commissioners and Iroquois nation representatives to meet at Fort Stanwix, New York in October 1784 to negotiate a formal treaty to end hostilities and secure U.S. rights to western lands.
2. New York, trying to maintain its own claims on western land, asserted that Iroquois Indians were New York Indians who should only negotiate with the state of New York, and called its own treaty meeting with the Iroquois at Fort Stanwix in September.

3. Indian chiefs sent deputies without real negotiating power to the September meeting, so it failed to produce a treaty.
4. Six hundred Indians attended the October treaty meeting with U.S. commissioners who brought 100 New Jersey militiamen as back-up security.
5. American demands included return of prisoners of war; recognition of the confederation's right to negotiate, rather than individual states; and cession of a strip of Indian land from Fort Niagara due south, which established that the U.S. held territory adjacent to the border with Canada.
6. The Indians balked but ultimately signed the treaty and also accepted \$5,000 to release most of the Seneca's claim to the Ohio Valley.
7. Months later the Iroquois and other Indians not at the meeting tried to disavow the Treaty of Fort Stanwix as a document signed under coercion, but the U.S. confederation government ignored their complaints and began to survey and develop western territories.
8. New York leaders understood that the confederation government's strained finances and stretched leadership limited its power to implement the treaty terms, so they quietly began surveying and selling the very land they had failed to secure from the Indians in September.
9. People saw this as another sign that confederation government was insecure and that ambitious states had the potential to undermine it.

#### C. Land Ordinances and the Northwest Territory

1. The Continental Congress appointed Thomas Jefferson to draft a policy for handling the national domain.
2. Jefferson proposed dividing the Northwest Territory into ten new states, with land given rather than sold to settlers, thereby encouraging rapid and democratic settlement and avoiding a speculative frenzy.
3. Congress adopted parts of Jefferson's plan in the Ordinance of 1784, but rejected land giveaways and the prohibition of slavery in the ten new states.
4. A year later, the congress refined and revised the land act to set up procedures for surveying, mapping, and selling the land.

5. The Ordinance of 1785 called for dividing the land into three to five states and decreed that land sales would occur by public auction; the minimum price was set at one dollar an acre, but market forces could drive up the prices of more desirable land.
  6. Two further restrictions applied: Land was to be sold in minimum parcels of 640 acres each, and payment had to be in hard money or in certificates of debt.
  7. These restrictions meant that the land's first owners would be prosperous speculators, many of whom would hold the land for resale rather than inhabiting it, thereby avoiding direct contact with the Indians who claimed the land as their own.
  8. A third land act, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, went well beyond the first two to specify the exact mechanism by which settled territories would advance to statehood in the same manner as the original states.
  9. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 ensured that the new United States would not itself become a colonial power with respect to white citizens, and it allowed for the successful and orderly expansion of the United States across the continent in the century to come.
  10. The ordinance acknowledged the presence of Indians in the Northwest Territory and promised to deal with them in good faith, but that promise was not generally honored in the decades to come.
  11. Jefferson's original suggestion to prohibit slavery in the Northwest Territory resurfaced in the 1787 ordinance, and it passed this time without debate.
  12. The prohibition of slavery in the Northwest Territory perpetuated the dynamic of gradual emancipation in the North; North–South sectionalism, based on slavery, was slowly taking shape.
- D. Shays's Rebellion, 1786–1787
1. In the 1780s, the confederation looked to the states to contribute revenue voluntarily, but struggling with their own war debts, most state legislatures were reluctant to tax their constituents too heavily.
  2. Massachusetts, however, wanted to retire its state debt by raising taxes, insisting that they be paid in hard money.
  3. Farmers in western Massachusetts petitioned against the oppressive taxation and, when they were ignored, called for revisions to the state constitution to promote democracy, eliminate the elite upper house, and move the capital farther west in the state.
4. Still unheard, the dissidents targeted the most visible symbol of state authority in their regions, the county courts, forcing them to close their doors until the state constitution was revised.
  5. The governor of Massachusetts, who had once organized protests against British taxes, now characterized the western dissidents as illegal rebels and vilified the chief leader, Daniel Shays.
  6. Members of the Continental Congress grew worried that the situation in Massachusetts was spinning out of control and attempted to bolster the federal army with new recruits; Governor Bowdoin raised a private army of some 3,000 soldiers, paying them with bounties provided by wealthy and fearful Boston merchants.
  7. The insurgents failed to capture a federal armory in Springfield, and more than a thousand dissidents were rounded up and jailed; two were executed for rebellion.
  8. Shays's Rebellion caused leaders throughout the country to worry whether the confederation could handle problems of civil disorder.
- IV. The United States Constitution**
- A. From Annapolis to Philadelphia
1. The Virginians, led by James Madison, convinced the congress to allow a meeting of delegates at Annapolis, Maryland, in September 1786 to try again to revise the trade regulation powers spelled out in the Articles.
  2. Delegates from only five states showed up, and they rescheduled the meeting for Philadelphia in May 1787.
  3. Congress reluctantly endorsed the Philadelphia meeting and tried to limit its scope to revising the Articles of the Confederation.
  4. The fifty-five men who assembled in Philadelphia were generally wealthy white men, primarily lawyers, who had served in the confederation congress and knew its strengths and weaknesses.
- B. The Virginia and New Jersey Plans
1. The convention worked in secrecy, so the men could freely explore alternatives

- without fear that their honest opinions would come back to haunt them.
2. The Virginia delegation first laid out a fifteen-point plan, the Virginia Plan which was a total repudiation of the principle of a confederation of states, nearly eliminating the voices of smaller states by linking representation to population.
  3. In mid-June, delegates from small states unveiled an alternative proposal, the New Jersey Plan, which echoed many features from the Articles but departed from them significantly by giving sweeping powers to the congress in which each state would have one vote.
  4. For two weeks, delegates debated the two plans, focusing on the key issue of representation until they agreed to the Great Compromise, which produced the basic structural features of the emerging United States Constitution.
  5. Representation by population turned out to be an ambiguous concept and, once subjected to rigorous discussion, the congress ultimately agreed upon the compromise known as the three-fifths clause: All free persons plus “three-fifths of all other Persons” would constitute the numerical base for the apportionment of representations.
  6. Using the phrase “all other Persons” as a substitute for “slaves” indicates the discomfort delegates felt in acknowledging the existence of slavery in the Constitution.
  7. Slavery was nowhere named, but it was recognized, guaranteed, and thereby perpetuated by the U.S. Constitution.
- C. Democracy versus Republicanism
1. The delegates in Philadelphia made a distinction between *democracy* and *republicanism*, terms that were new to the American political vocabulary.
  2. The delegates still favored republican institutions, but they created a government that gave direct voice to the people only in the House and that granted a check on that voice to the Senate, a body of men elected not by direct popular vote but by the state legislatures.
  3. Similarly, the presidency evolved into a powerful office out of the reach of direct democracy.
  4. The framers had developed a far more complex form of federal government than that provided by the Articles of Confederation.
  5. To curb the excesses of democracy, they devised a government with limits and checks on all branches of government.
  6. The convention carefully listed the powers of Congress and the president.
  7. While no one was entirely satisfied with every line, all but three dissenters agreed to sign the Constitution.
- V. **Ratification of the Constitution**
- A. The Federalists
1. To silence critics, proponents of the Constitution sent the document to Congress, which withheld explicit approval but resolved to send it to the states for consideration.
  2. Federalists targeted the states most likely to ratify quickly, to gain momentum; by early 1788, the Federalists achieved ratification in Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Maryland, and South Carolina.
  3. The fight for ratification in Massachusetts was fierce, but in the end, the Federalists won by a very slim margin.
  4. Federalists had secured ratification in eight states; only one more state was needed.
- B. The Antifederalists
1. Antifederalists were a composite group, united mainly in their desire to block the Constitution.
  2. Antifederalists feared that the new government would be too distant from the people, that the elected representatives would always be members of the elite, preventing the congress from truly knowing and communicating with their constituencies.
  3. Federalists, on the other hand, generally agreed that the elite would be elected to office; they wanted power to flow to intelligent, virtuous, public-spirited leaders like themselves and did not envision a government constituted of every class of people.
  4. The most widespread objection to the Constitution was its lack of any guarantees of individual liberties in a bill of rights, like those contained in many state constitutions.
  5. Despite the Federalists’ campaigns in the large states, it was a small state—New Hampshire—that provided the decisive ninth vote for ratification, on June 21, 1788.

- C. The Big Holdouts: Virginia and New York
1. Four states still remained outside the new union: Virginia, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island.
  2. Federalists finally secured ratification in Virginia by proposing twenty specific amendments that the new government would promise to consider.
  3. Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay composed and published eighty-five compelling essays on the new constitution, later republished as *The Federalist Papers*.
  4. At New York's ratifying convention, impassioned debate and lobbying—plus the dramatic news of Virginia's ratification—finally tipped the balance to the Federalists.
  5. It took another year and a half for Antifederalists in North Carolina to come around.
  6. Rhode Island held out until May 1790, and even then it ratified by only a two-vote margin.
  7. In less than twelve months, the U.S. Constitution was both written and ratified.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 8, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 8.

## Review Questions

1. Why was the confederation government's authority so limited? (pp. 253–255) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Disputes over western territorial boundaries:* Disputes over whether colonial-era claims or new congressional authority should determine control of western lands delayed approval of the Articles of Confederation and provided incentives for making the central government weak. (p. 253)

- *Desire to protect individual state's prerogatives:* Measures to achieve this end, including requirements for unanimous approval of the thirteen state delegations and state legislatures to amend the Articles, absence of an executive branch, and a weak

mechanism for taxation, often delayed or prevented action. (p. 253)

- *Greater interest in state governments:* The formation of state governments seemed more important and pressing, diverting interest away from planning, and participating in, the homeless central government. (p. 255)

2. How did states determine who would be allowed to vote? (pp. 255–258) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *State sovereignty:* This principle gave the states the right to determine who should be allowed to vote within their borders. (p. 255)

- *Property-holding requirements:* Most states established property requirements for holding office and voting. These qualifications disfranchised between one-quarter and one-half of all male voters. (p. 256)

- *Gender and race:* Almost all states denied the vote to women and people of color with little comment or discussion. The exception, New Jersey, didn't explicitly disfranchise women and blacks until 1807. (pp. 256–258)

3. Why did farmers in western Massachusetts revolt against the state legislature? (pp. 263–271) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Economic context:* During the Revolutionary War, states and the confederation government had run up enormous debts and the paper currency they had issued had been dramatically devalued. Massachusetts addressed this problem by requiring payment of taxes in hard money rather than cheap paper currency. (pp. 263, 269)

- *Reaction of farmers:* The hard currency policy was very difficult for struggling farmers in the western part of Massachusetts, who protested the tax policy and demanded further democratization of the state legislature. Dissidents occupied local courthouses and demanded revision of the state constitution. (p. 269)

- *Government response:* The governor of Massachusetts rejected their demands and raised a private army to put down the protests as treasonous rebellion. The incident resulted in two executions and sharp restrictions even on repentant participants' liberties. (pp. 270–271)

4. Why did the government proposed by the constitutional convention employ multiple checks on each branch? (pp. 273–275) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Participants in the convention:* The men who convened in Philadelphia were committed to strengthening the Articles of Confederation, but there were many others who were wary of granting too much

power to the federal government and had ongoing commitments to preserving the power of state governments. (p. 273)

- *Fear of democratic excesses:* The elite participants in the congress feared democratic disorder, which they perceived in Shays's rebellion, and wanted to curb the democratic features of the republic, which now seemed to them dangerous. (p. 275)

- *Compromise on principle of representation:* Convention participants sought compromise between the interests of small and large states, particularly on the question of how representation would be determined. The resulting solution—a bicameral legislature with the House apportioned by population and elected by the people, and the Senate apportioned by state and elected by state legislatures. (pp. 274–275)

- *Executive:* The presidency that emerged from the convention was a powerful executive not selected through direct democracy but by an electoral college. The executive could veto Congress, but was also subject to congressional override. (p. 275)

5. Why did Antifederalists oppose the Constitution? (pp. 277–279) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Antifederalists's heterogeneity:* Antifederalists emerged from varied regional and economic groups but shared reservations about the concentration of power in the hands of a large, distant, central government. (p. 277)

- *Regional and class dimensions:* Those who lived in the western, more rural, and noncommercial areas of states worried that the Constitution would strengthen the power of eastern elites. (pp. 277–278)

- *Distrust of antidemocratic measures of the Constitution:* Antifederalists feared that the principles of representation laid out in the Constitution would undermine the close relationship between the people and their elected representatives, which they believed was necessary to republican government. (p. 277)

- *Property and independence of mind:* Political leaders, mostly men of property, held that a relatively high level of property holding ensured that voters would act responsibly to create a government that would protect rights, especially property rights. They believed that without property, citizens could not form independent judgments. (p. 256)

- *Gender, race, and independence of mind:* Outside of property restrictions, many Americans in the new republic held that gender and race restricted citizens' independence of mind. Women, whose property rights disappeared in marriage, were thought to have insufficient independence to participate in voting. Race also appeared to most Americans to be a legitimate basis for restricting voting rights. New Jersey's constitution, which enfranchised all free citizens who possessed over £50 in property without reference to gender or race, stood out for its inclusiveness. In 1807, the state passed a law that explicitly disfranchised both groups. (pp. 256–258)

2. Why did many Revolutionary leaders shaping the government of the new nation begin to find the principle of democracy troubling? How did they attempt to balance democracy with other concerns in the new government? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Concern about containing democracy:* After the revolution, those in power feared the expansion of equality and liberty might be taken to dangerous extremes. For example, it might lead propertyless men and, more outlandishly, women and free blacks to assert equal rights. Even slaves might, and did, protest their position. The self-assertion of some enslaved Americans, free blacks, and women to demand greater rights suggests that their fears were in part grounded in reality. (pp. 256–262; see also chapter 7)

- *Democratic revolts:* The willingness of citizens to challenge a government they thought unjust, for example, in Shays's rebellion, made many propertied elites more interested in finding ways to use a stronger central government to protect their interests. (p. 271)

- *Constitutional Convention:* Participants in the meeting in Philadelphia in 1787 were concerned about perceived weaknesses in the Articles of Confederation. The Articles had attempted to protect democracy by locating power in the hands of the states, requiring consensus for action, and forgoing an executive. These practices contributed to the weakness and inefficiency of the federal government, which the authors of the Constitution tried to reverse. These problems motivated the participants in the Constitutional Convention to create a more effective government that would curb democracy. (pp. 273–275)

- *New government organization:* The organization of the federal government proposed in the Constitution created a strong executive and a bicameral

## Making Connections

1. Leaders in the new nation held that voting should be restricted to citizens who possessed independence of mind. Why? What did they mean by independence of mind? How did this principle limit voters in the early republic? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Commitment to republican government:* In a republic, government depended on the consent of the governed, who in turn had to be closely involved in selecting representatives who would serve the interests of their constituents. (p. 255)

legislature with the House apportioned by population and elected by the people, and the Senate apportioned by state and elected by state legislatures. With the House as the most democratic element of the new government, and a careful system of checks and balances in place, the new federal government was insulated from responding to democracy's quick turns. (pp. 274–275)

3. Twenty-first-century Americans see a profound tension between the revolutionary ideals of liberty and equality, and the persistence of American slavery. Did Americans in the late eighteenth century see a tension? In your answer, be sure to discuss factors that might have shaped varied responses, such as region, race, and class. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Conflicting views:* For some Americans, slavery seemed untenable in the new republic. Many slaves ran away and claimed their freedom. In the decade following the revolution, Massachusetts abolished slavery by judicial decision and other northern states moved toward ending slavery through gradual emancipation. To most Americans, particularly southerners, black freedom and equality were unthinkable. (pp. 259–262)

- *Protests against slavery:* Some slaves, like Quok Walker, successfully used the courts to challenge the legitimacy of their enslavement. Others in jurisdictions less hospitable than Massachusetts simply fled and sought freedom in Canada, England, and Sierra Leone. (pp. 259–260)

- *Actions of state governments:* Some state governments, such as Connecticut and Rhode Island, whose citizens saw a tension between protecting people's liberty and protecting their property, pursued gradual emancipation as a means of balancing property rights of slaveholders with the rights of slaves to be free. Southern states, where slavery was more economically important, did not pursue emancipation beyond easing the way for voluntary emancipation. (pp. 259–262)

- *Continuing racial gap:* Even without the legal incapacities of slavery, free blacks faced discrimination. For example, John and Paul Cuffe, Massachusetts mariners who refused to pay their taxes because they were not allowed to vote, were jailed for tax evasion, but their petition for suffrage for taxpaying free blacks in the state eventually prevailed. (p. 259)

4. The Northwest Territory was the confederation's greatest asset. Discuss the proposals to manage settlement of the new territory. How did they shape the nation's expansion? Which proposals succeeded and which failed? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Cession of Virginia lands:* To facilitate the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, James Madison arranged for the cession of Virginia's large western

land holdings to get states without western land holdings who favored a national domain policy to ratify. These lands became the Northwest Territory. (pp. 251–252)

- *Jefferson's proposal:* Jefferson wanted to promote rapid and democratic settlement of the land to advance his vision of a nation of freeholders. In the Ordinance of 1784, congress implemented only parts of his grand proposal: the rectangular grid, dividing the land into ten states, and guaranteeing self-governance and eventual statehood. It rejected his proposal to eliminate slavery in the territories and to prevent land speculation by giving the land to settlers with the expectation that taxes on improved land would be compensation enough. (p. 265)

- *Ordinance of 1785:* The ordinance provided for the division of the land into easily mappable squares that would be sold at auction with a large minimum purchase to be paid in hard money or Revolutionary certificates of debts. These provisions ensured that wealthy speculators would purchase the land for resale, delaying confrontation between settlers and Indians who occupied the land and claimed it as their own. (pp. 267–268)

- *Northwest Ordinance of 1787:* This ordinance laid out the process for moving from territory to statehood, which would remain relevant into the next century. It also laid plans for the extension of citizenship rights to free male property holders in the territories. These provisions laid the groundwork for continuing westward expansion of white settlement and the republic. (p. 269)

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Scale of Depreciation (p. 263)

**Reading the Image:** What level of arithmetic and chart-reading skills were required? Notice the handwritten figuring at the bottom of the chart. Do these arithmetical notations and operations look familiar to you? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Skills:* The arithmetic skills needed to effectively decipher the information on this chart may well have exceeded those of the average American farmer or worker. The difficulty was made worse after April 1780 when Massachusetts apparently changed the exchange basis from silver and gold to Spanish dollars. In addition, creditors or debtors would then have had to execute additional computations in order to

determine the equitable rate for paying off debts. As the value of the coin continued to change, further conversions would have been necessary in order to figure out the correct amount owed, and consequently the difficulty of the calculations and the arithmetic skill required would have increased significantly.

- *Notations:* Some of the notations at the bottom of the chart appear to be ratios constructed in an effort to calculate a fair rate of exchange based on the complicated and constantly shifting rates of depreciation. Other notations are even tougher to understand for a person with only a basic understanding of mathematical symbols.

**Connections:** How easy would you find it to keep your head above water in an economy with such fast currency depreciation? *Answers would ideally include:*

- *Difficulties:* As mentioned above, navigating these constant and often extreme economic changes must have been exceedingly difficult for the majority of Americans who had only a rudimentary understanding of mathematics. Such obstacles played a major role in the growing conflicts of the era, for the confusion led to widespread foreclosures on farms during this time period, and those events led to uprisings such as Shays' Rebellion that ultimately spurred political leaders to re-examine the shortcomings caused by the governing rules of the Articles of Confederation.

### **Jefferson's Map of the Northwest Territory (p. 267)**

**Reading the Image:** What does this map indicate about Jefferson's vision of the Northwest Territory? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Vision of Republicanism:* Jefferson clearly saw the Northwest Territory as a place in which he could enact his vision of republicanism. The states are laid out in rational, linear shapes; they are not contorted geographical expressions like New York and Massachusetts. The map also shows an attempt to distribute natural resources among the proposed states. Almost all the states have access to some body of water, although not always a river, the most efficient means of transporting goods and people. One of the only places Jefferson uses a natural geographic feature as a boundary is between states 7 and 10; if the river were not used, one of the states would not be able to access the Ohio River. Finally, the states are similar in size, guaranteeing that each might have a chance at roughly even representation in the national Congress.

**Connections:** What do you perceive as potential problems with Jefferson's design for the division of the territory? How did the congress alter it in the land

ordinances of 1784, 1785, and 1787? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Disadvantages of Jefferson's plan:* The problem with Jefferson's design was that it did not take into account natural geographical features and boundaries. For instance, although all of his states could get to water, not all of them enjoyed river access, which constituted a tremendous commercial disadvantage.

- *Congress's changes:* With the ordinances of 1784, 1785, and 1787, Congress called for the territory to be divided into three to five states, rather than ten, each conforming to natural geographic boundaries. Congress did, however, maintain Jefferson's strict geometric plans for township divisions.

## **Map Activities**

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### **Map 8.1 Cession of Western Lands, 1782–1802 (p. 254)**

**Reading the Map:** Which states had the largest claims on western territory? What disputed territory became the fourteenth state? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Western Territory:* Virginia had the largest single claim on western territory. It asserted ownership to the land to the west of its southern border all the way to the Mississippi River. To the north, its territory extended all the way to the Great Lakes. Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina all claimed land west to the Mississippi River as well. Some land was contested: Both Massachusetts and Virginia claimed land around Lake Michigan and Lake Huron, and Connecticut and Virginia both believed they owned the Western Reserve near Pennsylvania.

- *Fourteenth state:* Vermont was claimed by both New York and New Hampshire but was ceded in 1791 and became the fourteenth state.

**Connections:** In what context did the first dispute regarding western lands arise? How was it resolved? Does the map suggest a reason why Pennsylvania, a large state, joined the four much smaller states on this issue? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Dispute over western lands:* The first dispute over western lands broke out in 1777, when the Articles of Confederation were being debated in Congress. The original draft gave Congress authority over unsettled western lands. This power was removed in the final draft at the insistence of states with western land

claims. However, small states bound by less grandiose colonial charters wanted the national government to administer western lands to the benefit of all the states. On this basis, Delaware and Maryland refused to approve the Articles, which demanded the unanimous consent of the states.

- *Solution:* The impasse finally was resolved in 1781, when Virginia agreed to cede all its western lands to the confederation except the area that became West Virginia.

- *Pennsylvania:* Pennsylvania, although much larger in size than New Jersey, Rhode Island, Delaware, and Maryland, did not hold any claims to land in the western territory. Pennsylvania and the other four states delayed signing the Articles of Confederation, disagreeing with the majority, and desiring that Congress, and not the land-claiming states, control the western lands, eventually using the land to create new states. Pennsylvania eventually agreed and signed the Articles, while Delaware and Maryland held out until 1779.

### Map 8.3 Ratification of the Constitution, 1788–1790 (p. 276)

**Reading the Map:** Where was Federalist strength concentrated? How did the distribution of Federalist and Antifederalist sentiment affect the order of state ratifications of the Constitution? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Areas of Federalist strength:* Federalist supporters tended to live near the seacoasts and major waterways, areas that were more involved in international trade, whereas Antifederalists were concentrated in interior districts that had less contact with the larger world and less involvement in its commerce. There were a few exceptions to this rule. In New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island, Antifederalists not only dominated backcountry regions, but they also comprised majorities in areas close to major waterways.

- *Ratification of the Constitution:* New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island were the last three states to ratify the Constitution because of their Antifederalist majorities. Only after ten other states had ratified the Constitution and made its adoption inevitable were Federalists able to win in New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island.

**Connections:** What objections did Antifederalists have to the new United States Constitution? How did their locations affect their view of the Federalist argument? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Objections to the Constitution:* Antifederalists had several objections to the Constitution. They feared that power would be concentrated in the hands

of a distant government over which the people had little control. Fear of centralized power had motivated patriots to fight against Britain in the 1770s, and the same ideas influenced Antifederalists in the late 1780s. Antifederalists also worried that the Constitution's large electoral districts and complicated mechanisms for choosing senators and the president would enable prominent men from the social and economic elite to dominate the new government. They questioned whether federal officeholders, who exercised great power, could resist being corrupted by that power. Antifederalists also had more specific concerns about currency, voter access to the polls, and protection of individual liberties from a potentially tyrannical government.

- *Objections based on location:* Location affected Antifederalist views in two ways. Opponents of the Constitution living in the interior saw little advantage in arguments that the Constitution would promote the development of commercial cities near the coast. Backcountry Antifederalists, for whom travel to the coastal cities was difficult, also feared that they would be unable to have a voice in a distant government. For Antifederalists in large states that had thriving economies, like Virginia and New York, the need for a stronger national government appeared less important than it did to residents of small states who would compete with these giants or had hostile nations on their border. Antifederalists in large states had little desire to take away the powers that state governments enjoyed under the Articles of Confederation.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in “Additional Resources for Chapter 8.”*

### LECTURE 1

#### *The Problems of Creating a Framework of Government*

This lecture should suggest that government is always a series of experiments. Political institutions require constant tinkering, and concepts adopted at one point may be abandoned at another. This lecture asks, “Why are constitutions written? How should the institutions of government be organized?” Take the students step by step through the process of creating a government where no constitution officially exists. Compare efforts of the various states in their constitution-writing process, and then compare the states to the national government. Here, you might want to draw your

students' attention to Map 8.1, "Cession of Western Lands, 1782–1802" (p. 254), to emphasize the debates that surrounded the drafting of the Articles. Discuss what the proper role of the government should be. Explore the assumptions behind decisions regarding how power is allotted to the various institutions of government. Be sure to emphasize that the Articles of Confederation reflected the kinds of concerns its drafters had regarding questions of power, authority, representation, and sovereignty.

## LECTURE 2

### *Strengths and Weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation*

This lecture explores the life of the Articles of Confederation, the first constitution of the United States. Make it clear that the Articles were written as a wartime document to aid a league of states in fighting a common foe. Despite its weaknesses, which you should catalog for your students, Americans liked the Articles of Confederation because they had relatively little effect on their lives, while still establishing an important level of government. Explain the details of how the national government under the Articles was organized and how it operated. Note that it was ineffective because it was limited by design. There were, however, significant decisions made during the mere eight years of the Articles' operation. America formulated a national land policy and a plan for creating new states that would eventually join the Union. Point out that all the states north of Maryland either outlawed slavery or provided for the eventual emancipation of the slaves within their borders. Draw your students' attention to the spot map on page 259, which shows the legal changes to slavery from 1777 to 1804. Include black voices in your description of the quest for political rights for the freed slaves by bringing into the discussion the feature *Seeking the American Promise*: "A Slave Sues for Her Freedom" (pp. 260–261).

Nevertheless, it was the weaknesses of the Articles that those involved with national government noticed most. Mention the economic upheaval of the 1780s that resulted in Shays's Rebellion. Stress that Congress was weak and ineffective but that, as noted earlier, many preferred it that way. Make the point that the citizens of the states wanted governmental sovereignty to reside in the state governments (refer to the previous lecture). They wanted to ensure that government could not deprive them of their liberties. Throughout this lecture, have students consider the ways in which the architects of the Articles of Confederation understood the "promise" of the new country.

## LECTURE 3

### *The Constitution as a Mechanism for Distributing Power*

This lecture discusses the historical redistribution of power envisioned by the writers of the Constitution. The document written at the Philadelphia convention was touted as a better framework for national government, but better for whom? Clearly women, blacks, and poor white males did not expect the new Constitution to alter their lives radically for the better. Discuss the misconceptions about equality of opportunity for the "dependent" populations. The Constitution ignored women, enshrined slavery, and left decisions regarding qualifications for voting and officeholding to state governments, which were run by wealthy elites. The western areas of most states, which had less political power than the longer established eastern portions, generally opposed ratification. Those few who actually exercised power understood how the Constitution could redistribute political power within the new country, hence the long debate over the Virginia and New Jersey Plans at the Philadelphia convention and the battle over ratification. Briefly explore the details of the Virginia and New Jersey Plans and how they were reconciled. Ask how small and large states hoped to gain or hoped to minimize their loss of political power. Compare power arrangements under the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution. Then, consider the process of ratification. Although ratification was not a certainty, some states ratified immediately. Why? Other states showed great internal division because certain groups recognized that they stood to lose while their opponents would gain political power. Why were they so concerned about the redistribution of power? What were its possible effects? Focus on these questions when introducing the Antifederalists. Explain that they were not men of small vision but rather men fearful of what the redistribution of power by the Constitution would do to them. Their legacy is the Bill of Rights. Finally, ask students if they think the Constitution has been used to redistribute power at any other times in American history. You might have them consider, for example, the ways in which the success of the New Jersey Plan ensured George W. Bush's election in 2000.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. The Definition of Equality Is Static and Fixed

Students frequently assume that early Americans did not believe in equality of opportunity because they did not practice equality according to today's defi-

nitions. Explain to students that the concept of equality has always been an important part of American rhetoric, but that the definition of equality has evolved continuously over the course of American history. This chapter allows the instructor to explore the ways in which notions of social hierarchy, especially during the framing of the Constitution, limited notions of equality. Most eighteenth-century political leaders considered women, blacks, and the lower classes “dependent” populations because they owed their livelihood to someone else—a husband, a master, or a patron. As dependents, they were not expected to participate in political or social decisions because they lacked the “independence” to form their own conclusions. Here one might have students discuss Mercy Otis Warren as a case study (refer students to document 8–4 in *Reading the American Past*, Volume 1). Why should a brilliant woman hide her intelligence? What opportunities did women have in the early Republic? Did those opportunities change with class or racial differences? Blacks similarly were considered dependent, even though some states formally renounced slavery. Have students consider why the North rejected slavery at this particular time and why the South remained wedded to the institution. How did racism contribute to emancipation? Did emancipation mean that blacks experienced social and political equality? And finally, when discussing free white males, make clear that property qualifications excluded from one-fourth to one-half of all white males from the franchise. The playing field was level only for those allowed to play: The dependent groups were only spectators.

## 2. Ratification of the Constitution Was Certain

Students frequently believe that the Constitution was a done deal. Most assume that because the Articles of Confederation so obviously needed repair, they could not possibly rival the Constitution. To avoid this teleological construction and to reintroduce the idea that history is always contingent, point out that the Articles actually reflected the ideals of limited central power. They delegated minimal authority to a distant national government. Americans fought the Revolution for local autonomy, and even if the Articles were not perfect, local government still provided most governmental needs of the citizenry. Emphasize that all segments of American society were reluctant to endorse a new, more powerful, yet untried framework for government, particularly one that flew in the face of accepted political theory. Even after the Constitution took effect following ratification by the first nine states, either Virginia or New York could have derailed it by refusing to join the Union under its provisions. Either state was self-sufficient enough to become an independent country and could have easily destroyed the United States simply by refusing

to join and thus physically dividing the nation. Ask your students to consider what actions any of the ratifying assemblies should have taken if unconvinced by the Federalists’ arguments and what effect those actions would have had on the Union.

## 3. The Antifederalists Were Men of Small Vision

If students are at all familiar with the Antifederalists, they probably think (1) that they were backward-looking reactionaries who opposed modernity and were incapable of imagining the greatness that awaited the United States under the Constitution, and (2) that they came from the poorer and less educated ranks of American citizens and hence their vision was limited to their immediate local needs. This interpretation, of course, ignores the southern planters who supported Antifederalist causes. It also ignores the many well-known heroes of the American Revolution who opposed the Constitution—Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, and George Mason. These well-meaning, civic-minded, and intelligent opponents of the Constitution saw that document as a return to many of the same sorts of institutions that they had opposed in the Revolution. What they wanted most was a pledge that the national government would never violate their “inalienable” rights, and thus they called for a national bill of rights. Point out that the Constitution’s Bill of Rights is the Antifederalist legacy to the present. Ask students how many of them would have been convinced by the Federalists that such a document was unnecessary.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

Consider showing the final episode of the PBS series *Liberty!*, “Are We to Be a Nation?”, which details the economic crisis of the 1780s, the squabbling between the states, the Philadelphia convention, and the ratification process.

### Class Discussion Starters

Have your students consider the question “What if the Antifederalists had prevailed?” Such a discussion may allow students to delve more deeply into the Antifederalist position and force them to take it seriously. Consider assigning Jack N. Rakove’s *Declaring Rights: A Brief History With Documents* to facilitate discussion.

### Historical Debates

Have your students debate the meaning of the Constitution to the various groups of early Americans. To address questions about religion and religious freedoms, you might draw their attention to the feature

*Historical Question:* “Was the New United States a Christian Country?” (pp. 280–281). Your students might also find helpful Edward Countryman’s *What Did the Constitution Mean to Early Americans?*

## Additional Resources for Chapter 8

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 8 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 8.1: Cession of Western Lands, 1782–1802 (p. 254)
- Map 8.2: The Northwest Territory and Ordinance of 1785 (p. 266)
- Map 8.3: Ratification of the Constitution, 1788–1790 (p. 276)
- City Tavern (p. 272)
- Scale of Depreciation (p. 263)

#### Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 8 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 8.1: Cession of Western Lands, 1782–1802 (p. 254)
- Map 8.2: The Northwest Territory and Ordinance of 1785 (p. 266)
- Map 8.3: Ratification of the Constitution, 1788–1790 (p. 276)
- Scale of Depreciation (p. 263)
- Jefferson’s Map of the Northwest Territory (p. 267)
- A Chair for the New Nation (p. 250)
- James Madison, by Charles Willson Peale (p. 252)
- Paul Cuffe’s Silhouette (p. 258)
- Black Loyalists in Canada: *Passport to Freedom* (p. 262)
- City Tavern (p. 272)

Additional relevant images and maps are available online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating

volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 8 include:

- *What Did the Constitution Mean to Early Americans?* by Edward Countryman
- *Crosscurrents in the Black Atlantic, 1770–1965*, by David Northrup
- “*The Federalist*: The Essential Essays, by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, edited with an introduction by Jack N. Rakove
- *Declaring Rights: A Brief History with Documents*, by Jack N. Rakove
- Thomas Jefferson’s “Notes on the State of Virginia,” edited with an introduction by David Waldstreicher

### For Students

#### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 8 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- Richard Allen Founds the First African Methodist Church: *Life, Experience, and Gospel Labors, 1833*
- Thomas Jefferson on Slavery and Race: *Notes on the State of Virginia, 1782*
- Making the Case for the Constitution: James Madison, *The Federalist No. 10, 1787*
- Mercy Otis Warren Opposes the Constitution: *Observations on the New Constitution, 1788*
- The Rights of Man in the Age of Revolution: *Declaration of the Rights of Man, 1789*

#### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map, visual, and document activities are available for chapter 8:

#### Map Activities

- Map 8.1: Cession of Western Lands, 1782–1802 (p. 254)
- Map 8.3: Ratification of the Constitution, 1788–1790 (p. 276)

#### Visual Activities

- Scale of Depreciation (p. 263)
- Jefferson’s Map of the Northwest Territory (p. 267)

# The New Nation Takes Form

## 1789–1800

### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. What were sources of stability and change in the 1790s?
2. What was Alexander Hamilton's three-part economic program? What parts were adopted and what parts failed, and why did the program engender controversy?
3. How did foreign and domestic conflict, including fighting in the Ohio Valley, the Haitian Revolution, and the influence on U.S. policy of the wars between England and France (Napoleonic Wars), influence the course of the early Republic?
4. How did the Federalist and Republican parties develop, and in what ways did the 1796 election, the XYZ affair, and the Alien and Sedition Acts polarize the two?

3. Washington's genius in establishing the presidency lay in his capacity for implanting his own reputation for integrity into the office itself.
  4. Washington chose talented and experienced men, regardless of their deep philosophical differences, to preside over the newly created departments of war, treasury, and state.
  5. Washington chose General Henry Knox for the Department of War, Alexander Hamilton for the Treasury, Thomas Jefferson for the Department of State, Edmund Randolph for attorney general, and John Jay for chief justice of the Supreme Court.
  6. Washington began meeting regularly with these men, thereby establishing the precedent of a presidential cabinet.
- B. The Bill of Rights
1. An early order of business in the First Congress was the passage of a Bill of Rights, which seven states had specified as a condition for their ratification of the Constitution.
  2. James Madison pulled much of the wording of the rights directly from the language of various state constitutions with bills of rights.
  3. In September 1789, Congress approved a set of twelve amendments and sent them to the states for approval; ten were eventually ratified.

### Annotated Chapter Outline

#### I. The Search for Stability

- A. Washington Inaugurates the Government
  1. The election of George Washington in February 1789 was quick work, the tallying of the unanimous votes by the electoral college a mere formality.
  2. Once in office, Washington carefully calculated his moves, knowing that with every step he was setting a precedent and a misstep could be dangerous for the fragile new government.

4. The process of state ratification took another two years, but there was no serious doubt about the outcome.
  5. Significantly, no one complained about the one striking omission in the Bill of Rights: the right to vote. Only much later was voting seen as a fundamental liberty requiring protection by constitutional amendment.
- C. The Republican Wife and Mother
1. Women's exclusion from political activity did not mean they had no civic role or responsibility.
  2. Essayists of the 1790s promoted the idea that chaste, virtuous women could promote good morals more than any social institution could.
  3. Republican ideals also cast motherhood in a new light by stressing significant maternal influence on the future male citizenry; advocates for female education, still a controversial proposition, argued that education produced better mothers, who in turn would produce better citizens.
  4. Although women's obligations as wives and mothers were now infused with political meaning, traditional gender roles remained unaltered.
- II. Hamilton's Economic Policies
- A. Agriculture, Transportation, and Banking
1. Dramatic increases in the international price of grain in the 1790s motivated American farmers to boost agricultural production for the export trade, which, in turn, generated new jobs for millers, coopers, dockworkers, and ship- and wagon-builders.
  2. Cotton production in the southern states also underwent a boom, spurred by market demand and the invention of the cotton gin.
  3. Spurred by the establishment of the U.S. Post Office in 1792, a surge of road building also stimulated the economy.
  4. By 1800, a dense network of dirt, gravel, or plank roadways connected cities and towns in southern New England and the Middle Atlantic states, and the stagecoach business began to flourish.
  5. A third development signaling economic resurgence was the growth of commercial banking.
  6. During this period, the U.S. population increased by 35 percent, propelled by large families and better food and land resources.
- B. The Public Debt and Taxes
1. The upturn in the economy suggested that the government might soon be able to pay its debt, amounting to some \$52 million owed to foreign and domestic creditors.
  2. In January 1790, Alexander Hamilton argued in his *Report on Public Credit* that the debt should be funded—but not repaid immediately—at full value.
  3. There would still be a public debt, according to Hamilton's plan, but it would be secure, supported by citizens' confidence in the new government.
  4. A large part of the old debt had been bought up cheaply by speculators of the late 1780s, who would consequently have a direct financial stake in the new government.
  5. Hamilton proposed augmenting the debt with another \$25 million still owed by the state governments to individuals.
  6. Hamilton's plan called for the federal government to assume these state debts and add them to the federal debt, in effect consolidating federal power over the states.
  7. Hamilton's plan was controversial; states that had largely paid their debts saw it as unfair because they would be taxed to pay off the debts of other states, and it also signaled a potential power grab by the new government to subordinate the states.
  8. Eventually, Madison, Jefferson, and Hamilton worked out a compromise: Hamilton got his way on the assumption of state debts, and the Virginians got to locate the nation's capital on the banks of the Potomac.
- C. The First Bank of the United States and the *Report on Manufactures*
1. The second and third major elements of Hamilton's economic plan were his proposal for a national Bank of the United States and his program to encourage domestic manufacturing.
  2. Hamilton modeled his plan for the Bank of the United States on the Bank of England, a private corporation that worked primarily for the public good.
  3. The federal government would hold 20 percent of the bank's stock, making the bank in effect the government's fiscal agent, and the other 80 percent of its capital would come from private investors.

4. The one Hamiltonian plan that was not approved by Congress was his proposal to encourage the manufacture of American-made goods.
- D. The Whiskey Rebellion
  1. In order to pay the interest on the large national debt, Hamilton convinced Congress in 1791 to pass a 25 percent excise tax on whiskey, to be paid by the farmer when he brought his grain to the distillery, then passed on to individual whiskey consumers in the form of higher prices.
  2. Hamilton's excise tax proved very unpopular with cash-short grain farmers in the western regions and whiskey drinkers everywhere.
  3. In 1791, farmers in the western parts of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, and throughout Kentucky complained bitterly to Congress about the excise tax.
  4. Simple evasion of the law was the most common response; the tax proved hard to collect.
  5. In western Pennsylvania, the situation turned ugly when, in the spring of 1794, a stubborn tax collector filed charges against seventy-five farmers and distillers for tax evasion.
  6. At the end of July, 7,000 Pennsylvania farmers planned a march on Pittsburgh—or perhaps an attack, some thought—to protest the hated tax.
  7. Washington nationalized the Pennsylvania militia and set out at the head of 13,000 soldiers.
  8. By the time the army arrived in September, the demonstrators had evaporated.
  9. Nonetheless, the Whiskey Rebellion presented an opportunity for the new federal government to flex its muscles and stand up to civil disorder.
- III. Conflicts West, East, and South
  - A. To the West: The Indians
    1. By the Treaty of Paris of 1783, England had given up all land east of Mississippi River to the United States without regard to the resident Indian population, who inhabited 25,000 square miles of that territory.
    2. The 1784 Treaty of Fort Stanwix tried to solve that omission by establishing terms between the confederation government and native people, but the treaty was established without including several key tribes.
  3. British troops still occupied forts in the northwest, thereby sustaining Indians' claims to that land.
  4. A doubled American population—having grown from two million in 1770 to nearly four million in 1790—greatly intensified the pressure for western land.
  5. Meanwhile, the western half of Ohio, where white settlers did not yet dare to go, was subjected to military incursions by the U.S. army.
  6. Troops led by General Josiah Harmar suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of Miami and Shawnee Indians.
  7. This defeat led to renewed efforts to clear Ohio for permanent American settlement.
  8. General Arthur St. Clair led 2,000 men (accompanied by 200 women camp followers) to fight the Miami and Shawnee Indians; over 900 lives were lost in St. Clair's defeat.
  9. Washington doubled the American military presence in Ohio and appointed a new commander, General Anthony Wayne.
  10. Throughout 1794, Wayne's army engaged in skirmishes with Shawnee, Delaware, and Miami Indians.
  11. The decisive action came in August 1794 at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, which resulted in a major defeat for the Indians.
  12. In 1795, Indian and American representatives negotiated the Treaty of Greenville, in which Indians ceded most of Ohio to Americans in exchange for treaty goods, including liquor.
  13. The treaty brought peace to the region, but it did not bring back a peaceful life to the Indians.
- B. Across the Atlantic: France and England
  1. While Indian battles engaged the American military, the French Revolution captured the imagination of Americans sympathetic with the overthrow of monarchy and privilege in the name of republicanism.
  2. Pro-French political clubs sprang up around the U.S. and American women joined in the pro-French enthusiasm by adopting French clothing accessories and staging female celebrations of France's new liberty.
  3. Anti-French Revolution sentiment also ran deep, and news of the beheading of King Louis XVI quickly dampedened the enthusiasm for everything French.

4. England and France went to war in 1793, presenting difficult questions of foreign policy to the Washington administration.
  5. In May 1793, President Washington issued a Neutrality Proclamation, with friendly assurances to both sides of the conflict.
  6. The Neutrality Proclamation fit Washington's goal of staying out of European wars but tensions at home flared in response to the official policy of neutrality.
  7. American ships continued to trade between the French West Indies and France, incurring the wrath of England.
  8. In response to the capture of more than three hundred American merchant vessels by British forces, Washington sent John Jay to England to negotiate commercial relations in the British West Indies, secure compensation for the seized cargoes, procure reimbursement for southern planters whose slaves were lured away by the British army, and persuade the British to vacate frontier forts.
  9. Jay returned from his diplomatic mission in 1795 with a treaty that no one could love.
  10. The Senate debated in secrecy before passing the controversial treaty by a vote of twenty to ten, and Washington signed it with misgivings.
  11. When newspapers published the terms of the treaty, powerful opposition emerged.
  12. The House narrowly approved the funds necessary to implement the treaty.
- C. To the South: The Haitian Revolution
1. In addition to the Indian wars in Ohio and the European wars across the Atlantic, a third bloody conflict to the south polarized and even terrorized many Americans in the 1790s.
  2. The Haitian Revolution was a complex event involving many participants, including the ethnically and racially diverse local population and, eventually, three European countries.
  3. The French Revolution of 1789 was the immediate catalyst for rebellion in this already tense society.
  4. White Americans followed the revolution with fascinated horror through newspapers and refugees' accounts.
  5. Many black American slaves also followed the news, amazed by the successful revolution by slaves.
  6. The Haitian Revolution provoked the fear of race war in many white southern Americans.

7. Some New Englanders, on the other hand, chastised Jefferson and others for their support of French revolutionaries and their condemnation of Haitian revolutionaries.

#### IV. Federalists and Republicans

##### A. The Election of 1796

1. Washington struggled to appear to be above party politics, and in his farewell address of September 1796, he stressed the need to maintain a "unity of government" reflecting a unified body politic.
2. The leading contenders for Washington's position, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, in theory agreed with him, but around them raged a party contest split along pro-English versus pro-French lines.
3. The leading Federalists and Republicans informally caucused to choose candidates.
4. The Federalists picked Thomas Pinckney to run with Adams; the Republicans settled on Aaron Burr to pair with Jefferson.
5. Under the Constitution, each electoral college voter could cast two votes for any two candidates, but on only one ballot; the top vote-getter became president, and the next highest assumed the vice presidency.
6. Adams was elected president; Jefferson came in second and became vice president.
7. Adams's inaugural speech pledged neutrality in foreign affairs and respect for the French people, which made Republicans hopeful.

##### B. The XYZ Affair

1. France retaliated for the British-friendly Jay Treaty by abandoning the terms of its 1778 wartime alliance with the United States and allowing French privateers to detain American ships carrying British goods.
2. To avenge these insults, Federalists started murmuring openly about war with France.
3. Adams preferred negotiations and dispatched a three-man commission to France in the fall of 1797.
4. The commission eventually met with three unnamed French agents, X, Y, and Z, who suggested that a bribe of \$250,000, plus a \$12 million loan to the French government, would be the price of a peace treaty.
5. Americans reacted to the XYZ affair with shock and anger, and in 1798, the United States entered into its first undeclared war with France, called the Quasi-War.

6. There was no home-front unification in this time of undeclared war, and antagonism only intensified between Federalists and Republicans.
  7. Republican newspapers heaped abuse on Adams; pro-French mobs roamed the capital city; and Adams, fearing for his personal safety, stocked weapons in his presidential quarters.
- C. The Alien and Sedition Acts
1. Federalist leaders soon moved to muffle the opposition, and in 1798, Congress passed the Sedition Act, which made conspiracies or revolts illegal, and penalized those who spoke or wrote anything that defamed the president or Congress.
  2. Congress also passed two Alien Acts that, taken together, targeted aliens living in the United States.
  3. Republicans strongly opposed the Alien and Sedition Acts on the grounds that they were in conflict with the Bill of Rights, but they did not have the votes to revoke the acts in Congress, nor could the federal judiciary, dominated by Federalist judges, be counted on to challenge them.
  4. Jefferson and Madison turned to the state legislatures to press their opposition; each man drafted a set of resolutions condemning the acts and had the legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky present them to the federal government in late fall of 1798.
  5. The resolutions had little effect on the Alien and Sedition Acts, but the idea of a state's right to nullify federal law did not disappear.
  6. Amid the war hysteria and sedition fears in 1798, President Adams regained his balance, but the Federalists were not pleased and he lost his party's support.
  7. The election of 1800 was openly organized along party lines; the self- designated national leaders of each group met to handpick their candidates for president and vice president.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 9, the *Questions for*

*Analysis and Debate* at the end of the *Documenting the American Promise* feature, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* questions included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 9.

## Review Questions

1. How did political leaders in the 1790s attempt to overcome the divisions of the 1780s? (pp. 289–294) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Election of George Washington:* The challenge of selecting a president to lead the new nation was potentially divisive. In George Washington political leaders found a candidate whose respectability and disinterest pleased all. He helped imbue the office with his own reputation for integrity, promoting stability and moderation. (pp. 289–290)

- *Passage of the Bill of Rights:* James Madison shepherded this process, drawing on state constitutions to develop a document to assure Americans that their liberties would be protected under the new central government. (pp. 290–291)

- *Passage of amendments to the Constitution:* Passing amendments addressing individual liberties and the boundary between federal and state authority helped allay the concerns of those who had weakly, or not all, supported the ratification of the Constitution. (p. 290)

- *Cultivating republican ideals:* Americans tried to overcome divisions by calling on citizens, even those excluded from political participation, to cultivate the virtues upon which the republic depended, for example, through republican marriages. (pp. 291, 294)

2. Why were Hamilton's economic policies controversial? (pp. 295–299) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Disagreements regarding the significance of debt:* Hamilton's plan to delay retiring the national debt, and further, to augment that debt by rolling over state debts into new bonds, prompted objections. Whereas Hamilton maintained debt was a valuable means of ensuring citizens' commitment to the new government, Madison and Jefferson believed such a plan would contribute to corruption, benefit speculators, and lead to excessive taxation. (pp. 295–296, 298)

- *Disagreement regarding a national bank:* Hamilton proposed establishing a national bank, arguing that it would foster growth of domestic manufacturing and stabilize the economy by managing credit, interest rates, and currency values. Jefferson objected to this plan as reaching beyond the provisions of the Constitution.

Madison worried that the bank would concentrate influence in the hands of a few rich men. (p. 298)

- *Objections to consolidation of power by commercial interests:* Citizens wary of the consolidation of power in the hands of commercial interests were troubled by Hamilton's policies, which seemed to benefit bankers, speculators, and manufacturers over farmers. This tension was on display in his planned tax on whiskey and the effort to quash ensuing protest with violence. (pp. 298–299)

3. Why did the United States feel vulnerable to international threats in the 1790s? (pp. 302–310)  
*Answer would ideally include:*

- *Indian conflicts:* Violent resistance by Indians in Ohio, who were resentful of British betrayal in ceding land to the United States and troubled by American incursions into their territory, produced conflict on the western edge of the nation. Through effective if brutal attacks, Indians challenged American claims until superior technology and numbers ultimately produced victory for the United States. (pp. 302–305)

- *The French Revolution:* The French Revolution's turn toward greater violence, along with escalating French conflicts with Britain, left Americans divided about the appropriate posture to adopt toward a nation that had been a pivotal ally in the American Revolution. The effort to remain neutral through Washington's Neutrality Proclamation failed to protect American ships trading with France and the French West Indies from British attack, leading to the Jay Treaty, which produced few gains for the United States. (pp. 306–309)

- *The Haitian Revolution:* The Haitian Revolution, like the French Revolution, alarmed Americans already wary of excessive democracy and liberty. Haiti further played on Southerners' fears of racial violence. (pp. 309–310)

4. Why did Congress pass the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1798? (pp. 306–312) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *International vulnerability:* Relations with France, a pivotal ally during the Revolution, had become more troubled after their own revolution had taken a turn toward greater violence and radicalism, which unnerved some Americans. War between France and England, a key trading partner, had forced the U.S. government to carve out a policy, despite popular disunity over the right path to follow. The ineffective neutrality posture and the humiliating Jay Treaty with Britain led France to abandon its 1778 alliance with the United States, leaving the United States vulnerable to incursions by both countries. (pp. 306–308, 311)

- *Growing American opposition to France:* The XYZ Affair, in which the French government attempted to blackmail the United States in return for a peace treaty, came to light and inflamed anti-French sentiment, leading to the Quasi-War with France. These actions exacerbated disagreements between Federalists and Republicans, creating a tense atmosphere in the capital. This was the context and conflict in which Congress passed the Alien and Sedition Acts as national protections and, in practice, Federalist protections. (pp. 311–312)

- *Domestic repercussions of international disputes:* The acts were aimed at quelling opposition that had grown more intense following these conflicts with France. Republicans feared that they, not the French, were the real object of suppression in the legislation and argued that they violated the Bill of Rights. The Alien Acts made it more difficult for an alien to gain citizenship and gave the president extensive power to imprison or deport aliens during wartime. The Sedition Act made conspiracy and revolt illegal and penalized speaking or writing against the president or Congress. (p. 312)

## Making Connections

1. Why did the Federalist alliance fracture in the 1790s? Why was this development troubling to the nation? In your answer, cite specific ideological and political developments that compromised cooperation. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Ideological differences:* Ideological differences became more pronounced as the leaders of the new nation disputed how to create a sustainable, stable republic. For example, Hamilton's vision of governance by the commercial elite as the foundation of stability was at odds with Madison and Jefferson's commitment to agrarian values as the best foundation. These differences emerged over policy questions like the national debt and the prospect of a national bank. (pp. 294–299)

- *Foreign policy disputes:* Forging American foreign policy also exacerbated tensions between the nation's revolutionary leaders when the war between England and France (Napoleonic Wars) forced the new nation to choose sides between France and England. Republicans' admiration of and commitment to France, despite the extremes of the Revolution, conflicted with Federalists' desire to protect relations with Britain. (pp. 306–309)

- *Tension between liberty and security:* The Quasi-War with France revealed splits in the nation about the appropriate balance between liberty and security.

Critics of the Alien and Sedition Acts feared that the government was abusing its power by limiting citizens' rights, while their proponents feared that political dissent was a threat to the government. (pp. 311–313)

- *Emergence of factions:* Revolutionary leaders looked on the emergence of factions or parties as a failure. Madison warned that they were destructive forces that could compromise the republic. (pp. 310, 316)

2. What provoked the Whiskey Rebellion? How did the government respond? In your answer, discuss the foundations and precedents of the conflict as well as the significance of the government's response. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Hamilton's tax on whiskey:* The proximate cause of the rebellion was Hamilton's decision to finance interest payments on the national debt through a tax on whiskey paid by farmers at the time they brought grain to the distillery. This spared the elites by avoiding tax on land or import duties. When farmers' protests against the onerous tax met with limited compromise, they turned to evasion. Stiff enforcement in Pennsylvania precipitated a planned march of 7,000 farmers. Washington responded by leading 13,000 soldiers to confront the demonstrators, who fled before armed conflict could result. (pp. 299, 302)

- *Regional and economic divisions:* The lines of this conflict (west versus east, farmers versus commercial interests) echoed Shays's Rebellion, suggesting the persistence of regional and class differences. (pp. 301–302; see also chapter 8, pp. 269–271)

- *Differences over citizens' obligations to a republican government:* Like Shays's Rebellion, the conflict was a test of citizens' rights to challenge actions of an elected government, particularly in regard to taxation. It was also a test of the government's prerogatives in responding to such challenge. The rebellion revealed substantive differences between citizens and the challenge of balancing the principles of the revolution with civil stability. (p. 302; see also chapter 8, pp. 269–271)

3. Americans held that virtue was pivotal to the success of their new nation. What did they mean by virtue? How did they hope to ensure that their citizens and their leaders possessed virtue? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Explanation of virtue:* Republican virtue centered on the importance of subordinating self to the interest of a larger group such as the family or the nation. (p. 291)

- *Republican motherhood:* Motherhood gained new importance in a republic that looked to women and families to cultivate virtuous citizenry to ensure its survival. These ideals emphasized that the protection of the republic could not be accomplished by the government alone. (pp. 291–194)

- *Dangers the republic faced, factionalism:* Political leaders in the new nation tried to suppress factionalism, which seemed to signal that virtue and commitment to public interest had been defeated. Through parties, they feared citizens' would not act in pursuit of unitary public interest, but would organize to promote the desires of the factions. (pp. 289–290)

- *Dangers the republic faced, corruption:* Disputes over the appropriate approach to taxation and debt reflected concern about how to prevent corruption in government. In building the new nation, political leaders were concerned with how to organize a government to promote virtue. (pp. 295–296)

4. The domestic politics of the new nation were profoundly influenced by conflicts beyond the nation's borders. Discuss how conflicts abroad contributed to domestic political developments in the 1790s. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Indian conflicts in the West:* There was unity in the new nation on the importance of protecting settlers in the West even in the face of concerted and effective military opposition on the part of American Indians and restrictive treaties. (pp. 302–303)

- *Response to revolutions abroad:* Americans were divided on the value of other revolutions overseas, for example, in France and Haiti. Differences over developments abroad echoed continuing and perhaps deepening ideological splits in the nation over the appropriate balance of democracy and authority. (pp. 306–310)

- *Foreign commerce and domestic policy:* Disputes over the appropriate balance to strike in policies toward France and England concerned questions of commerce. Economic interests (for example, traders with ties to Britain) and ideological commitments (for example, Republican enthusiasm for France) divided Americans. (pp. 306–309)

- *Threats from abroad and the rights of citizens:* The challenge of responding to France following the XYZ affair led the United States into the Quasi-War. The Alien and Sedition Acts occasioned disputes about what limits there should be on the federal government's attempts to advance foreign policy objectives through laws that impinged on citizens domestically. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions also raised questions about how citizens might challenge such actions by the central government using state legislatures. (pp. 311–313)

## Documenting the American Promise: The Crisis of 1798: Sedition (pp. 314–315)

1. Why did Federalists believe that the Sedition Act was necessary? What exactly was the threat,

according to Abigail Adams? What threat is implied by the wording of the act? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Federalists' arguments in favor of Sedition Act:*

Federalists were concerned that the Republicans' vigorous critique of Adams and Federalists in government threatened the stability of the country and might eventually lead to civil war.

- *Abigail Adams's perception of the threat:* Abigail Adams suggested not only that political dissent threatened the government, but that it "insults the Majesty of the Sovereign People," and the very foundation of the United States. However, Abigail Adams also feels the threat more keenly because it is her husband who is being attacked.

• *Threat implied by the wording of the act:* According to the Sedition Act, dissenters had the potential to create a domestic insurrection against the government or to encourage hostile actions by foreign governments against the United States.

2. Does Matthew Lyon's criticism of President Adams rise to the level of threat that the Federalists feared? How do you explain his guilty verdict? His reelection to Congress? *Answer would ideally include:*

• *The Nature of Lyons's criticism:* Lyons suggests that Adams values his own power and over public welfare, that he has dismissed capable men and appointed inappropriate men to office for political reasons, and that he has used religion to justify hatred and persecution. These are strong criticisms, but they are not treasonous or meant to encourage other countries to attack the United States.

• *Explanation for his guilty verdict:* Lyons was found guilty for political reasons. He was likely tried by Federalists who disagreed with him and were predisposed to interpret his criticisms as more dangerous and inflammatory than they actually were.

• *Reasons Lyons might have been reelected:* Lyons was probably reelected because his constituency was largely sympathetic to him and to Republican thinking. He also places his "treason" in the context that he is fighting for the rights of the people and "public welfare" and for the good of the country.

3. What might Madison have meant by "interpose" as the desired action by states? What could states actually do? *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Madison's intended meaning:* Madison's suggestion that the states "interpose" in the case of problematic exercises of Federal power meant that he thought states should step in, judge the constitutionality of the Federal government's actions and, if necessary, work to nullify laws or policies that infringed on the rights and liberties of the people.

• *Possible actions by states:* What states could actually do to intervene against Federal policies they

found problematic was not exactly clear in the 1790s. Some parties believed that the states had the right to judge the constitutionality of Federal legislation and nullify laws they believed interfered with states' rights, and other parties did not. These disputes rose repeatedly between the 1790s and the 1850s and were not resolved until the Civil War.

4. Which side had the stronger argument in 1798–1799? Do you think there should be limits on what can be said publicly about high government officials? Why or why not? *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Strengths and weaknesses of Republicans' arguments:* Republicans emphasized the unconstitutional nature of the Alien and Sedition Acts both because they violated various elements of the Bill of Rights, and because they exercised power that was never granted to the Federal government. It was objectively true that the Acts violated the Constitution.

• *Strengths and weaknesses of Federalists' arguments:* Federalists argued that criticism of the government and its leaders was dangerous and threatening to the unity and stability of the country. This assessment was a subjective one and impossible to prove.

• *Arguments for and against limits on criticism directed against the government and its leaders:* Students will probably take a variety of positions on this question, depending on their country of origin and their familiarity with American politics and the Bill of Rights. Be sure to point out that the United States was still in its infancy in the 1790s and that political dissent might, in fact, have been a real threat to the country's unity and stability at that time.

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### 1790 Census Page (p. 297)

**Reading the Image:** Which northern states still had slaves? Which state had the largest population? Which had the largest white population? *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Slaves:* All northern states still contained slaves except for Massachusetts and Maine. New York had the most of all the northern states in 1790 with over 21,000, while Virginia had the most slaves of any state with over 290,000, nearly four times the number of any other state.

• *Population:* Virginia had the largest population of any state: Its 747,610 people was nearly double that of Pennsylvania, the second-largest population at

434,373. However, when considering only the white population, Virginia's population advantage over Pennsylvania shrunk dramatically down to just over 20,000 people.

**Connections:** Why did the census separate males from females? Who might “all other free persons” include? Since women, children, and “all other free persons” counted for purposes of apportionment, could it be said that those groups were represented in the new government? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Divisions between males and females:* Males probably were separated from females for two purposes. First, for purposes of military strength, there was a further distinction of males above and below the age of 16. Second, the division between males and females provided a better estimate of the potential voting population. Although property requirements prevented many men from voting during the early years of the nation, these men at least had the opportunity to vote if they could improve their economic situation. Before 1920, women were allowed to vote only in New Jersey, and this loophole would be closed in 1807.

- “*All other free persons*”: “All other free persons” who were not white men or women might have included free blacks and Indians living within American settlements.

- *Representation:* The founders and the early political leaders may well have argued that the non-voting free citizens were represented by the new government. However, given their own adamant insistence on representation during the pre-Revolutionary disputes with Parliament, such a claim must have seemed rather hypocritical.

### Cartoon of the Matthew Lyon Fight in Congress (p. 313)

**Reading the Image:** What was the cartoonist trying to convey about the tone of Congress and its members and what is the picture of the back wall? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Description of the Congressmen:* The cartoonist has shown a gathering of men with neither the dignity nor the self-control expected of them. The fact that two representatives are engaging in a physical fight is shameful, but as awful as their behavior is, their fellow congressmen are equally reprehensible. Nobody is intervening or attempting to break up the fight. Instead, the other congressmen are watching and grinning; one man, who can be seen between Griswold and Lyon, appears to be practically hoisting himself over the table in his excitement.

- *Picture on back wall:* The picture entitled “Royal Sport” depicts cockfighting, presumably an allegory for the unseemly behavior of Congress.

**Connections:** How did the Constitution’s political ideals contrast with the actual behavior of politicians in the 1790s? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Ideals vs. Reality:* According to the political ideals of the 1780s, when the Constitution was drafted, politicians were supposed to be disinterested and nonpartisan, using their superior wisdom to determine the best course of policy for the nation. The notion that elected officials might experience conflicts that were too deep to be resolved was not considered. However, despite the unanimous election of George Washington as president, the leaders of the first Congress found a great deal about which they differed. Not only did they not agree on many subjects, but because they all believed themselves to be wise and disinterested, it followed that their opponents could only be selfish and corrupt. As the party system coalesced around these divisions, it was easy for tempers to get out of hand.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 9.1 Travel Times from New York City in 1800 (p. 295)

**Reading the Map:** Compare this map to the map *Major Roads in the 1790s* (p. 294) and to Map 9.2, *Western Expansion and Indian Land Cessions to 1810* (p. 304). What physical and cultural elements account for the slower travel times west of Pittsburgh? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Traveling to Pittsburgh:* Travel times were slower west of Pittsburgh for several reasons. The Appalachian Mountains stood between New York City and the lands west of Pittsburgh. Crossing these mountains significantly slowed travel. The absence of rivers that flowed west to east further impeded travel. Finally, *Major Roads in the 1790s* shows that there were no major roads built west of Pittsburgh in the 1790s. Without roads, the natural obstacles to east-west travel made trips from New York to land west of Pittsburgh much slower than travel to the east, where roads and rivers connected places and where the absence of a major mountain chain facilitated faster travel.

**Connections:** Why did Americans in the 1790s become so interested in traveling long distances? How did travel times affect the American economy? *Answers would ideally include:*

- *Patterns of travel:* Expanding economic opportunity increased Americans’ interest in long-distance

travel. Rising prices paid for wheat and cotton stimulated cultivation of land farther west and created demand for roads and waterways that could carry the commerce of American farms to consumers on the Atlantic coast and in Europe.

- *Travel and the Economy:* As the economy became more oriented toward international markets, men and women began to see opportunities for profit beyond the borders of their town or county. The decrease in travel times that road building made possible increased the overall volume of economic activity because it opened the marketplace to Americans who earlier had no way to bring their products to consumers.

### Map 9.2 Western Expansion and Indian Land Cessions to 1810 (p. 304)

**Reading the Map:** Locate the Appalachians. The Proclamation Line of 1763 that ran along these mountains forbid colonists to settle west of the line. How well was that purpose met? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *The Proclamation Line of 1763:* The purpose of the Proclamation Line of 1763 was to prevent settlers from moving west of the Appalachian Mountains, a common behavior that stirred up expensive Indian wars. The map makes it clear that the Proclamation Line failed in its intent. By 1783, Americans had forced Indians to cede a great deal of land west of the mountains, and they had more than doubled their Indian holdings by 1810. The forts and battles demonstrate that, as the British had been aware, expansion led to armed hostilities with Indian tribes that held prior claim to the land.

**Connections:** How much did the population of the United States grow between 1750 and 1790? How did this growth affect western settlement? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Population Growth in the 1700s:* The population of the United States doubled in the twenty years between 1770 and 1790, from two million to nearly four million. This population growth created a great deal of pressure for the opening of fresh western lands. By the mid-1780s, several thousand settlers a year were moving down the Ohio River, some headed for Kentucky and others for eastern Ohio. The opening of east-west roads and stagecoach lines helped carry settlers to these western regions. By 1800, Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio were populated sufficiently enough to join the Union.

## Lecture Strategies

See also the maps and images for presentation in “Additional Resources for Chapter 9.”

## LECTURE 1

### *The Development of a New Government*

Use this brief lecture to demonstrate to students the ways in which Washington, his cabinet, and the First Continental Congress set the tone for the direction of the new Republic. Discuss Washington’s creation of a cabinet and its implications. Ask students to consider why the first four cabinet posts were deemed important to the new nation. Discuss, too, the precedents established by Washington in office and the ways in which Americans still respect them. Next, turn to the creation of the Bill of Rights. Remind students that seven states had ratified the Constitution on the condition that guarantees of individual liberties and limitations to federal power be incorporated into the document. Have students read through the amendments included in the textbook’s appendix, and then ask them what kinds of abuses of power these men imagined and what their concerns can tell us about late-eighteenth-century America. What does the omission of a constitutionally protected guarantee of the right to vote say about American society at that time? Emphasize the first five words of the First Amendment, and have students discuss what branch of government some Americans feared most. Remind students that during the 1760s and 1770s Americans feared the tyranny of the executive branch. Have them consider what might have engendered this shift in thinking. Finally, ask students to consider the sources of rights. Do we have these rights only because they are enumerated? Conclude this lecture by outlining the creation of the ideal of the republican wife and mother. Note the ways in which this concept politicized women’s domestic duties and how it might have encouraged or forestalled demands for woman’s rights heard in France and England in the 1790s.

## LECTURE 2

### *Politics and Economic Change at the End of the Eighteenth Century*

Use this lecture to demonstrate that Alexander Hamilton established a forward-looking economic political agenda in the last decade of the eighteenth century. His preference for appropriate deference to the elite in accordance with traditional notions of hierarchy, however, caused him to be suspected of aristocratic pretensions and of seeking to establish if not an American aristocracy then at least an oligarchic political elite. Thus, his agenda immediately sparked suspicions not only among his enemies, the former Antifederalists, but also among his former allies who had supported ratification of the Constitution.

Explore Hamilton's wide-ranging economic program: (1) the funding of the national debt with assumption of outstanding state debts, (2) chartering a central bank (the Bank of the United States), and (3) encouraging American industrial independence. Address the myths that (1) politics and economics operate in separate realms, and (2) that a continually expanding industrial base was desired by all. Start by discussing the process of choosing a location for the national capital to show how politics and economics are intricately intertwined, and then get into the details of Hamilton's economic plans. Conclude with discussions of the opposition to Hamilton's seemingly modern economic agenda. Pay particular attention to the argument about the unconstitutionality of the Bank of the United States. The Constitution was less than five years old at a point when Hamilton claimed nearly unlimited expansionary powers under the "necessary and proper clause." Certainly, it sparked controversy then, and it will elicit a response from your students today. Also pay attention to Hamilton's plan to fund the public debt. Ask students why his plan angered large segments of the American population, and have them evaluate his opponents' strategy to defeat the plan.

### LECTURE 3

#### *European Conflict and the Coalescing of American Political Parties*

This lecture ties together international and domestic politics to show the creation of the two-party system in the United States. Pay particular attention to the American and British reactions to the French Revolution. First, discuss the misconception that the Founders built the two-party system into American politics from the beginning and that it has always been seen as a positive form of institutionalized conflict. Remind your students of Washington's farewell address to highlight his philosophical opposition to political parties. Then, show how the French Revolution divided American opinion and how the war between France and England created a diplomatic crisis for the United States that eventually led to the Quasi-War with France. Be sure to tie in the Jay Treaty and the XYZ affair. With war fever rampant, the Federalist-controlled Congress passed the Alien and Sedition Acts, which were aimed at the domestic enemies of the Adams administration rather than at the country's foreign adversary. Explain the details of these acts and whom they affected. Finally, conclude with Jefferson and Madison's introduction of the concept of nullification in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions. Not only had external affairs divided Americans into separate camps, but one camp now

planned to ignore the First Amendment rights of its opponents, and the other looked for remedies for its oppression outside the Constitution. Use the development of responses to constitutional issues to frame the rest of the political discussions leading up to the Civil War. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were only the first salvo in the war over how to resolve problems for which the Constitution provides no framework.

### Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

#### 1. Americans Have Always Believed in a Two-Party System

Americans of the 1790s believed that factions (parties) were a sign of disease in the body politic and that only one group—a group imbued with public virtue—could make laws for the country, laws that would promote the harmony of interests of all segments of society. They did not imagine that institutionalized conflict, such as that of the United States with its two-party system, would result in good government. They could see it resulting only in civil war, as one group sought to benefit itself at the expense of another. The development of the Federalist and the Republican parties toward the end of the eighteenth century seemed to validate this belief as the Federalists created the Alien and Sedition Acts—laws we would clearly define as both partisan and unconstitutional—to reduce the power of their opponents. The Republicans responded with the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, which put forth the position that the states could nullify an unconstitutional law passed by Congress. Certainly, nobody foresaw this turn of events during the ratification of the Constitution. Such measures by each side represented a view of the other party as evil, corrosive, and self-serving. Ask your students to discuss what today's hard-core partisans think of their opponents. People today continue to debate the merits of a two-party system. Some now think institutionalized conflict is the same as institutionalized "gridlock." (Here, you might want to discuss the election of 2000, in which American voters seemed unable to choose between Democratic Party candidate Albert Gore and Republican Party candidate George W. Bush.) Explain that the two-party system is "good" for the country as long as it works, but that it has no constitutional or philosophical reason for continuation. You might end by comparing America's modern two-party system with other nations' multiparty systems, identifying strengths and weaknesses of each.

## 2. Politics Has Little or No Effect on the Economy

Students are imbued with present-day cynicism about the ability of government to make any real changes in their lives. They do not realize that much of the world around them works the way it does because legislation shapes the way institutions work. Clearly, the 1790s demonstrate that governmental action is a tangible force for economic change. Hamilton proposed three economic programs that altered both the political landscape and the economic order of the new country. Although only two of his programs (funding of the national debt and chartering a central bank) received congressional approval at the time, the third (tariff protection of American industries) would eventually be adopted as well and cause just as much controversy. By creating these institutions, the congress of the 1790s affected the economy of both the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Americans today still care about these three issues, and decisions about them have just as much impact as they did in the 1790s. To drive home this point, ask your students to comment on how the United States is changing into a postindustrial society. Are the causes of change strictly economic? Are the economic sources influenced by legislation? What are the options? Tie this discussion back to the 1790s, and show how great economic transitions require a great deal of legal restructuring of economic institutions.

farmer? What problems could the country have avoided? What problems would it have likely encountered? Again, remind students that the fact that Americans followed Hamilton's vision does not suggest that Americans had no choice in the matter. Their course was not predetermined.

## Historical Debates

Using the primary sources in *Documenting the American Promise: "The Crisis of 1798: Sedition"* selection (pp. 314–315), have your students debate the relative merits and drawbacks of the Federalist-sponsored Alien and Sedition Acts. Students should grasp immediately that the Sedition Act infringes on the constitutionally guaranteed liberties of free speech and the Alien Act oversteps the powers of Congress enumerated in the Constitution. Ask your students, however, if Congress has the "right" to subvert the Constitution during times of crisis. Students may find Adams's strategy to quash his political opposition a bit too blatant to endorse the two acts. Remind students of their original position when discussing Lincoln's suspension of habeas corpus during the Civil War, the passage of the Sedition Act in World War I, and the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. How far, according to your students, can the federal government "bend" the Constitution in order to "protect" the republican form of government?

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

When discussing gender roles during the early national period, consider screening the PBS documentary *A Midwife's Tale*, which is based on Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's Pulitzer Prize-winning account of Martha Ballard, a midwife in Maine during the decades following the American Revolution. In addition to chronicling Ballard's life as a midwife and her struggles against poverty, disease, and domestic abuse, the documentary interweaves footage of historian Ulrich piecing together the fragmentary evidence of Ballard's world.

When discussing the Haitian Revolution, consider showing "Brotherly Love," part three of the PBS series *Africans in America*, which documents the event's influence in the United States.

### Class Discussion Starters

Ask your students to consider the trajectory of American development had Hamilton's economic program been rejected. What if Americans had held to Jefferson's ideal of the virtuous, independent, yeoman

## Additional Resources for Chapter 9

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 9 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 9.1: Travel Times from New York City in 1800 (p. 295)
- Map 9.2: Western Expansion and Indian Land Cessions to 1810 (p. 304)
- Global Comparison: National Census Taking Worldwide (p. 297)
- Plan for Washington, D.C., on a Handkerchief (p. 301)
- Treaty of Greenville, 1795 (p. 306)

### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The

following maps, figures, and images from chapter 9 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 9.1: Travel Times from New York City in 1800 (p. 295)
- Map 9.2: Western Expansion and Indian Land Cessions to 1810 (p. 304)
- Global Comparison: National Census Taking Worldwide (p. 297)
- 1790 Census Page (p. 297)
- Plan for Washington, D.C., on a Handkerchief (p. 301)
- Cartoon of the Mathew Lyon Fight in Congress (p. 313)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor's Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 9 include:

- *What Did the Constitution Mean to Early Americans?* by Edward Countryman
- *Creating an American Culture, 1775–1800: A Brief History with Documents*, by Eve Kornfeld
- “*The Federalist*”: *The Essential Essays*, by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, edited with an introduction by Jack N. Rakove
- *Judith Sargent Murray: A Brief Biography with Documents*, by Sheila L. Skemp
- *Welfare Reform in the Early Republic: A Brief History with Documents*, by Seth Rockman
- *Jefferson vs. Hamilton: Confrontations That Shaped a Nation*, by Noble E. Cunningham Jr.

## For Students

### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 9 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- Why Free Government Has Always Failed: William Manning, *The Key of Liberty*, 1798
- A French Sugar Planter Describes the French and Saint Domingue Revolutions: *A Creole of Saint Domingue Experiences Revolution in France and Saint Domingue*, 1791
- Mary Dewees Moves West to Kentucky: *Journal*, 1788–1789
- Alexander Hamilton on the Economy: *Report on the Subject of Manufactures*, 1791
- President George Washington's Parting Advice to the Nation: *Farewell Address to the People of the United States*, 1796

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 9:

### Map Activities

- Map 9.1: Travel Times from New York City in 1800 (p. 295)
- Map 9.2: Western Expansion and Indian Land Cessions to 1810 (p. 304)

### Visual Activities

- 1790 Census Page (p. 297)
- Cartoon of the Mathew Lyon Fight in Congress (p. 313)

### Reading Historical Documents Activity

- The Crisis of 1798: Sedition (pp. 314–315)

**CHAPTER**  
**10**

# Republicans in Power 1800–1824

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## Chapter Learning Objectives

1. What was the Jeffersonian vision for the United States? In what ways could the election of 1800 be considered a “revolution”? What challenges and opportunities did Thomas Jefferson face once in office?
2. What challenges and opportunities did James Madison face once in office?
3. Why did the United States declare war on Great Britain in 1812? What were the major turning points of the war?
4. In what ways did the status of white women change in the early Republic?
5. What were the Missouri Compromise, the Monroe Doctrine, and the “corrupt bargain” of 1824? What implications for the future direction of the country did these events carry?

## Annotated Chapter Outline

### I. Jefferson’s Presidency

- A. Turbulent Times: Election and Rebellion
  1. In the election of 1800, results remained uncertain from November to February 1801 as voters in the electoral college, using the single balloting system to choose both president and vice president, gave equal numbers of votes to Jefferson and to his running mate, Senator Aaron Burr.
  2. Because Aaron Burr refused to concede the presidency to Jefferson, the election moved to the Federalist-dominated House of Representatives for a decision.

3. Some Federalists preferred Burr, but Alexander Hamilton thought he would be more dangerous than Jefferson in the presidency.
4. Of the nine votes needed to win, Jefferson had the votes of eight states on the first ballot; it took thirty-six more ballots and six days to get the ninth vote in his column.
5. The election of 1800 demonstrated that the leadership of the nation could shift from one group to a distinctly different one in a peaceful transfer of power affected by ballots, not bullets.
6. As the country struggled over its white leadership crisis, a twenty-four-year-old slave, named Gabriel, who worked as a blacksmith, plotted a rebellion in Virginia.
7. Betrayed to authorities by a few nervous slaves, Gabriel’s revolt never materialized, but it scared white Virginians, and in September and October they hanged twenty-seven black men for contemplating rebellion until Jefferson advised Governor Monroe that the hangings had gone far enough.
- B. The Jeffersonian Vision of Republican Simplicity
  1. Jefferson sidestepped the problem of slavery and turned his attention to establishing a mode of governing that was in clear contrast to that of the Federalists.
  2. Once in office, Jefferson emphasized unfussy frugality and a casual style.
  3. Jefferson’s paramount goal was to scale back the exercise of federal power and promote policies that would foster the

- independence of ordinary American citizens.
4. In Jefferson's vision, the source of true liberty in America was the independent farmer, someone who owned and worked his land both for himself and for the market.
  5. Jefferson set out to dismantle Federalist innovation, reducing the sizes of the army and navy, abolishing all federal internal taxes, and reducing the national debt through customs duties and the sale of western lands.
  6. A properly limited federal government, according to Jefferson, was responsible merely for running a postal system, maintaining federal courts, staffing lighthouses, collecting customs duties, and conducting a census once every ten years.
- C. The Judiciary and the Midnight Judges
1. John Adams seized the short time between his election defeat and Jefferson's inauguration to appoint 217 Federalist men to various judicial, diplomatic, and military posts.
  2. Most of this windfall of appointments came to Adams as a result of the Judiciary Act of 1801, which revised the original Judiciary Act of 1789, and authorized sixteen, instead of six, circuit courts, each headed by a new judge, and reduced the Supreme Court from six to five judges.
  3. Adams and John Marshall worked feverishly in the last weeks of February to secure agreements from the new appointees.
  4. The appointment of "midnight judges" infuriated the Republicans, including Jefferson, who immediately canceled the appointments of the nontenured men and refused to send out the commissions that had not been delivered by the time he took office.
  5. William Marbury, who was to have received one of these commissions, sued the new secretary of state, James Madison, for failure to make good on the appointment.
  6. The Supreme Court ruled in the landmark case *Marbury v. Madison* that although Marbury's commission was valid and the new president should have delivered it, the Court could not compel him to do so.
  7. The Court found that the grounds of Marbury's suit, resting in the Judiciary Act of 1789, were in conflict with the Constitution.
8. Although it received little notice at the time, the Court had acted for the first time to disallow a law on the grounds that it was unconstitutional, thereby establishing the concept of judicial review.
- D. The Promise of the West: The Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition
1. The Marbury decision went largely unnoticed in 1803 because the president and Congress were preoccupied with other major issues, especially the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory.
  2. Up through the Seven Years' War, France claimed, but only lightly settled, a large expense of land west of the Mississippi River, only to lose it to Spain in the 1763 Treaty of Paris.
  3. By 1801, Americans made up a sizable minority of the population around the lower Mississippi.
  4. In 1802, rumors reached Jefferson that Spain had struck a secret bargain with France to hand over a large part of Spain's trans-Mississippi territory to Napoleon in exchange for some land in Italy.
  5. Jefferson, who did not want to see France grow as a colonial power in North America, sent Robert R. Livingston, America's minister to France, to try to buy New Orleans; instead, he bought the entire territory for the bargain price of \$15 million.
  6. Jefferson and most of Congress were delighted with the purchase, but they faced a tough constitutional question: by what authority in the Constitution could Jefferson justify the purchase?
  7. Jefferson thought he might need a constitutional amendment to authorize the addition of territory, but his advisers told him that the president's treaty-making powers were sufficient to justify the purchase; in late 1803 the American army took formal control of the Louisiana Territory.
  8. Jefferson, who had always eyed the trans-Mississippi West with intense scrutiny, arranged for a secret scientific and military mission to Spanish and Indian territory, led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, to investigate Indian cultures, collect plant and animal specimens, and chart the geography of the West.

9. Congress directed the expedition to scout locations for military posts, open commercial agreements for the fur trade, and locate any possible waterway between the east and west coasts.
  10. Aided by a French trapper—who was accompanied by a sixteen-year-old Indian woman named Sacajawea and their baby—the Lewis and Clark expedition reached the Pacific Ocean at the mouth of the Columbia River in November 1805.
- E. Challenges Overseas: The Barbary Wars
1. Since the late 1600s Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli—Muslim states in Northern Africa that Americans of the time called the Barbary states—controlled Mediterranean shipping traffic by demanding large annual payments they called “tribute” in exchange for safe passage; countries that refused to pay the tribute found their ships at risk for seizure, with cargoes plundered and crew captured and sold into slavery.
  2. Prior to 1776, U.S. ships were protected by the British, but once independent the United States paid the tribute which, by the mid-1790s, cost \$50,000, and a hundred American merchant ships safely traversed the Mediterranean each year.
  3. When the Pasha of Tripoli failed to get a large increase in his tribute in 1801 he declared war on the United States and Jefferson sent four warships to the Mediterranean to protect U.S. shipping.
  4. In 1803 the USS *Philadelphia* was captured in Tripoli harbor and its three-hundred-man crew captured; in retaliation seventy men led by navy lieutenant Stephen Decatur boarded the *Philadelphia*, set it on fire, and escaped, but their attempt to explode the entire Tripoli fleet failed and eleven Americans were killed.
  5. When Secretary of State James Madison rejected an American officer’s plea to invade Tripoli, the officer assembled a force of three hundred Egyptian mercenaries and a few Americans and marched them through five hundred miles of desert to Tripoli’s second largest city, which he successfully attacked.
  6. The treaty that resulted from this successful attack released the prisoners from the *Philadelphia* and comforted those who had thought the U.S.’s honor had been at stake.
- F. More Transatlantic Troubles: Impressment and Embargo
1. Jefferson easily won a second term in office, but governing after 1804 was not easy; France and England, then embroiled in war, each warned America not to ship arms to the other.
  2. Britain acted on those threats in 1806, stopping American ships, inspecting cargoes for military aid to France, and seizing suspected deserters from the British navy, along with many Americans; ultimately 2,500 American sailors were impressed into the British navy.
  3. In June 1807, a British frigate attacked an American ship at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, prompting Congress to pass a total embargo in December 1807, banning all importation of British goods into the country.
  4. The Embargo Act of 1807 was meant to make Britain suffer and to forestall war, but it was a total disaster, bringing the American economy to a standstill.
- II. The Madisons in the White House**
- A. Women in Washington City
1. During Jefferson’s presidency Dolley Madison developed elaborate social networks that constituted the top level of female politicking in Washington, which worked hand in hand with the patronage system of the federal government.
  2. When James Madison became president in 1808, Dolley Madison struck a balance between queenliness and republican openness, throwing elaborate parties essential to gaining political access, trading information, and establishing informal channels that smoothed the governing process.
  3. In 1810–1811 the president’s house acquired its present name, the White House, which referenced its white-painted sandstone exterior and reflected the atmosphere of republicanism and the symbolic function of this new White House to enhance the power and legitimacy of the presidency.
- B. Indian Troubles in the West
1. While the Madison’s cemented alliances at home, the difficulties with England and France overseas and the Indians in the old Northwest continued to mount.
  2. The Shawnee chief Tecumseh actively solidified his confederacy, while far northern tribes renewed ties with

- supportive British agents and fur traders in Canada; if the United States embarked on a war with England, there would clearly be serious repercussions on the frontier.
3. Increasing numbers of white Americans living in Ohio and the territories of Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan raised the stakes for both sides.
  4. Up to 1805, Indiana's territorial governor, William Henry Harrison, had negotiated a series of treaties in a divide-and-conquer strategy extracting Indian lands for paltry payments, but with the rise to power of Tecumseh and his brother Tenskwatawa, the Prophet, this strategy became more difficult to carry out.
  5. Taking advantage of Tecumseh's absence on a recruiting trip, Harrison assembled leaders of the Potawatomi, Miami, and Delaware tribes to negotiate the Treaty of Fort Wayne in 1809.
  6. Tecumseh was furious with both Harrison and the tribal leaders, and soon left again to seek alliances in the South.
  7. Harrison once again took advantage of his absence and attacked Prophetstown on Tippecanoe Creek; the resulting battle resulted in the deaths of sixty-two Americans and forty Indians before the Prophet's forces fled.
  8. The Battle of Tippecanoe was heralded as a great American victory, but Tecumseh was now more ready than ever to make war on the United States.
- C. The War of 1812
1. The Indian conflicts in the Northwest Territory in 1811 soon merged into the wider conflict with England known as the War of 1812.
  2. Attacks by England and France on American ships continued and in 1809, Congress replaced Jefferson's embargo with the Non-Intercourse Act, which prohibited trade with France, England, and their respective colonies, but opened up trade elsewhere to diminish the anguish of shippers, farmers, and planters.
  3. Despite widespread disagreement about the necessity of war with either Britain or France, several dozen of the new and younger members of Congress, including Henry Clay from Kentucky and John Calhoun from South Carolina, known as the War Hawks, were eager to avenge the insults from abroad.
  4. They welcomed a war with England, both to legitimize attacks on the Indians and to bring an end to impressments; many also were expansionists, looking toward Florida and Canada.
  5. In June 1812, Congress declared war on Great Britain in a vote that divided along sectional lines: New England and some Middle Atlantic states opposed the war, while the South and West were strongly for it. Ironically, Britain had just announced that it would stop searching and seizing American ships, but the momentum of war was unstoppable.
  6. The War Hawks proposed an invasion of Canada, confidently predicting victory in four weeks; instead, the war lasted two and a half years, and Canada never fell.
  7. The New England states dragged their feet in raising troops, and some New England merchants carried on illegal trade with Great Britain.
  8. The presidential election of 1812 between Madison and DeWitt Clinton of New York solidified Federalist discontent with the war; Madison nevertheless won in the electoral college, but his margin of victory was considerably smaller than it had been in 1808.
  9. Indians in the South who had allied with Tecumseh's confederacy were also plunged into an all-out war.
  10. General Andrew Jackson led a successful attack against the Creeks in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend and later extracted a treaty from the Creeks ceding thousands of square miles of their land to the United States.
- D. Washington City Burns: The British Offensive
1. In August 1814, British ships sailed into Chesapeake Bay, landing 5,000 troops and throwing the capital into a panic.
  2. The troops entered the city and began torching government buildings, including the White House, before moving on to Baltimore.
  3. Then, in another powerful British offensive, British troops marched from Canada into New York State, but after a series of mistakes cost them a naval skirmish on Lake Champlain, they retreated to Canada.
  4. In early 1815, a large British army landed in lower Louisiana and encountered

- General Andrew Jackson and his militia just outside of New Orleans.
5. Jackson secured a decisive victory, becoming an instant hero, at the Battle of New Orleans, the most glorious and decisive victory the Americans had experienced.
  6. Ironically, negotiators in Europe had signed a peace agreement two weeks earlier—the Treaty of Ghent, which settled few of the surface issues that had led to war.
  7. Antiwar New England Federalists did not feel triumph over the war's ambiguous conclusion; rather, they felt a sense of failure at the secret Hartford Convention they convened in December 1814, at which politicians discussed constitutional amendments that would have weakened the political power of the South, and even considered possible secession from the Union.
  8. Coming just as peace was achieved, however, the Hartford Convention suddenly looked very unpatriotic; the Federalist Party never recovered its grip and was soon reduced to a shadow of its former self, even in New England.
  9. Although Americans celebrated a victory, no one really won the War of 1812.
  10. The biggest winners of the War of 1812 were the War Hawks, who took up the banner of the Republican Party and carried it in new, expansive directions.
  11. These young politicians favored trade, western expansion, internal improvements, and the energetic development of new economic markets.
  12. The biggest losers of the war were the Indians who lost leaders, land, and their British protectors.

### III. Women's Status in the Early Republic

#### A. Women and the Law

1. The Anglo-American view of women, implanted in British common law, was that wives had no independent legal or political personhood.
2. The legal doctrine of *feme covert* held that a wife's civic life was completely subsumed by that of her husband.
3. State legislatures generally passed up the opportunity to rewrite the laws of domestic relations, even though they redrafted other British laws in light of republican principles.

4. The one aspect of family law that did change in the early Republic was divorce: Before the Revolution, only New England jurisdictions recognized a limited right to divorce; but by 1820, every state except South Carolina did so.
  5. Nevertheless, divorce was difficult and states upheld the institution of marriage to protect persons they thought of as naturally dependent, and to regulate the use and inheritance of property.
  6. Legal enforcement of marriage as an unequal relationship played a major role in maintaining gender inequality in the nineteenth century.
  7. Single adult women could own and convey property, make contracts, initiate lawsuits, and pay taxes; they could not vote, serve on juries, or practice law, so their civil status was limited.
  8. None of the legal institutions that structured white gender relations applied to black slaves who, as property themselves, could not freely consent to any contractual obligations, including marriage.
- B. Women and Church Governance
1. In most Protestant denominations around 1800, white women made up the majority of congregants; yet the church hierarchy was exclusively male, and the governance of most denominations rested in men's hands.
  2. Quakers and Baptist congregations in New England made exceptions and recognized women's spiritual talents.
  3. Between 1790 and 1820, a small and highly unusual set of women emerged, who actively engaged in open preaching.
  4. Perhaps the most well-known exhorting woman was Jemima Wilkinson, who called herself the "Publick Universal Friend" and claimed that her body was no longer either female or male. She dressed in men's clothes and shunned gender-specific pronouns.
  5. The decades from 1790 to the 1820s marked a period of unusual confusion, ferment, and creativity in American religion, leading to new denominations and extensive press coverage devoted to religion.
  6. But despite the occasional questioning of gender subordination, the presumption of male authority over women was so deeply entrenched that even those denominations

that had allowed women to participate in church governance began to pull back, and most churches reinstated patterns of hierarchy along gender lines.

C. Female Education

1. Starting in the North and eventually spreading to the South, states and localities began investing in public schools.
2. Young girls attended such schools and learned basic literacy and numeracy, and by 1830 girls had made rapid gains, in many places approaching male literacy.
3. New private academies provided more advanced education for teenaged girls with parents willing and able to invest in further education; some dozen female academies were established in the 1790s and, by 1830, the number had grown to nearly 200.
4. Curriculum in these new academies included both ornamental arts and solid academics; by the 1820s their courses and readings lists equaled those at Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, and Princeton.
5. The most rigorous schools called themselves seminaries; the best known were the Troy Female Seminary in New York and the Hartford Seminary in Connecticut.
6. Most women graduates taught in academies and district schools and many then married and raised families; others became authors who contributed to newspapers and periodicals or published novels.
7. New attention to the education of women laid the foundation for major changes in the gender system as the girl students of the 1810s matured into adult women of the 1830s.

**IV. Monroe and Adams**

A. From Property to Democracy

1. Presidential elections occurred at a remove from ordinary voters because the Electoral College chose the president, but state elections generated great popular involvement and pressure for greater democratization swept into presidential elections from 1824 onward.
2. In the 1780s twelve of the thirteen original states enacted landed property qualifications for voting.
3. In the 1790s Vermont became the first state to enfranchise all adult males and four more states soon broadened suffrage considerably.

4. Between 1800 and 1830 the trend for democratization gripped all the states.
5. Both political philosophy and practical politics were entwined in these debates: who are “the people” in a government founded on popular sovereignty, and whose party or interest group gains the most from expanded suffrage?
6. Many new western states abandoned property qualifications altogether.
7. Heated battles over extending suffrage took place in East Coast states where expanding numbers contended with entrenched landed political elites who favored the status quo.
8. After the War in 1812, ten of the original states, including Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, abolished the freehold qualification and opened the franchise to all who paid tax or rendered militia service.
9. Several states managed to delay expanded suffrage for two more decades, but landowners found it increasingly difficult to justify the notion that only they had a stake in government.
10. Most agreed that women, paupers, and felons should not vote, but free black men’s enfranchisement generated much discussion at state conventions.
11. Except for New York, which retained the existing property qualification for black voters as it removed it for whites, the pattern was one of expanded suffrage for whites and a total eclipse of suffrage for blacks.
- B. The Missouri Compromise
1. In February 1819, Missouri applied for statehood.
2. Missouri’s unusual combination of geography and demography, which included a population of 10,000 slaves, led a New York representative in Congress, James Tallmadge Jr., to propose two amendments to the statehood bill: the first stipulated that slaves born in Missouri after statehood would be free at age twenty-five, and the second declared that no new slaves could be imported into the state.
3. Tallmadge’s amendments passed in the House, but with a close and sharply sectional vote of North against South; the Senate, however, voted down the amendments.

4. In 1820, a compromise emerged in the Senate: Maine would enter the Union as a free state, and Missouri would come in as a slave state, thereby maintaining the balance of free and slave states in the Senate.
  5. Also, the southern boundary of Missouri, latitude 36°30', extended west, would become the permanent line dividing slave and free states, guaranteeing the North a large area where slavery was banned.
  6. President Monroe and former president Thomas Jefferson worried that the Missouri crisis would reinvigorate the Federalist Party as the party of the North; but when new parties developed in the 1830s, each party took pains to bridge geography and develop a presence in both North and South.
- C. The Monroe Doctrine
1. In 1816, American troops led by General Andrew Jackson invaded Spanish Florida in search of Seminole Indians harboring escaped slaves.
  2. Once there, Jackson declared himself the commander of northern Florida and executed two British men who he claimed were dangerous enemies.
  3. Jackson's move troubled the Monroe administration, but John Quincy Adams, the secretary of state, negotiated the Adams-Onís Treaty with Spain, which delivered Florida to the United States in 1819 as long as the United States abandoned any claim to Texas or Cuba.
  4. At this time, Spain was preoccupied with its colonies in South America, which were declaring their independence.
  5. To discourage Spain or France from reconquering these colonies, Monroe formulated a declaration of principles on South America: The Monroe Doctrine warned Europe that any attempt to interfere in the Western Hemisphere would be regarded as an unfriendly act toward the United States.
  6. In exchange for noninterference by Europeans, Monroe pledged that the United States would stay out of European struggles.
- D. The Election of 1824
1. John Quincy Adams, John C. Calhoun, and William H. Crawford, each representing various segments of the population, all vied for the presidency in 1824.
  2. Because such a large number of candidates reduced the chance of anyone securing a majority in the electoral college, many expected that the final election would be decided by the House of Representatives.
  3. The election of 1824 was the first presidential contest in which popularity with ordinary voters could be measured.
  4. Due in part to expanded suffrage and the new system that put the power to choose electoral college electors in the hands of the voters, Jackson won the popular vote and secured a plurality in the electoral college, but he did not have a majority, so the election was thrown into the House for the second (and last time) in American history.
  5. The Twelfth Amendment dictated that each state delegation had one vote, and only the top three candidates could enter the runoff.
  6. John C. Calhoun had already pulled out of the election; Henry Clay was now out of the race as well, but as Speaker of the House, he was in a position to throw his support to another candidate.
  7. The election of 1824 came to be characterized as the “corrupt bargain” in the eyes of Jackson's supporters because Clay backed Adams, who won by one vote in the House.
  8. What made Clay's decision look “corrupt” was that immediately after the election, Adams offered to appoint Clay secretary of state—and Clay accepted.
  9. In fact, there probably was no concrete bargain, but Jackson felt the election had been stolen from him.
- E. The Adams Administration
1. John Quincy Adams's career had been built on diplomacy, not electoral politics, and despite his wife's deft experience in the art of political influence, his own political sense was not well developed.
  2. Adams had lofty ideas for federal action during his presidency, and the plan he put before Congress was so sweeping that many feared he was using federal power inappropriately to advance commercial interests.
  3. Adams lacked the political savvy to implement much of his program and, like his father, was fated to serve only one term as president.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 10, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 10.

## Review Questions

1. How did Jefferson attempt to undo the Federalist innovations of earlier administrations? (pp. 322–323, 326–327) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Overview:* In contrast to the Federalist vision of a strong centralized government and powerful executive, Jefferson's Republican vision supported limited government and was wary of expanding executive power. (p. 323)

- *Stylistic innovation:* Jefferson used an aesthetic of republican simplicity to underline his administration's contrast to the Federalists, for example, by wearing informal clothes and scaling back the formal social gatherings characteristic of Federalist Washington. (p. 326)

- *Policy changes:* Jefferson pursued the reduction of government through a variety of policy changes including a reduction in the size of the peacetime military, modifications to taxation, and reduction of national debt. (p. 327)

2. Why did Congress declare war on Great Britain in 1812? (pp. 331–334) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Impressment of sailors:* American sailors had become victims of impressment in the intensifying conflict between England and France. American ships had also been the object of searches and seizures by the British at sea. These violations of U.S. sovereignty offended many Americans and led some to push for war. (p. 331)

- *Disputed trading rights:* After the British frigate, the *Leopard*, fired on the American *Chesapeake* in American waters and killed three Americans, Jefferson convinced Congress to pass the Embargo Act of 1807 to punish the British by refusing to trade American goods. The act, and its milder replacement, the Non-Intercourse Act, had produced economic hardship for many in the United States and contributed to divisiveness. (pp. 331–333)

- *Political wrangling:* The "War Hawks," including Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, effectively pushed Congress toward war to punish Britain and to

defend American honor. The vote for war broke along sectional lines. (pp. 333–334)

3. How did the civil status of American women and men differ in the decades of the early Republic? (pp. 337–340) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Feme covert:* This legal doctrine within eighteenth-century Anglo-American law held that women had no legal or political identity outside their husbands. In practice, this meant that married women did not enjoy rights to make contracts or keep their wages. Within marriage, women were obligated to obey husbands and cede to their claims to children. (p. 337)

- *Limited civil status:* Neither married nor single women could vote, and single adult women could not practice law or serve on juries. (p. 340)

4. How did the collapse of the Federalist Party influence the administrations of James Monroe and John Quincy Adams? (pp. 344–351) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Expectation of harmony:* Many expected that the collapse of the Federalist Party would make Monroe's nonpartisan administration a peaceful one, but matters such as Missouri's admission to the Union produced friction and revealed other divisions such as region and slavery. (pp. 344–347)

- *Election of 1824:* Divisions within the single remaining party became plain in the buildup to this election. The caucus system failed to reduce the number of candidates sufficiently to ensure that a single candidate would secure a majority. This left the final determination of the election with the House of Representatives, increasing the value of informal social politicking in which women played a significant role. The appearance of impropriety in Henry Clay's support for John Quincy Adams's candidacy, and subsequent appointment as secretary of state, led to resentment on the part of Andrew Jackson and his supporters. (pp. 349–351)

- *Politically tone-deaf presidency of John Quincy Adams:* Adams's diplomatic route to the presidency presaged many of the missteps of his administration, making imprudent appointments and proposing enormous federal actions out of line with the expectations of congressional leadership. (p. 351)

## Making Connections

1. When Jefferson assumed the presidency following the election of 1800, he expected to transform the national government. Describe his Republican vision and his successes and failures in implementing it.

Did subsequent Republican presidents advance the same objectives? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Overview of Jefferson's republican vision:* Jefferson advocated a restricted federal government and was particularly wary of expanding the powers of the executive, especially after the events of the 1790s. He was also critical of Hamiltonian financial innovations, which he saw as enriching a few to the detriment of the independent farmers whom he considered the foundation of the nation. (pp. 326–327)

- *Presidential style:* Matters outside the forging of policy played an important part in shaping the presidency and the national government in the eighteenth century. Jefferson remade Washington life according to his vision of republican simplicity, eschewing formality and the patterns of sociability characteristic of Federalist Washington, and in effect reducing the social dimensions of governance. (p. 326)

- *Successes and failures:* Jefferson succeeded in reducing the size of the federal government by reducing the armed forces, changing the tax structure, restricting the number of federal employees, and reducing the national debt. (p. 327) One of his most renowned accomplishments, the Louisiana Purchase, represented a compromise with his interpretation of the Constitution. (p. 328)

- *Subsequent Republican presidents:* James Madison retained Jefferson's characteristically open approach to the presidency, and departed from it by cultivating the legitimacy and stature of the presidency, largely through Dolley Madison's fostering of the social networks of governance through expansive social engagements. (pp. 332–333) John Quincy Adams pursued an ambitious expansion of the federal government that he saw as in line with his predecessors' commitment to expanding knowledge, but which many others saw as Hamiltonian in scope. (p. 351)

2. How did the United States expand and strengthen its control of territory in North America in the early nineteenth century? In your answer, discuss the roles of diplomacy, military action, and political leadership in contributing to this development. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Diplomatic developments, Louisiana Purchase:* Fearing that France was about to retake trans-Mississippi territory it had lost to Spain in the Treaty of Paris, Jefferson dispatched Robert R. Livingston to try to purchase New Orleans. Negotiations resulted in the Louisiana Purchase and an enormous expansion of U.S. territory. (pp. 328–330)

- *Treaty of Fort Wayne:* In the treaty, William Henry Harrison secured three million acres of land in the Northwest Territory from Indians for about two cents an acre and a false promise that this would the

last land cession the United States would seek. He had circumvented the powerful leader, Tecumseh, by taking advantage of his absence to negotiate an arrangement with other Indian leaders. (p. 333)

- *Adams-Onís Treaty:* In 1816, Andrew Jackson led American troops in an invasion of Florida in pursuit of Seminole harboring runaway slaves. His subsequent execution of two British men in the Spanish territory precipitated Secretary of State John Quincy Adams's negotiation of the Adams-Onís Treaty, which gave the United States control of Florida, but also ceded claims to Texas and Cuba. (pp. 348–349)

- *Military actions, Northwest Territory:* William Henry Harrison supplemented his diplomatic efforts to gain American control over Indian lands with the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811, destroying Tecumseh's village, Prophetstown. (p. 333)

- *War of 1812:* Americans' struggles with Indians merged into their war on Great Britain in the War of 1812. Together, the British and Indian forces made what American war advocates imagined as an easy war into a very costly one. The concluding Treaty of Ghent gave the United States no new territory, but it did end British aid to Indians. (pp. 333–336)

- *Creek War:* In the South, Tecumseh's Creek allies also waged war with the United States. The war ended with the Creek's cession of thousands of acres of land. (p. 335)

- *Political leadership:* Beyond diplomacy, political leadership strengthened American territorial control and prepared the way for western expansion in other ways too. Jefferson's sponsorship of the Lewis and Clark expedition developed knowledge of the land and peoples beyond American borders, in addition to establishing favorable relations with many Indian tribes. (pp. 328–330) In the Monroe Doctrine, James Monroe asserted that the United States' sphere of influence included South America and explicitly excluded Europe. This would be an important principle in bolstering American regional authority. (pp. 348–349)

3. Regional tensions emerged as a serious danger to the American political system in the early nineteenth century. Discuss specific conflicts that had regional dimensions. How did Americans resolve, or fail to resolve, these tensions? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Infancy of the American government:* Despite encouraging developments such as a peaceful transfer of power between opposing parties after a contentious election, other potential threats to the new nation appeared along regional lines. (p. 322)

- *War of 1812:* When Congress declared war on Britain in 1812, the vote broke along sectional lines, with the South and West acting as strong proponents,

and the North and Mid-Atlantic expressing their opposition. Proponents of the war from the South and the West especially valued the war as a tool to legitimize their attacks on Indians, bring an end to impressments, and advance goals of territorial expansion. The shipping interests of the North and Mid-Atlantic had been suffering the impact of trade restrictions and were more wary of the costs and risks of the war. (pp. 334–335)

- *Hartford Convention*: Dissatisfaction with the War of 1812 and objections to the South's disproportionate political power was on display at the Hartford Convention in 1814. At the convention, Federalist leaders from New England discussed secession, abolishing the three-fifths clause, and other reforms to limit southern political power. Coming on the heels of peace, the convention accomplished little except the further erosion of Federalist power. Still, it suggested the depths of regional tensions and dissatisfaction with current policies to manage them. (pp. 336–337)

- *Missouri Compromise*: Missouri's 1819 application for statehood posed a problem. There were already 10,000 slaves there, but geographically, it sat on the same latitude as the free state of Indiana. James Tallmadge Jr., representative from New York, tried to solve this problem by an amendment to the statehood bill providing for gradual emancipation of slaves already living in the state and prohibiting the further importation of slaves. Southern legislators saw in this proposal a dangerous attempt to deprive them of an allied state, and potential erosion of the national protection of slavery and the South's political power. Tallmadge's amendment was defeated and Missouri's admission was delayed until 1820, when a compromise arrangement established a new latitudinal boundary between slave and free states and balanced the admission of slave-state Missouri with free Maine. Contemporaries recognized the danger in these negotiations and worked to soothe regional tensions, fearing the consequences of their failure. (pp. 346–348)

4. Although the United States denied its female citizens equality in public life, some women were able to exert considerable influence. How did they do so? In your answer, discuss the legal and political status of women in the Republic. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Overview of women's status*: Although women in the early republic enjoyed some advantages, particularly better access to education, legal, political, and social inequalities persisted. The legal principle of *feme covert* meant that married women did not enjoy rights to make contracts or keep their wages and were expected to defer to husbands in all matters within marriage. Women's civil status was distinctly inferior to that of men, being denied the right to vote or serve on juries. (pp. 337–340)

- *Women in political life*: Even without the right to vote, a few women exercised considerable political power through the social networks of Washington. They helped develop a social network to promote cohesion among the governing classes and to finesse access to influence the patronage system of the federal government. Dolley Madison contributed greatly to the stature of the presidency and her husband's political career. Her gatherings became must-attend events for political aspirants. Still, this political power was vulnerable to actions of those in office, as evidenced by Jefferson's disdain of women's social gatherings and scaling back of formal receptions. (pp. 326, 332–333)

- *Women in religious life*: Although white women made up the majority of congregants in Protestant churches, they were generally excluded from church leadership. Still, a few women, with and without denominational sanction, preached. For example, Jemima Wilkinson preached openly in Rhode Island and Philadelphia. Women were taking advantage of a period of unusual innovative religious expression where many Christians questioned gender subordination. Some of the relative liberties women enjoyed in this context were less available later in the century. (p. 340)

- *Educated women*: Education for women grew dramatically between 1790 and 1830 and women graduates of female academies and seminaries were able to wield their influence in American society in several different ways. Some of these women became teachers after graduation and through the material they taught and the particular version of womanhood they modeled, influenced the boys and girls in their classrooms. Most female graduates in time married and raised families. These educated women likely influenced their husbands and especially their sons and daughters by teaching them and, as republican mothers, shaping the next generation of citizens. Finally, a large number of female graduates became authors who contributed pieces to newspapers and periodicals or wrote novels. Through their writing, these women had the ability to influence their readers, both male and female. (pp. 340–344)

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Home and Away: The New Boarding School (p. 344)

**Reading the Image:** What seem to be the family's expectations as they send the young woman off to

school? How is she changed when she returns? Did she acquire a practical or an ornamental education, according to the artist? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Expectations:* The “before” portrait suggests a family that runs an orderly and content household and is sending a demure and respectful daughter off to school to learn how to run a similarly well-mannered household of her own.

- *Results:* The young lady in the “after” portrait, however, has lost her modesty and gentility. Instead she is a fashionable woman with an apparently imperious manner who has thrown the formerly orderly household into disarray and discontent. The disorder appears to be largely caused by her new possessions, including a piano, a tea set, and a bird in a cage lurking at the top of the picture, indicating that the young lady acquired, amongst other things, a appreciation for material wealth which she was without before attending the school.

- *Artist’s perspective:* The artist clearly suggests that her education was not only ornamental but damaging to both her character and the well-being of her family. Notice that in the “before” portrait the girl’s father sits at his desk with stacks of coins and bills set before him. In the “after” portrait, he now holds his head, grimacing, at what appears to be a bill implying that the young woman’s education did little but drain her family’s savings.

**Connections:** Since the artist worked at a female academy, should we presume his depiction is accurate? What do these pictures reveal about the options for young women in this period? Do you detect any anxiety about the wisdom of educating women? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Artist’s depiction:* The artist is clearly satirizing the concept of female education here, so there is no clear basis for assuming that his depiction is accurate. However, given that he held a position in such a school, it is likely that the engravings are either an exaggeration of the truth or more reflective of the artists’ opinion on the value of the education the young women received at such schools. The engravings, while clearly humorous, do suggest concerns within American society about the benefits of female education, since satirists do not generally bother to address such humor toward subjects on which all parties agree.

- *Gender roles:* These pictures suggest a clear restriction on the options for young women of the period. The implication of these pictures appears to be that young women receive a better moral and social education at home than they do at school. Such a perspective indicates a desire to keep young women safely restricted within the boundaries of their home or immediate community.

### A View of St. Louis from an Illinois Town, 1835 (p. 347)

**Reading the Image:** What kind of city was St. Louis? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *The city of St. Louis:* It is clear from the painting that St. Louis was a busy urban commercial center. There are commercial buildings and ports lining the St. Louis shore of the Mississippi. Several steamboats are shown already docked there, and more are on the river, indicating heavy traffic of people and goods. There also are several men shown herding oxen that they likely intend to sell in St. Louis. The city is depicted as being quite large, with buildings that stretch back into the horizon and seem to fill the entire horizontal length of the canvas.

**Connections:** Does this image of St. Louis conform to the usual depiction of the slave states as agricultural? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Economy of St. Louis:* While much of the slave South was agricultural, there were a handful of urban centers. St. Louis was typical of nineteenth-century southern cities in that it was located along a major waterway, making trade its major economic activity. As can be seen from the painting, the docks were at the center of St. Louis’s commercial life: The only smokestacks are those on the steamboats, and there are no other signs of manufacturing enterprises. It is interesting that neither the passengers nor crew traveling on the ferry are black. The only blacks depicted seem to be staying away from what would have to be for them the dangerous side of the river.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 10.2 The Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition (p. 329)

**Reading the Map:** What natural boundaries defined the Louisiana Purchase? How did the size of the newly acquired territory compare to the land area of the existing American states and territories? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Natural Boundaries:* The Louisiana Purchase had four natural boundaries. They were the Mississippi River to the east; the Red River to the south; the Rocky Mountains to the west; and the lands draining into the Missouri River to the north.

- *Land area:* This broad territory was nearly equal in size to the existing land area controlled by the United States.

**Connections:** What political events in Europe created the opportunity for the Jefferson administration to purchase Louisiana? What constitutional obstacles to expansion did Jefferson have to contend with? How did the acquisition of Louisiana affect Spain's hold on North America? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *European political climate:* The sale of the Louisiana Territory to the United States originated in an exchange of that land between Spain, a relatively weak nation, and Napoleonic France, its more powerful ally. That deal alarmed Americans who had been migrating to Louisiana because Spain had been ineffectual in stopping them. America feared French plans to reestablish a New World empire. Through an envoy, President Thomas Jefferson offered to buy the territory from France.

- *Constitutional obstacles:* To square the acquisition of Louisiana with the Constitution, Jefferson had to loosely interpret the president's treaty-making powers because the Constitution did not expressly give him the power to buy land from foreign governments.

- *Consequences for Spain:* For Spain, the loss of Louisiana cost them control of New Orleans and with it the Mississippi River. The territorial transfer also broke the land connection between Spanish Florida and Spain's lands west of the Rocky Mountains.

### Map 10.5 The Missouri Compromise, 1820 (p. 348)

**Reading the Map:** How many free states and how many slave states were there prior to the Missouri Compromise? What did the admission of Missouri as a slave state threaten to do? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Slave vs. Free states:* In 1819, there were an even number of slave and free states—eleven of each. The admission of Missouri threatened to upset the balance of power between slave and free states by giving slave states two more senators and bolstering southern strength in the House of Representatives. Ex-Federalists already had been concerned about the power of other sections' representatives to pass legislation detrimental to the Northeast. The prospect of another slave state threatened to exacerbate a problem that already existed.

**Connections:** Who precipitated the crisis over Missouri, what did he propose, and where did the idea come from? Who proposed the Missouri Compromise, and who benefited from it? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *The crisis over Missouri:* James Tallmadge Jr., a representative from New York, began the crisis over Missouri's admission to the Union. He proposed amending Missouri's statehood bill to ensure the gradual emancipation of its slave population by means of laws modeled on New York's 1799 gradual emancipation law. Tallmadge wanted to prohibit the importation of new slaves into Missouri. His amendment also stipulated that all slaves born after statehood be freed after the age of twenty-five.

- *The Missouri Compromise:* The Missouri Compromise passed in both the House and the Senate thanks to the expert dealing of Henry Clay. The Compromise kept the ratio of slave to free states even, as Maine entered the Union as a free state and Missouri as a slave state. The southern boundary of Missouri now extended west and became the permanent boundary between free states to the North and slave states to the South.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in "Additional Resources for Chapter 10."*

### LECTURE 1

#### *The Revolution of 1800*

Even prior to Thomas Jefferson's election in 1800, many viewed his anticipated victory as a revolution. Political rhetoric became so heated that slaves in Virginia thought the time was ripe for a slave uprising. Discuss Gabriel's rebellion and the rhetoric that inspired it. Have students explore whether the language of equality was meant to apply to anyone other than white males. Does the account of Gabriel's revolt suggest that slaves accepted the assumption that the language of liberty and equality applied only to white males? Next, discuss in detail how Jefferson actually won the election. Then, address both Jefferson's style of presidency and his vision of the ideal American society. Use the portrait and caption, describing Jefferson's red waistcoat (p. 326), to discuss the simplicity of his vision. Move from style to substance, and ask how the Indians fit into Jefferson's vision. Discuss what plan Jefferson had for Indian lands. Ask what Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, could have expected from the federal government if they had not fought to organize the various tribes against American encroachment. Finally, return to politics and the ongoing convergence of politics and institution building by discussing the "midnight judges" and how the Supreme Court justice John Marshall established the

precedent of judicial review. Make a point of listing the various methods of dealing with questions regarding the Constitution. Thus far, politicians and intellectuals had proposed only two options: nullification and judicial review. This discussion will prepare students for the next lecture, when you introduce the third option: secession.

## LECTURE 2

### *Another Era of War*

Begin this lecture on the Madison administration by suggesting to your students the changes the First Couple brought to politics. Discuss the important role played by Dolley Madison in the social and political networks of Washington City. Then, outline the kinds of challenges James Madison faced as president. Begin your lecture on the War of 1812 by discussing how European wars led to different definitions of neutrality under which the United States sought to trade profitably with all the belligerents. Both Britain and France, however, sought ways to limit U.S. trade with its primary adversary. Confiscation and impressment were two of the means both belligerents used to influence American policy. The United States was unable to mount an effective counterstrategy. Remind students of the Embargo Act of 1807 and how it affected the popularity of Jefferson. Why did he institute it, and what did he hope to achieve? Point out how the embargo destroyed part of the U.S. economy without generating the desired effects. Ask students, “How did Madison reintroduce a limited embargo in 1809, and how was he duped?” Introduce the War Hawks and their agenda. Next, show that their plan, coupled with concerns about British encroachment in the West, greatly undermined the myth of impressment as the determinative cause of the War of 1812. Discuss how the country was unprepared for the war and unrealistically expected to “liberate” Canada from British protection. Ask why the British burned Washington (because an American force had burned Toronto). Show how the war divided the country; explain that Federalist New England opposed the war and was openly courted by the British in hopes of removing war from the country. Follow this discontent to the Hartford Convention, and discuss the two important effects of that meeting: (1) Secession of one section of the country from the rest was openly discussed for the first time; (2) the Federalist Party was destroyed by its seemingly treasonous behavior at the convention. Emphasize the origins of secession, and add this option to the list of means of dealing with constitutional questions. Point out that the Constitution was less than thirty years old, yet all the ideas about dealing with constitutional issues that led to the Civil War

were already in place. Also show that although the Federalists ran in New England elections into the 1820s, the Hartford Convention effectively put an end to their party. Finally, emphasize that the United States did not really win anything in its second war with Great Britain. England’s policies toward neutrals did not change, and the United States won no territory as a result of the war. Only the Battle of New Orleans, which took place after the Treaty of Ghent was signed, convinced the British to honor its provisions. That battle also had longer-term impacts by introducing a western military leader to the American public.

## LECTURE 3

### *The Era of Good Feelings*

The phrase “Era of Good Feelings” is the historian’s shorthand for the time when the United States operated as a one-party state, with the Republican Party as the country’s only national party. Several important events took place during the Era of Good Feelings, among them the Missouri Compromise, the Monroe Doctrine, and the “corrupt bargain.” Contemporaries viewed the first and the third as significant at the time, and historians regard the first and the second as important in the long run. Despite the so-called good feelings, serious divisions within the country developed on the issue of the extension of slavery, starting with the admission of Missouri to statehood. Here you can refer to Map 10.5, “The Missouri Compromise, 1820” (p. 348). Of course, the issue never would have arisen had the country not expanded with the Louisiana Purchase, so you should quickly review that topic. Next, point out the length of time it took before Missouri was allowed to join the Union even though it had met all the existing criteria for admission. Ask students to consider what distinguished Missouri from other territories. Why did slavery suddenly start to bother people of the North? Clearly, there was a moral dimension to their opposition, but other aspects existed as well. Leave an opportunity to return to this discussion in future lectures. Emphasize the formula for settling all future discussions of the issue: (1) Maintain a balance in the Senate between slaveholding and nonslaveholding states; and (2) limit all future expansion of slavery to territory south of Missouri’s southern border (36°30'). Discuss how America’s leaders thought about the entire issue. Next, quickly introduce the Monroe Doctrine, showing that it meant very little at the time. (Ask students to explain the doctrine and give an example of its use. Ask them to consider it from the viewpoint of one of the South American neighbors of the United States.) Finally, cover the “corrupt bargain.” Describe how

John Quincy Adams won the presidency through the House of Representatives over the more popular Andrew Jackson. Here you can use Map 10.6, "The Election of 1824" (p. 351). Explain why the appointment of Henry Clay as secretary of state could be viewed both as unethical and as dangerous to the future of the country.

Discuss some of the social developments that were under way during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century. Have students consider women's legal status in the early Republic, comparing the lack of power here to the different kinds of roles women began to play in the religious sphere. (Note that the main coverage of the Second Great Awakening occurs in chapter 11.) Talk about how a small number of women preachers, mostly in New England and upstate New York, departed from the traditional male preaching style. Ask students why women were merely "exhorters" rather than actual preachers. Refer them to the anecdote and image of Jemima Wilkinson (p. 341). Ask them why she styled herself as a person without sex or gender. Have students consider the backlash that accompanied women's greater involvement in church affairs, and draw parallels with the more recent backlash against modern twentieth-century feminism.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. Impression of Sailors Was the Sole Cause of the War of 1812

Most students believe that American outrage over impressment was the only cause that prompted the United States to fight the British. The textbook clearly illustrates that other issues guided U.S. policy. To demonstrate that concerns about the western frontier played a larger role than impressment, ask students from which part of the country most of the sailors originated. When they identify New England, ask if New England supported the war. Then, explore the reasons why the westerners and southerners supported the war, and examine the agenda of the War Hawks. Why were they especially concerned about the British in North America?

### 2. The United States Won the War of 1812

As in the American Revolution, the British ultimately decided that pursuing a victory in the War of 1812 was too difficult. American victories (or British failures) caused Great Britain concern. With the exception of the Battle of New Orleans, most of the U.S. army engagements were fiascoes. The U.S. navy, on the other hand, outmaneuvered the British on Lake Erie

and Lake Champlain, forcing them to retreat into Canada. With the threat to the West and the stalemate on the coast, the British negotiated and signed the Treaty of Ghent, which did not settle any of the pretensions for which America had gone to war. Because the Battle of New Orleans resulted in the defeat of a major British land expedition, however, the British honored the treaty by withdrawing their forces, unlike their actions at the end of the American Revolution. Thus, the Americans fought a stalemate war, in which they gained very little other than a greater sense of self-importance.

### 3. The Missouri Compromise Line Stretched All the Way to the Pacific

Many students erroneously assume that the 36°30' line extended all the way to the Pacific coast. Debates over the extension of slavery into territories won from Mexico, the Compromise of 1850, and much of the sectional rancor of the 1850s in general, therefore, make little sense to these students. To them, the Missouri Compromise solved all tricky constitutional questions on the extension of slavery into the territories. Take the opportunity to demonstrate to students that the 36°30' line bisected territory secured from the Louisiana Purchase only. Have students refer to Map 10.5, "The Missouri Compromise, 1820" (p. 348), to illustrate your point. Have them debate the virtues and limitations of the compromise, and ask them to predict the success of the compromise to quell debate about the extension of slavery into the territories.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

Ken Burns's documentary *Thomas Jefferson* works well in the classroom and complements the textbook's discussion of his presidency. You might also consider showing segments from *Lewis and Clark: The Journey of the Corps of Discovery*, which uses the famed explorers' journals and stories from Native American oral traditions to re-create their expedition.

### Class Discussion Starters

Have students consider the possible course of American history had opponents blocked the acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase. Would slavery have become a divisive issue? Remind students that much of the sectional rancor over slavery stemmed from opposition to the extension of slavery into the territories. Would the failure of the United States to secure the Louisiana Purchase have set a precedent for future attempts to

acquire land? Could the boundaries of 1787 “contain” the issue (and institution) of slavery?

### Historical Debates

Most students do not consider the Louisiana Purchase controversial. Remind them that the decision, however, generated heated discussion at its implementation. Have the class debate the constitutionality of the acquisition. Be sure to remind students that Jefferson opposed many of Hamilton’s policies on constitutional grounds, arguing that the Constitution made no mention of a national bank, and so on. Ask students to find the section in the Constitution that provides for the acquisition of new territory not already claimed by the United States. When they fail, ask them on what grounds Jefferson and his supporters could (and did) justify their decision. Did Jefferson exceed his authority? Under what circumstances should the federal government exceed its constitutional authority?

## Additional Resources for Chapter 10

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 10 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 10.1: The Election of 1800 (p. 323)
- Map 10.2: The Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition (p. 329)
- Map 10.3: Indian Lands Ceded by Treaties in the Old Northwest Territory, 1795–1809 (p. 334)
- Map 10.4: The War of 1812 (p. 335)
- Map 10.5: The Missouri Compromise, 1820 (p. 348)
- Map 10.6: The Election of 1824 (p. 351)
- Grizzly Bear Claw Necklace (p. 330)
- A View of St. Louis from an Illinois Town, 1835 (p. 347)

### Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 10 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 10.1: The Election of 1800 (p. 323)
- Map 10.2: The Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition (p. 329)

- Map 10.3: Indian Lands Ceded by Treaties in the Northwest Territory, 1795–1809 (p. 334)
- Map 10.4: The War of 1812 (p. 335)
- Map 10.5: The Missouri Compromise, 1820 (p. 348)
- Map 10.6: The Election of 1824 (p. 351)
- Home and Away: The New Boarding School (p. 344)
- Tecumseh (p. 322)
- Remains of the President’s House (p. 336)
- Madison’s medicine chest (p. 336)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 10 include:

- Thomas Jefferson’s “Notes on the State of Virginia,” edited with an introduction by David Waldstreicher
- Jefferson vs. Hamilton: Confrontations That Shaped a Nation, by Noble E. Cunningham Jr.
- The Lewis and Clark Expedition, by Gunther Barth

### For Students

#### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 10 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- A Jeffersonian Sailmaker’s Fourth of July Address: Peter Wendover, *Oration*, July 4, 1806
- James Hamilton’s Path to Enlistment during the War of 1812, *Confessions*, 1818
- James Forten Protests Pennsylvania Law Threatening Enslavement of African Americans: *Letters from a Man of Colour on a Late Bill before the Senate of Pennsylvania*, 1813
- President Thomas Jefferson’s Private and Public Indian Policy: *Letter to Governor William H. Harrison*, February 27, 1803; *Address to the Wolf and People of the Mandan Nation*, December 30, 1806

- Meriwether Lewis Describes the Shoshone:  
*The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*,  
1805

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 10:

### Map Activities

- Map 10.2: The Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition (p. 329)
- Map 10.5: The Missouri Compromise, 1820 (p. 348)

### Visual Activities

- Home and Away: The New Boarding School (p. 344)
- A View of St. Louis from an Illinois Town, 1835 (p. 347)

# The Expanding Republic

## 1815–1840

### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. What were the major aspects of the “market revolution”? What role did improvements in transportation, the development of the factory system, and banks and lawyers play in facilitating economic growth?

2. What changes in American politics led to the creation of the second American party system? What role did popular politics and partisan identity play in national and local campaigns? Who were the Democrats and Whigs, and what was Andrew Jackson’s political agenda while in office?

3. What were the causes and ramifications of the major issues faced by Jackson: the Indian policy, the Tariff of Abominations and the nullification crisis, and the bank war? How did Jackson’s administration seek to define the Democratic Party?

4. How did American culture change during the Jacksonian era? How did these changes affect ideas about gender roles and youth? What was the Second Great Awakening, and what major social reform movements did it fuel?

5. What were the issues and challenges facing Martin Van Buren during his one-term presidency? How did slavery emerge as a campaign issue in 1836? How did the Panic of 1837 affect the country and Van Buren’s administration? Why was Van Buren defeated in the election of 1840?

dramatically raised the speed and lowered the cost of travel.

2. Improved transportation moved goods and products into wider markets, people to new destinations, and facilitated the flow of political information through heavy traffic in newspapers, periodicals, books, and the U.S. mail.
  3. Enhanced public transport was expensive and produced uneven economic benefits, so administrations from Jefferson to Monroe were reluctant to fund it with federal dollars, and instead relied on private enterprise.
  4. The introduction of Robert Fulton’s steamboat, the *Clermont*, in 1807 transformed water travel.
  5. Steamboats were not without their disadvantages; boiler explosions led to terrible mass fatalities, and their wood-fired engines led to deforestation of the banks of main rivers and polluted the air.
  6. Canals were another innovation of the transportation revolution, and New York and Pennsylvania led the way with state-sponsored canal enterprises.
  7. In the 1830s, private railroad companies began to give canals stiff competition, and, although canals were used for freight for many more years, by the 1840s, the era of canal-building was over.
  8. Railroads and other advances in transportation made possible enormous changes by unifying the country culturally and economically.
- B. Factories, Workingwomen, and Wage Labor
1. Transportation advances promoted a rapid expansion of manufacturing

### Annotated Chapter Outline

#### I. The Market Revolution

- A. Improvements in Transportation
  1. Between 1815 and 1840, networks of roads, canals, steamboats, and railroads

- after 1815, creating a larger market for goods.
2. The first American factories, featuring mechanical spinning machines, targeted young women as employees; because of their limited employment options, the girls were willing to work for the low wages, which were better than those of a maid or seamstress.
  3. In 1821, a group of Boston entrepreneurs founded the town of Lowell, Massachusetts, where all aspects of cloth production—combing, shrinking, spinning, weaving, and dyeing—were centralized.
  4. By 1830, the eight mills in Lowell employed more than 5,000 young women, who lived in closely supervised company-owned boardinghouses.
  5. Despite the discomforts of mill work, young women left rural farms and flocked to factory towns with the hope of earning money and gaining more autonomy.
  6. Emboldened by their communal living arrangements and by their relative independence from the job as temporary employees, workers protested mill owners' efforts to speed up work and lower wages in the 1830s, but their easy replaceability undermined their bargaining power and, by the 1840s, owners began to shift to immigrant families for their labor source.
  7. Other manufacturing enterprises of the 1820s and 1830s, such as shoemaking, employed women in ever larger numbers, mostly as shoebinders.
  8. When shoebinders' wages fell in the economically turbulent 1830s, some women organized resistance through church networks to protest, but their efforts to protest management's move were significantly hampered by their isolation.
  9. After their protests failed to achieve wage increases, workers in New England continued to accept low wages and shy away from organized protest, preferring to situate their work in the context of family duty instead of market relations.
- C. Bankers and Lawyers
1. Entrepreneurs, who relied on innovation in the banking system to finance their ventures, benefited from the tremendous explosion in state-chartered banks from 1814 through 1840.
2. Banks stimulated the economy both by making loans to merchants and manufacturers and by enlarging the money supply; bankers exercised great power over the economy in deciding who would get loans and determining discount rates.
  3. Accompanying the market revolution was a revolution in commercial law, fashioned by politicians to enhance the prospect of private investment.
  4. Beginning in 1811, state lawmakers drafted a series of laws designed to aid an economy that gave priority to ambitious individuals interested in maximizing their own wealth; not everyone applauded these developments.
  5. President Andrew Jackson and his followers believed that ending government-granted privileges was the way to maximize individual liberty and economic opportunity.
- D. Booms and Busts
1. One aspect of the economy that the lawyer-politicians could not control was the threat of financial collapse; when the financial bubble burst in 1819, the overnight rich suddenly became the overnight poor.
  2. Some suspected that a precipitating cause of the panic of 1819 was the second Bank of the United States, which started to call in its loans and insisted that state banks do likewise.
  3. The contraction of the money supply created tremors throughout the economy that were exacerbated by a parallel financial crisis in Europe in the spring of 1819.
  4. Recovery from the panic of 1819 took several years and by the mid-1820s, the booming economy was back on track, driven by increases in productivity and consumer demand for goods, an accelerating international trade, and a restless and calculating people moving goods, human labor, and investment capital in expanding circles of commerce.
- II. **The Spread of Democracy**
- A. Popular Politics and Partisan Identity
1. The election of 1828 was the first presidential contest in which popular votes determined the outcome; in twenty-two out of twenty-four states, voters—and not state legislatures—chose the electors in the electoral college, each

- elector committing in advance to a particular candidate.
2. The 1828 election inaugurated new campaign styles; state-level candidates routinely gave speeches to woo the voters, appearing at rallies, picnics, and banquets, and partisan newspapers defined the issues and publicized political personalities as never before.
  3. Politicians at first identified themselves as Jackson or Adams men, honoring the fiction of Republican Party unity; by the mid-1830s, party lines had solidified, and the Whig and Democrat parties had crystallized.
- B. The Election of 1828 and the Character Issue
1. The campaign of 1828 was the first national election in which scandal and character questions reigned supreme.
  2. John Quincy Adams was vilified by his opponents as an elitist, bookish academic, perhaps even a monarchist; editors in favor of Adams played up Jackson's notorious violent temper.
  3. Jackson won in a sweeping victory; he chose John C. Calhoun as his vice president. Calhoun had just served as vice president under Adams but had broken with Adams's policies.
  4. After 1828, national politicians came to see that political parties mobilized and delivered voters, sharpened candidates' differences, and created party loyalty that surpassed loyalty to individual candidates and elections.
  5. Adams and Jackson clearly symbolized the competing ideas of the emerging parties: a moralistic, top-down party (the Whigs) ready to make major decisions to promote economic growth competing against a contentious, energetic party (the Democrats) ready to embrace liberty-loving individualism.
- C. Jackson's Democratic Agenda
1. Jackson continued to offer unprecedented hospitality to the public during his presidency, advancing his image as the president of the "common man."
  2. Unlike past presidents, who tried to lessen party conflict by including men of different factions in their cabinets, Jackson appointed only loyalists, and replaced competent civil servants with party loyalists, initiating what became known as the spoils system.
3. Jackson's agenda emerged quickly once he was in office: He favored a Jeffersonian limited federal government, he anticipated rapid settlement of the nation's interior, and he exercised full presidential veto powers over Congress.
- III. **Jackson Defines the Democratic Party**
- A. Indian Policy and the Trail of Tears
1. Nothing defined Jackson's presidency more than his efforts to "solve" what he saw as the Indian problem.
  2. Congress backed Jackson's goal and passed the Indian Removal Act of 1830, appropriating \$500,000 to relocate eastern tribes west of the Mississippi.
  3. In response to widespread controversy generated by the act and thousands of petitions from women who protested the removal of the Cherokee Indians of Georgia, Jackson explained the removal was the only way to save the Indians.
  4. Many Indians resisted removal efforts; volunteer militias attacked and chased the Sauk and Fox Indians into Wisconsin and fought a deadly battle that killed more than 400 Indians.
  5. The Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Cherokee tribes in the south refused to relocate, and a second Seminole War in Florida broke out as the Indians there took up arms against relocation.
  6. Georgia's Cherokees made a legal challenge to being treated as subjects; in 1831 the U.S. Supreme Court found for the State of Georgia on the grounds that the Cherokee did not have standing to sue; in the 1832 case, *Worcester v. Georgia*, the Supreme Court upheld the territorial sovereignty of the Cherokee.
  7. Jackson ignored the Court's decision and continued to press the Cherokee for removal; in 1835 an unauthorized faction of the tribe signed a treaty selling all the tribal lands to the state, and Georgia rapidly resold the land to whites.
  8. When the Cherokees had still not moved by the May 1838 deadline for voluntary evacuation, they were forced on a 1,200 mile journey west under armed guard; the hardship of this journey, which came to be called the Trail of Tears, killed 25 percent of the group.
- B. The Tariff of Abominations and Nullification
1. Federal tariffs as high as 33 percent on imported textiles and iron goods had been passed in 1816, and again in 1824, to favor

- American manufactures and raise federal revenue.
2. Southern congressmen opposed the steep tariffs, fearing they would decrease overseas shipping and hurt cotton exports.
  3. In 1828 the Congress passed a revised tariff that came to be known as the Tariff of Abominations: it was a bundle of conflicting duties as high as 50 percent and contained provisions that pleased and angered every economic and sectional interest.
  4. South Carolina in particular suffered from the Tariff of Abominations and a group of politicians from the state, led by John C. Calhoun, advanced a doctrine called nullification, arguing that states had the right to abolish Congress's acts in cases when Congress overstepped its powers.
  5. When Jackson assumed the presidency in 1829, he ignored South Carolina's statement of nullification and shut out Calhoun, his new vice president, from influence and power; Calhoun resigned as vice president in 1832 and accepted election to a seat in the U.S. Senate.
  6. South Carolina leaders declared the federal tariffs to be null and void in their state as of February 1, 1833.
  7. Jackson sent armed ships to Charleston's harbor and threatened to invade the state; he then pushed through Congress the Force Bill, defining the South Carolina stance as treason, authorizing military action to collect federal tariffs.
  8. Congress moved quickly to pass a revised tariff more acceptable to the South; South Carolina responded by withdrawing its nullification of the old tariff, but, as a symbolic gesture, nullified the Force Bill.
  9. Federal power had prevailed over a dangerous assertion of states' rights but the question was far from settled and slavery was once again threatening to emerge as a national political issue.
- C. The Bank War and Economic Boom
1. Jackson was troubled by the Bank of the United States and claimed in his first two annual messages to Congress in 1829 and 1830 that the bank concentrated undue economic power in the hands of the few.
  2. Whig senators Daniel Webster and Henry Clay decided to force the issue convincing the bank to apply for charter renewal in 1832; they expected that Congress's renewal would force Jackson to follow through on his rhetoric with a veto, causing him to lose the election while allowing the bank to survive on an override vote from a new Congress.
  3. Congress did vote to renew the charter, but Jackson's veto invoked brilliant language of class antagonism and egalitarian ideas that strongly resonated with many Americans, and he won the election.
  4. The Bank's charter was due to expire in 1836, but Jackson immediately removed federal deposits and redeposited them in Democratic-inclined state banks.
  5. In retaliation, the Bank of the United States raised interest rates and called in loans, causing a brief decline in the economy, which actually enhanced Jackson's claim that it was too powerful for the good of the country.
  6. In 1834, the unregulated economy went into high gear, leading to inflation, the charter of hundreds of new banks, and the increasing density of credit and debt relationships.
  7. Between 1834 and 1836, tens of millions of acres of public land in the west were sold; land in the South was quickly brought into cultivation by slaveowners, but Jackson feared that land in the North was being bought by land speculators instead of self-reliant yeoman farmers.
  8. The national debt disappeared and, for the first and only time in history, between 1835 and 1837 the government had a monetary surplus; no one considered what would happen when the bubble burst, and for the five years after the panic of 1837, the United States suffered from economic hard times.
- IV. Cultural Shifts, Religion, and Reform
- A. The Family and Separate Spheres
1. The centerpiece of new ideas about gender relations held that husbands found their status and authority in the new world of work, leaving wives to tend hearth and home.
  2. Men increasingly worked outside the home, bringing cash to the household, while women continued to engage in time-consuming labor in the home.
  3. Housework—defined as women's performance of loving familial duties—was rendered invisible in an economy that evaluated work by how much cash it generated.

4. In reality, wives contributed to family income in many ways, and the market intruded in these domestic spheres.
  5. Because of the cultural dominance expressed by the upper and middle classes in the Northeast through books and periodicals, these notions of gender roles gained acceptance in the 1830s and beyond, but these ideas had limited applicability outside of middle and upper class white culture.
- B. The Education and Training of Youths
1. The market economy's new expectations for men and women required fresh methods of training youth of both sexes.
  2. Northern states adopted public schooling between 1790 and the 1820s, and in the 1820s and 1830s, southern states followed suit.
  3. The fact that taxpayers paid for children's education created an incentive to seek an inexpensive teaching force; school districts began replacing male teachers with young females.
  4. Advanced education also expanded in the 1830s with the founding of at least two dozen men's colleges and several more female seminaries.
  5. Male youths leaving public school faced two paths: continued education or, more often, trade apprenticeships or entry-level clerkships.
  6. Changing patterns in youth employment and training meant that large numbers of youngsters in the 1830s and beyond escaped the watchful eyes of their families.
- C. The Second Great Awakening
1. A newly invigorated version of Protestantism gained huge momentum in the 1820s and 1830s as the economy reshaped gender and age relations.
  2. The earliest manifestation of fervent piety marking the start of the Second Great Awakening appeared in 1801 in Kentucky in the form of a revival meeting that lasted several weeks; by the 1810s and 1820s, camp meetings had spread to the Atlantic seaboard states.
  3. The gatherings attracted women and men hungry for a more immediate access to spiritual peace, one not requiring years of soul-searching.
  4. Women more so than men were attracted to the evangelical movement and from 1800 to 1820, church membership doubled in the United States.
5. The leading exemplar of the Second Great Awakening was lawyer-turned-minister Charles Grandison Finney, who directed his message primarily at men and women of the business classes.
  6. Finney argued that a reign of Christian perfection loomed, one that would require public-spirited outreach to the less-than-perfect to foster their salvation.
  7. Finney adopted Jacksonian-era tactics to sell his cause: publicity, argumentation, rallies, and speeches.
- D. The Temperance Movement and the Campaign for Moral Reform
1. The evangelical disposition—a combination of faith, energy, self-discipline, and righteousness—animated vigorous campaigns to eliminate alcohol abuse and eradicate sexual sin.
  2. Although organized opposition to drinking first surfaced in the 1810s among health and religious reformers, alcohol consumption had risen steadily in the decades up to 1830;
  3. In 1826, Lyman Beecher founded the American Temperance Society, which held that drinking led to poverty, idleness, crime, and family violence.
  4. In 1836, leaders of the temperance movement regrouped into a new society, the American Temperance Union, and demanded total abstinence from its adherents; middle-class drinking began a steep decline.
  5. The intensified war against alcohol moved beyond individual moral suasion and into the realm of politics.
  6. More controversial than temperance was the social movement called "moral reform," which aimed first at public morals in general but quickly narrowed to a campaign to eradicate sexual sin, especially prostitution.
  7. In 1833, a group of Finneyite women started the New York Female Reform Society, publishing a nationally distributed newspaper in which they condemned men who visited brothels or seduced innocent victims.
  8. These women did not see themselves as radicals; they were simply pursuing the logic of a gender system that defined home protection and morality as women's special sphere.

- E. Organizing against Slavery
1. More radical than the temperance and moral reform movements was the movement in the 1830s to abolish the sin of slavery.
  2. Around 1830, northern challenges to slavery surfaced with increasing frequency and resolve, beginning in free black communities with condemnations of racism from individuals like David Walker and Maria Stewart.
  3. The *Liberator*, founded in 1831 in Boston by William Lloyd Garrison, took antislavery to new heights by advocating immediate abolition.
  4. In 1832, Garrison supporters started the New England Anti-Slavery Society; in Philadelphia and New York, antislavery groups were organized in 1833.
  5. Many white northerners were not prepared to embrace immediate or gradual emancipation; although they might oppose the institution of slavery, most remained anti-black and therefore antiabolition.
  6. Women played a prominent role in abolition, just as they did in moral reform and evangelical religion.
  7. The many men and women active in reform movements in the 1830s found inspiration in the evangelical belief that salvation was open to all and that society needed to be perfected.
  8. Abolitionists' activist mentality squared well with the interventionist tendencies of the party, which were forming in opposition to Jackson's Democrats; generally, reformers gravitated to the Whig Party.
- V. Van Buren's One-Term Presidency
- A. The Politics of Slavery
1. Martin Van Buren built his political career by pioneering many of the loyalty-enhancing techniques the Democrats used in the 1830s.
  2. Jackson made it known that he favored Van Buren for the Democratic nomination in the election of 1836; Democratic leaders agreed to hold their second-ever nominating convention a year early, in 1835, to cement Van Buren's hold on the nomination.
  3. John Calhoun, Van Buren's archrival, tried to discredit Van Buren among southern Democrats and whipped up controversy over Van Buren's 1821 support of suffrage for propertied free blacks in New York.
  4. Slavery was becoming an increasingly volatile political issue as northern abolitionists were gaining strength and sending petitions demanding that Congress "purify" the site of the national government by outlawing slavery in Washington D.C.
  5. Congress passed a "gag rule" in 1836 that prohibited the entering of abolitionists' petitions into the public record.
  6. Van Buren staked out prosouthern sympathies by calling abolitionists fanatics, dismissing the issue of abolition in Washington D.C. as inexpedient, and confirming repeatedly that, as president, he would not allow any interference in southern "domestic institutions."
- B. The Election of 1836
1. By the time of the election of 1836, the Democrats had transformed from a coalition to a party with local and state committees throughout the country and Democratic candidates running in every state election.
  2. Van Buren was a backroom politician, not a popular public figure, and the Whigs hoped that he might be defeatable, but no Whig commanded nationwide support; three candidates, each with a strong regional base, challenged Van Buren in the 1836 election, but together were unable to deny Van Buren the majority vote.
  3. Van Buren had pulled together a national Democratic Party, but he had done it at the cost of committing northern Democrats to the proslavery agenda.
- C. Two Panics and the Election of 1840
1. Van Buren took office in March 1837, and a month later the country was plunged into an economic crisis.
  2. Failures in crop markets, a downturn in cotton prices on the international market, and the silver glut, all unrelated to Jackson's fiscal policies, fed the growing economic crisis.
  3. Whigs blamed Jackson's antibank and hard money policies for the Panic, religious reformers blamed it on the sin of greed, and others blamed it on the capitalist system.
  4. When economic trouble persisted into 1839, Van Buren pushed for an independent treasury system, which finally won

approval in 1840; by then, however, Van Buren's chances of a second term in office were virtually nil.

5. In 1840, the Whigs settled on William Henry Harrison to oppose Van Buren.
6. The campaign drew voter involvement as had no other presidential campaign.
7. Harrison won the election using campaign techniques developed by Jackson and the Democrats.

eminent domain facilitated the taking of private lands for transportation improvements. (p. 365)

2. Why did Jackson defeat John Quincy Adams so dramatically in the 1828 election? (pp. 367–368)  
*Answer would ideally include:*

- *Increased turnout:* The 1828 election had three times as many voters as the 1824 election, reflecting the importance Americans saw in the election. The expanded voting base accompanied other democratizing trends, including letting the popular vote determine electoral outcomes and, in coming years, the expansion of white male suffrage. These developments served Jackson's disposition and campaign style well. (p. 367)

- *Innovations in presidential campaigning:* Jackson gained popular appeal by adopting an informal political rhetoric, although he declined to speak at the rallies, picnics, and banquets common in state-level campaigns. (p. 367)

- *Newspapers:* Widely available and circulated newspapers characterized candidates' personalities and defined the issues of the campaign. Party leaders recognized the power of these resources and worked to cultivate newspapers' support. Improved communications meant that political leaders could coordinate national campaigns as stories traveled from paper to paper. (p. 367)

- *Character and scandal:* Campaigning in the 1828 election pitted two radically different styles of masculinity against each other, through discussions of the candidates' characters and habits that addressed larger questions of morality and cultural values. The other innovations of the election facilitated the sweeping victory of Jackson's rough-and-tumble frontier persona over Adams's cultivated, establishment profile. (pp. 367–368)

3. Why did Jackson promote Indian Removal? (pp. 369–371)  
*Answer would ideally include:*

- *Jackson's experience as an Indian fighter:* Jackson's national fame came from his leadership in the fights against the Creek and Seminole Indians in the 1810s and brought that history to his presidency. (p. 369)

- *White democracy:* Jackson's commitment to a politics of opportunity for white men required the opening of more land for white settlement; in order to do this, Jackson favored the relocation of all Indian people in the South, New England, and the old Northwest. (pp. 369–371)

- *Jackson's view of Indians:* Jackson argued that white civilization had destroyed Indian resources and thus doomed them. He thought it was absurd to treat Indians as foreigners, but he also did not see assimilation as the answer because of his assumption that

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 11, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 11.

## Review Questions

1. Why did the United States experience a market revolution after 1815? (pp. 358–366) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Explanation of market revolution:* A market revolution was built on traditional sources of power (human, animal, water, etc.), but accelerated the pace and scope of economic activity. (p. 358)

- *Transportation improvements:* The speed of transportation increased significantly between 1815 and 1840 while its cost decreased at the same time, facilitating movement of goods and people. These changes were due to the development of networks of roads, canals, steamboats, and finally railroads. (p. 359)

- *Expansion of manufacturing:* Transportation improvements contributed to the expansion of manufacturing, particularly textiles and shoes, after 1815. (p. 361)

- *Innovations in banking:* By expanding the money supply and providing loans for would-be entrepreneurs, banks stimulated production and consumption. (p. 365)

- *Innovations in commercial law:* Legislators in the 1810s developed new laws that made the United States a hospitable place for a growing number of ambitious entrepreneurs. Revised laws of incorporation and legislation on contributory negligence helped insulate individual investors from liability for corporate financial debts and worker injuries. New laws of

Indians had “neither the intelligence, the industry, the moral habits, nor the desire of improvement which are essential.” Instead, he suggested that the only way to save the Indians was to relocate them west of the Mississippi River. (pp. 370–371)

4. How did evangelical Protestantism contribute to the social reform movements of the 1830s? (pp. 379–381) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on evangelical Protestantism:* This democratized vision of Protestantism held that salvation was open to all who would embrace it. Many sought the promise of an emotionally profound experience of conversion at the camp meetings that fueled the Second Great Awakening and dramatically expanded church membership in the early nineteenth century. (p. 379)

- *Evangelical disposition:* Evangelical Protestantism’s hopeful promise of salvation through individual effort and its anticipation of perfection to be realized on earth contributed to certain hallmarks of an evangelical disposition: faith, energy, self-discipline, and righteousness. These proved conducive to campaigns for moral reforms of the society as a whole. (p. 380)

- *Examples of reform movements:* Evangelical leaders opposed drinking and the host of social ills to which they believed it contributed. They effectively used the same machinery of evangelical expansion (traveling lecturers, local affiliate groups, etc.) to promote temperance with considerable impact. For other evangelicals, their moral outlook led them to push for more controversial social reforms, such as elimination of sexual sin and slavery. (pp. 380–381)

5. How did slavery figure as a campaign issue in the election of 1836? (pp. 381–386) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Emergence of abolitionist movement:* Opposition to slavery that emerged out of the Second Great Awakening in the early 1830s crystallized into an abolitionist movement by the time of the 1836 election. Abolitionists organized against the institution of slavery using petitions and lectures. The movement put slavery back at the center of the national political scene. (pp. 381, 384–385)

- *John Calhoun’s efforts to discredit Van Buren:* Van Buren was Jackson’s hand-picked successor to the presidency and his nomination angered John C. Calhoun, Van Buren’s archival, who had hoped to win the nomination himself. Between the nominating convention and the election Calhoun worked to discredit Van Buren by whipping up controversy over Van Buren’s 1821 support of suffrage for New York propertied free blacks. Southerners’ alarm about the

abolitionist movement made them particularly vulnerable to Calhoun’s tactics. (pp. 385–386)

- *Democrats’ response to abolitionist tactics in 1836:* Abolitionists tried two tactics to raise the public’s consciousness about slavery in 1836. First, they prepared a million anti-slavery pamphlets to distribute in the South. Second, they repeatedly petitioned Congress to purify the site of the national government by outlawing slavery in the District of Columbia. When the abolitionist pamphlets were hijacked at the post office in Charleston, Jackson condemned the theft but issued approval for individual postmasters to use their own judgement about whether or not to allow the delivery of the material. Congress, in response to the petitions, passed a “gag rule” to prohibit the entering of the documents into the public record. Van Buren seized on these events to stake out his prosouthern sympathies by branding abolitionists “fanatics” and confirming that, as president, he would not allow any interference in southern “domestic institutions,” meaning slavery. (p. 386)

## Making Connections

1. Describe the market revolution that began in the 1810s. How did it affect Americans’ work and domestic lives? In your answer, be sure to consider how gender contributed to these developments. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Thumbnail sketch of the market revolution:* The American market revolution that began around 1815 was built on traditional sources of power (human, animal, water, etc.) but dramatically accelerated the pace and scope of economic activity. (p. 358)

- *Rise of factories and wage labor:* Improvements in transportation and technology led to an expansion of manufacturing, especially of textiles and shoes. These developments transformed the labor market and experience of labor for some Americans. (p. 361)

- *Women’s labor:* American manufacturers like Samuel Slater targeted young women for factory work as a cheap, self-replenishing labor supply. Despite difficult working conditions, relatively good wages and a new measure of autonomy drew women to places like the mills of Lowell. For some workers, their shared work life led them to resist changes their employers sought to enforce on them while others, who worked in more decentralized settings, found few alternatives but acquiescence. (pp. 361–365)

- *Separate spheres:* Within the tumult of the market revolution, cultural arbiters cultivated an expectation that the activities of men and women should occupy separate spheres: women in the home, where they would nurture and protect, and men in public,

contending with rough-and-tumble economic and political life. Although this formulation reflected some actual divisions, they were rarely tidy, especially as women's labor regularly spilled into the marketplace. This vision of gendered order in part derived from the sense of great volatility and uncertainty associated with the market revolution. (pp. 376–378)

- *Jacksonian masculinity:* The market revolution, with its opportunities for rapid advancement and precipitous falls, fueled an entrepreneurial spirit and eroded old hierarchies. This sense of new opportunities for white men of all stripes created a vibrant political culture, newly responsive to popular will. (p. 358)

2. Andrew Jackson's presidency coincided with important changes in American politics. Discuss how Jackson benefited from, and contributed to, the vibrant political culture of the 1830s. Cite specific national developments in your answer. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Innovations in communications:* The developments that helped facilitate the market revolution, such as improved transportation, also changed nineteenth-century political practices. Along with rising literacy rates and improved printing technology, they stimulated the rapid expansion of newspapers in the 1830s. Party leaders used these resources by cultivating ties and establishing networks for distributing favorable stories across the nation. Tales of Jackson's outsized personality could circulate quickly around the nation in a coordinated fashion, reaching even remote villages, where his appeal might be greatest. (p. 367)

- *Democratization of the electoral process:* Expanded voter turnout beginning in the 1828 election and continuing throughout the 1830s reflected a sense of the importance of elections, as well as the expansion of suffrage. Jackson's self-presentation as a tough frontier hero willing to fight for his interests appealed to voters across the nation, who were negotiating the bracing changes of the 1830s. (pp. 367–368)

- *Rise of party politics:* Jackson's presidency helped end the fiction of a single Republican party and contributed to the development of new parties with distinct platforms. The Democratic Party he helped define promised to be responsive to the will of the majority and proved effective at mobilizing voters and commanding loyalty. Although he and the party were almost coterminous for his years in office, after he left the presidency, it became clear that the party could support itself. Party politics would be the characteristic practice in the United States in years to come. (pp. 367–368)

3. Describe Andrew Jackson's response to the "Indian problem" during his presidency. How did his policies revise or continue earlier federal policies

toward Native Americans? How did Native Americans respond to Jackson's actions? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Thumbnail sketch of Jackson's policies:* Jackson maintained that the only way to save the Indians was to remove them to territory west of the Mississippi. He argued that their inferiority to whites meant that assimilation would only bring about their demise. Following Jackson's lead, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act of 1830, which allocated funds to forcibly relocate Indians to the west and open up territory for white settlers. (pp. 369–371)

- *Earlier policies:* The federal government had tried a variety of approaches to dealing with the Indian presence. Congress allocated money to try to acculturate Indians to American ways by converting them to Christianity and encouraging English literacy and American agricultural practices. It had also tried treating Indians as foreign nations, making treaties and waging war. (p. 370)

- *Indian response:* Indians responded in a variety of ways to the new federal initiative. For some, such as northern tribes, the treaty only made official a trend that was well underway. Others, like the Creek and Cherokee in the South refused to move. The Florida Seminole fought a second war to avoid relocation. The Cherokee used U.S. laws to try to resist seizure of their property and their removal from the state of Georgia. In 1832 the Supreme Court upheld the Cherokee's territorial sovereignty in *Worcester v. Georgia*, but Jackson continued to press for their removal. His successor, Martin Van Buren, would forcibly deport them along the deadly, brutal Trail of Tears. (pp. 371–372)

4. While a volatile economy buffeted the nation in the 1830s, some Americans looked to reform the nation. Discuss the objectives and strategies of two reform movements. What was the relationship of these reform movements to larger political and economic trends of the 1830s? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Market revolution:* The economic developments of the market revolution and the Second Great Awakening helped create conditions conducive to the reform movements of the 1830s. The volatile economy that transformed workers' lives, propelling the national economy upward and dropping it down almost as quickly, created an undercurrent of anxiety for many Americans. Many especially feared that the young people who left home in pursuit of factory work would be led astray. (pp. 375–376)

- *Second Great Awakening:* Alongside the unpredictability of the boom/bust economy, evangelical Protestantism brought new promises of salvation through personal exertion. The faith, energy, self-discipline, and righteousness that characterized its

adherents led them to seek new ways of perfecting not only themselves, but the society in which they lived. (pp. 379–380)

- *Temperance movement:* Reformers targeted the consumption of alcohol, which had grown steadily leading up to 1830, and the poverty, idleness, crime, and family violence they believed it fostered. In addition to calling on the faithful to take personal pledges of temperance, they also adopted the methods of evangelical ministers, lecturing across the country. Like political parties, they used a national network of local affiliates to pursue their agenda. In addition to moral suasion, they also used politics to undermine purveyors of alcohol. (pp. 380–381)

- *Abolition:* Starting in free black communities, northern challenges to slavery emerged with increasing insistency and frequency in the 1830s. Abolitionists drew both on the egalitarian language of American political life and the evangelical language of sin and the urgent need for its eradication. Abolitionists like William Lloyd Garrison used a tool vital to American politics—newspapers—to spread their message. Like the temperance movement, women formed auxiliaries that raised money and publicized the plight of slaves. Nevertheless, their call to reform was considered too radical by most Americans. (pp. 381–385)

- *Reformers and the larger society:* The moral directives that reformers followed sometimes led them to put opposition to practices they perceived as sinful above conformity to social conventions, including gendered spheres and racial segregation. Still, the tension between their commitments to right living and convention were not easily resolved. Reformers responded to the same circumstances that enthusiasts for Jackson did, and even used many of the same tools of social organization, but did not believe the marketplace or even electoral politics could solve all the challenges facing the nation. (pp. 381, 384–385)

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### **Andrew Jackson as “the Great Father” (p. 370)**

**Reading the Image:** Examine the body language conveyed in the various characters’ poses. Are the Indians depicted as children or as powerless, miniature adults? What is going on in the picture on the wall? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Children/adults:* Although Jackson is cradling the Indians in his arms as if they were children, the artist fully intends that the viewer see the Indians as “powerless, miniature adults.” The clothing and faces and body proportions of the Indians are meant to illustrate their complete vulnerability to the will of men in power, like Jackson, who had the ability to uproot the Indians from their ancestral lands.

- *Picture:* In the picture on the wall, Lady Liberty has her foot on the throat of a figure in armor. The artist has chosen to present Lady Liberty as signifying tyranny rather than freedom, which is emblematic of the United States’ policies regarding treatment of the Indians during the early nineteenth century, especially during Jackson’s presidency.

**Connections:** Does the cartoon suggest that Jackson offers protection to Indians? What does the picture on the wall contribute to our understanding of the cartoonist’s opinion about Jackson’s Indian removal policies? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Protection:* The cartoon seems to suggest that Jackson is offering a rather superficial type of protection that the Indians (who seem more like adults than children) do not really need. The miniaturization of the Indians also suggests a lack of respect on Jackson’s part. Jackson often expressed his belief that moving the Indians west was the only way to save their culture from the expansion of white civilization, while in reality almost a quarter of the Indians forced westward died on the Trail of Tears. This was only the first step in the eradication of American Indian culture as, within the next fifty years, white civilization forced the Indians off their lands again.

- *Picture:* The picture offers a starkly negative opinion about the removal policies. By showing Lady Liberty (often a symbol of American society) stepping on the throat of a man who, if not an Indian, is clearly intended to represent the plight of the American Indian, the cartoonist makes his disapproval quite clear. Jackson framed his Indian policies as a noble cause, attempting to represent the freedom and liberty on which the United States was founded, but for the Indians, the removal policies came to be the complete opposite of freedom and liberty.

### **Charles G. Finney and His Broadway Tabernacle (p. 380)**

**Reading the Image:** How does the engraving of Charles Finney’s sermonizing at the Broadway Tabernacle portray his preaching style? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Finney’s Preaching Style:* The Broadway Tabernacle had been a theater, an appropriate venue given

Finney's emotional oratorical style. Finney is not standing behind a pulpit of any sort. Instead, like an actor, he is giving his sermon extemporaneously, gesticulating toward heaven to make his point. The crowd listening to Finney is immense, but he is not overwhelmed. He stands out as the distinct center of attention, holding his own against the sheer mass of humanity that has come to hear his message.

**Connections:** How did Charles Finney's preaching style differ from that of ministers in more established sects? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Finney vs. other preachers:* Ministers from the more traditional strains of Protestantism, including Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Unitarians, Dutch Reformed, Lutherans, and Catholics, were intensely suspicious of the emotionalism of the evangelical movement. These were sects that relied on learned sermons that dissected biblical texts or on established liturgy as the source of worship and that drew distinctions between the clergy and the layperson. Charles Finney obviously rejected that model of Christian worship. He was much less formal in his preaching style, eschewing written notes or ministerial clothing, and he was dynamic, striding freely in front of his flock rather than confining himself behind a lectern. This was in keeping with his belief that salvation depended on little more than a decision to accept God's grace. His job as a minister was not, in his view, to dispense a specialized sort of knowledge, but to convince people to accept the salvation that already was available.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 11.1 Routes of Transportation in 1840 (p. 359)

**Reading the Map:** In what parts of the country were canals built most extensively? Were most of them within a single state's borders, or did they encourage interstate travel and shipping? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Patterns of canal building:* Most canal building occurred in the North. The map shows that canals were usually built within the borders of one state. As was the case with the Erie Canal, state governments funded canal construction. State legislators wanted to promote commerce within their state, and they were

reluctant to use taxpayer money to help the economies of rival states. Despite the restriction of most canals to a single state, the connections that canals made between cities and major waterways facilitated interstate commerce. For example, the Erie Canal created a water route from New York City to the Great Lakes. Although the Erie Canal lay entirely within the border of New York, it made transportation of goods between New York's seacoast and the many states that bordered the Great Lakes far more efficient.

**Connections:** What impact did the Erie Canal have on the development of New York City? How did improvements in transportation affect urbanization in other parts of the country? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Impact of the Erie Canal:* The Erie Canal helped New York City become the premier commercial city in the United States. It did so by creating a water route for the shipment of goods from the Northwest to New York City. The cost of shipping goods along the Erie Canal was less than one-tenth the cost of shipping them overland. The low cost of canal transportation enabled New York City merchants to buy the West's wheat and flour at lower prices and to sell back to western farmers textiles and other manufactured goods made in the Northeast and Europe.

- *Impact of canals throughout the U.S.:* Canals built to the hinterlands west of Richmond, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C., helped commerce in these cities, although none did as well as New York City. West of the Appalachian Mountains, canals connected the cities on the Great Lakes, such as Cleveland and Chicago, to the rivers that flowed south into the Mississippi River. Although railroads would quickly supersede them, canals were vital to promoting trade and urban growth in the 1820s and 1830s.

### Map 11.3 Indian Removal and the Trail of Tears (p. 372)

**Reading the Map:** From which states were most of the Native Americans removed? Through which states did the Trail of Tears go? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Removal from Eastern states:* The majority of Native Americans who were forced to abandon their tribal lands under the Removal Act of 1830 were from southern states. Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi had the largest concentrations of removed Indians, although the Sauk and Fox were forced out of their unorganized territory in the Northwest. All of the Indian land traversed state boundaries: The Cherokee held territory in Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, and North Carolina; the Choctaw and Chickasaw were in both Mississippi and Alabama; the Creek were in Georgia and Alabama; and the Sauk and Fox spilled into Illinois.

• *Route of the Trail of Tears:* The Trail of Tears took Indians out of the Deep South and through the middle part of the country. It started in Georgia, headed through Tennessee and Kentucky, and went through a bit of Illinois and over the southern part of Missouri before heading south into modern-day Oklahoma.

**Connections:** Before Jackson's presidency, how did the federal government view Native Americans, and what policy initiatives were undertaken by the government and private groups? How did Jackson change the government's policy toward Native American? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Indian Policies of the Federal Government before the Jackson Administration:* Starting in 1819, Congress had granted \$10,000 per year to different missionary groups committed to "civilizing" Indians by converting them to Christianity, teaching them English, and acquainting them with European agricultural practices and gender relations. Early administrations also tried to strike treaties with the Indians, treating them as if they were a foreign nation.

- *Jackson's Indian Policy:* Andrew Jackson, however, did not approve of the policy of assimilation. He argued publicly that removing Indians to territory west of the Mississippi River was the only way to save them. Privately, Jackson believed that Indians were subjects of the United States, not foreigners, and should be treated as such. He argued as well that Indians were not morally or intellectually capable of assimilation, and must yield to what he called a "superior race." In keeping with this view, Jackson's administration began the painful process of Indian removal. Jackson was particularly eager to remove the Southern tribes, whose land he hoped to open to white settlement and cotton cultivation. Despite the attempts of the Cherokee Indians to stop Georgia's encroachments on their land and the Supreme Court's decision in favor of the Cherokee, the government was able to make a treaty in 1835 with a minority faction of the tribe, which ceded Cherokee land to Georgia in return for \$5 million and land in present-day Oklahoma. When the majority of the Cherokees refused to move, Jackson sent federal troops in May of 1838 to force them on a treacherous 1,200-mile journey. Nearly 25 percent of the Cherokee perished on this trip westward, which came to be known as the Trail of Tears.

## Lecture Strategies

See also the maps and images for presentation in "Additional Resources for Chapter 11."

## LECTURE 1

### *Jacksonian Economic Improvements*

This lecture focuses on the social aspects of the economic changes of Jacksonian America. First, discuss the evolution of the concept of the market from a place where goods were exchanged to an arena for commodity exchange. Explain that as the market drew in more Americans, basic institutions underwent fundamental change on several fronts. The economy quickened through a revolution in transportation infrastructure. Before the transportation revolution, market exchanges took place primarily on a local level because transportation was either excessively expensive or physically impossible. Outline how turnpikes operated and how they represented an improvement over common roads. Show how the building of the Erie Canal by the state of New York set off an explosion of similar canal-building experiments and how railroads began to compete with canals as transportation projects. Have students look at Map 11.1, "Routes of Transportation in 1840" (p. 359), to demonstrate the varying modes of transportation.

Next, introduce the idea of industrialization. Dispel the belief that early industrialization is best represented by large factories. Preface your remarks by noting that the success of increased and inexpensive industrial production in the early nineteenth century hinged on reducing production of an item into small, manageable tasks done by semiskilled women or children. Draw your students' attention to the 1850 daguerreotype of a woman tending a power loom on page 364. Discuss Slater's Mill and the Lowell/Waltham system of factories as important cultural components of American industrialization, but not as its essence. Preview your discussion of the "doctrine of separate spheres" when you discuss why women provided cheap labor and why they were unable to obtain greater wage gains through strikes. Also describe the increasing desire for a "protective" tariff by northern manufacturers and their representatives in Congress.

Then, explore how banking operated, giving special attention to the process of exchanging a bank's notes at a distant location. Explain how banks proliferated as a means to "grow" the economy prior to dismemberment of the second Bank of the United States and how they grew explosively once that one remaining brake on the economy was removed. Finally, confront the myth that the twentieth century's Great Depression had no precedent. Explain the business cycle and its low point. Discuss the cause, depth, and length of each of the depressions, giving special attention to the panic of 1837. If the scope of this lecture seems too broad to fit your schedule, you may wish to

limit it to a detailed discussion of only one of the major economic changes: transportation, industrialization, or finance.

## LECTURE 2

### *The Culture of Jacksonian America*

This lecture should focus on how a belief in the ability to shape one's own identity and future created a conscious desire to shape society as well. First, show how the economy intruded on perceptions of gender roles. Explain that work was redefined as labor for wages, a concept that obscured the importance of work done by women at home. Explain why home was redefined as a refuge from the world and how the middle-class woman's role was to preserve that refuge.

Next, describe the Second Great Awakening and the means used by ministers to promote salvation. Explore camp meetings, the use of emotion to elicit conversion, and the role of women in religious affairs. Direct students to the picture of Charles G. Finney's Broadway Tabernacle on page 380, and ask them what aspects of that setting worshippers might have found inviting. Move on to make the point that evangelical Protestantism—along with the causes of education, temperance, and moral reform—was frequently promoted by the striving mercantile classes, whose ideology of self-sufficiency and self-discipline meshed well with these movements for spiritual and social reform. Explain each of these movements, and include a discussion of abolitionism as well. Take special care to demonstrate why some perceived abolitionism as an extremist movement, and explain how both South and North reacted to it. Dispel the myth that all Northerners were inherently abolitionists, but emphasize the important role played by free blacks in northern communities. Place American abolitionism in an international context by having students review the feature *Beyond America's Borders: "Transatlantic Abolition"* (pp. 382–383). End this lecture by emphasizing the role that women played in all of these reform movements, and note the criticism they received from those who feared that these reforming women threatened the gender hierarchy.

## LECTURE 3

### *Sectional Crisis and the Revolution in Partisan Politics*

There were four major political developments during the Jackson administration, any one of which could constitute a full lecture. They include (1) increased political participation, (2) protective tariffs and the nullification crisis, (3) the politics of dealing with

Native Americans (particularly the Cherokee removal), and (4) the "monster" bank. For your lecture strategy, you may present these developments all at once to provide an overview, or you might narrow the focus of your lecture to one or two of these topics and add more detail.

To demonstrate the evolution of political parties and the ongoing sectional split, you should first explain the increase in political participation. Show how the politics of the Jacksonian era were in many ways a natural outgrowth of the ideals of Jefferson's Republican Party, which sought universal white male suffrage. Next, explore how transportation improvements, coupled with the demands from commercial enterprises for increased literacy, created a communications revolution that brought political messages to the common man. Politicians then organized networks of politically like-minded newspapers and tied them to their parties for patronage. Local organizations used rallies and other means derived from popular culture to lure potential voters to their cause.

Once you establish the means of participation, introduce specific political issues. Start with the issue of the protective tariff of 1828, and show how manufacturers desired a tariff barrier in order to eliminate foreign competition for the American market. Explain that Southerners, in particular, found themselves oppressed by the proposed tariff because it would raise the cost of goods to them without any immediate benefit. But also show that many argued that the Constitution allowed only tariffs that raised revenue to run the government: Anything above that or for any other purpose was unnecessary and unconstitutional. This issue ultimately led to the nullification crisis, in which South Carolina rescinded the protective tariff within its borders. In a showdown, the Jackson administration offered both carrot and stick, reducing the tariff to manageable levels but threatening military invasion if South Carolina did not back down. The crisis served notice that the Union was extremely fragile and was becoming more so with ongoing sectional antagonisms, particularly those exacerbated by the abolitionist movement.

Jackson also pursued other issues such as the removal of all Indians who lived to the east of the Mississippi River. Be sure to direct students to Map 11.3, "Indian Removal and the Trail of Tears" (p. 372). Also look at Jackson's war with the second Bank of the United States, and show how it contributed to the further development of separate national parties. Refer to President Jackson's farewell address to explain why Jackson saw the bank and other corporations as "monsters." Finally, take a few minutes to dispel any misconceptions that today's Republican Party traces its roots back to Thomas Jefferson's Republican Party. You might consider drawing a timeline to help

students focus on the development of the different party systems in the United States.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. Most, If Not All, Northerners Supported Abolitionism

Although students usually understand that southern-bred abolitionists like the Grimké sisters were a rarity, they believe that most, if not all, Northerners supported the abolition movement. Although many Northerners opposed slavery, most did not favor abolitionism because it seemed too radical. Southerners sought to keep the abolitionists' insurrectionary pamphlets out of the mail for fear of such literature falling into the hands of slaves, who might think that the northern public would support another Gabriel's rebellion. Explain to your students that northern whites generally opposed both slavery and emancipation. Slavery brought Africans to the United States; emancipation would allow their descendants to wander at their own will. Both Northerners and Southerners shared a deep-seated feeling of white superiority, and most sought ways to ensure that blacks occupied a powerless position in society.

### 2. Today's Republican Party Originated with the Republican Party of Thomas Jefferson

Some of your students will believe that today's Republican Party is the same as Thomas Jefferson's party. Although you will need to jump forward and back chronologically, devote part of a class to creating a timeline (as suggested for Lecture 3) to delineate the periods of the first and second American party systems. Show the decline of the Federalists as a national party following the Hartford Convention, and then show the rise of the Whigs and Democrats out of Jefferson's Republican Party. Jump ahead and briefly show when the Whig Party declined and today's GOP was organized. One pedagogical tool (though not entirely accurate) is to talk about parties organized around principles of economic development (the parties of business—the Federalist, Whig, and modern Republican parties) as opposed to parties organized around maximizing personal liberty (the parties of the people—Jefferson's Republican, Jackson's Democratic-Republican, and modern Democratic parties).

### 3. The Great Depression of the 1930s Was a Solitary Event without Precedent

Many students fail to appreciate the repetition of the business cycle that marks the economy's journey through boom and bust during the 120 years before the twentieth century's most famous panic. (Economists

invented the term depression in the early 1930s because it did not sound as dire as panic. Your students may be familiar with the modern term: correction.) You might consider drawing a timeline for your class to show the major economic low points: 1819, 1837, 1857, 1873, 1893, and so on up to 1929. Take a few moments to explain the contributing factors, the length, and the depth of each of the depressions. Another useful pedagogic device is to show the correlation in the antebellum period between economic downturns and both destabilizing banking practices and fluctuating agricultural commodity prices.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

When discussing Jacksonian Indian policy, consider showing segments from the second episode of the PBS documentary *The West*, "Empire upon the Trails," which covers the Indian removal and the Trail of Tears.

### Class Discussion Starters

To encourage students to question the significance of the nullification crisis, ask them, "What if South Carolina had seceded because of the nation's tariff policies?" Would other southern states have followed South Carolina's lead? Would the Civil War have been fought earlier? Remind students that Jackson's support of the state of Georgia in its battle with the Supreme Court on the issue of the Cherokees ensured that at least one southern state would not fall within South Carolina's orbit. Ask students whether the nation would have been willing to risk a civil war over the tariff issue. Have them identify other national policies with which southern ideologues disagreed. Could the debates over internal improvements or the national bank have been enough to spark the Civil War? Or would only the crisis over the extension of slavery into the territories be serious enough to precipitate disunion? This exercise should encourage students to think seriously about the role of slavery in eventual secession and the course of the Civil War.

### Historical Debates

Consider having students debate the legality of South Carolina's position on nullification. Were protective tariffs unconstitutional, as Calhoun and others argued? Did states have the authority to judge the constitutionality of acts of Congress? Is nullification constitutional? Is secession constitutional? This exercise should prepare students for future discussions on secession, the coming of the Civil War, and the ultimate fate of Reconstruction.

## Additional Resources for Chapter 11

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 11 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 11.1: Routes of Transportation in 1840 (p. 359)
- Map 11.2: The Election of 1828 (p. 369)
- Map 11.3: Indian Removal and the Trail of Tears (p. 372)
- Global Comparison: Changing Trends in Age at First Marriage for Women (p. 377)
- View of the Erie Canal at Lockport (p. 360)
- Abolitionist Purses (p. 384)

#### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 11 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 11.1: Routes of Transportation in 1840 (p. 359)
- Map 11.2: The Election of 1828 (p. 369)
- Map 11.3: Indian Removal and the Trail of Tears (p. 372)
- Figure 11.1: Western Land Sales, 1810–1860 (p. 375)
- Global Comparison: Changing Trends in Age at First Marriage for Women (p. 377)
- View of the Erie Canal at Lockport (p. 360)
- Charles G. Finney and His Broadway Tabernacle (p. 380)
- Charles Grandison Finney (portrait) (p. 380)
- Mill Worker Tending a Power Loom (p. 364)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor's Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 11 include:

- *Andrew Jackson vs. Henry Clay: Democracy and Development in Antebellum America*, by Harry L. Watson
- *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*, by Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green
- *William Lloyd Garrison and the Fight against Slavery: Selections from "The Liberator,"* edited with an introduction by William E. Cain
- *Attitudes Toward Sex in Antebellum America: A Brief History with Documents*, by Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz

### For Students

#### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 11 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- David Crockett Hunts Bear in Western Tennessee: *A Narrative of the Life of David Crockett of the State of Tennessee*, 1834
- President Andrew Jackson's Parting Words to the Nation: *Farewell Address, March 4, 1837*
- Cherokees Debate Removal: *John Ross, Answer to Inquiries from a Friend*, 1836; *Elias Boudinot, A Reply to John Ross*, 1837
- Sarah Grimké on the Status of Women: *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes*, 1838
- David Walker Demands Emancipation: *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, 1829

#### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 11:

#### Map Activities

- Map 11.1: Routes of Transportation in 1840 (p. 359)
- Map 11.3: Indian Removal and the Trail of Tears (p. 372)

#### Visual Activities

- Andrew Jackson as "the Great Father" (p. 370)
- Charles G. Finney and His Broadway Tabernacle (p. 380)

# The New West and Free North

## 1840–1860

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### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. What fundamental changes transformed the American economy from 1840 to 1860?
2. What were the promises and realities of free labor? How did free-labor proponents explain economic inequality in America?
3. How did the American nation expand its boundaries? What was “manifest destiny,” and how did it justify American westward expansion?
4. What issues surrounded the debate on the annexation of Texas and Oregon? How did the United States provoke a war with Mexico, how did it finally secure victory, and what were the consequences of the war?
5. What was the “evangelical temperament,” and what sorts of reforms did evangelical Protestants propose? How did the women’s rights movement evolve from other reform movements in order to challenge social norms of male domination? How did abolitionist thought develop in the 1840s and 1850s?

- cultivating it, significantly boosting agricultural productivity.
2. Labor-saving improvements in farm implements, such as John Deere’s steel “singing plow,” also increased agricultural productivity.
  3. Improvements in wheat harvesting, such as Cyrus McCormick’s mechanical reaper, also multiplied farmers’ productivity; as a result corn and wheat harvests doubled between 1840 and 1860.
  4. In the end, the agricultural productivity that fueled the nation’s economy was an outgrowth of federal land policy, which made land available to millions of ordinary people.
  5. Government land policy also enriched wily speculators who found ways to claim large tracts of desirable land and sell them at a generous markup.
- B. Manufacturing and Mechanization
1. The advent of mechanization allowed manufacturers to produce more with less labor, significantly decreasing and helped to buoy the nation’s land-rich, labor-poor economy.
  2. The practice of manufacturing and then assembling interchangeable parts, known as the “American system,” spread from gun-making to other industries; standardized parts allowed manufacturers to employ unskilled workers who were cheaper and more readily available than skilled craftsmen.

### Annotated Chapter Outline

#### I. Economic and Industrial Revolution

##### A. Agriculture and Land Policy

1. As Americans moved westward, they encountered fewer forests and eventually reached the Midwest’s comparatively treeless prairie, where they could spend less time clearing the land and more time

3. Manufacturing and agriculture meshed into a dynamic national economy; New England focused on manufacturing primarily for the domestic market, and the Southern and Western states produced commodities such as wheat, port, whiskey, tobacco, and cotton.
- C. Railroads: Breaking the Bonds of Nature
  1. By 1850, trains steamed along nine thousand miles of track, almost two-thirds of it in New England and the Middle Atlantic states; by 1860 they made the United States the world's second greatest industrial power.
  2. In addition to speeding transportation, railroads propelled the growth of the iron and coal industries, both vital to railroad construction and operation.
  3. The growing railroad industry also stimulated the fledgling telegraph industry and by 1861 fifty thousand miles of wire stretched alongside railroad tracks.
  4. Almost all railroads were built and owned by private corporations rather than by the government; undergirding these private investments was massive government aid, especially federal land grants.
  5. The railroad boom of the 1850s signaled the growing industrial might of the American economy; in the 1840s and 1850s, the railroads linked farms and cities for an expanding population that was moving westward.
- II. Free Labor: Promise and Reality
  - A. The Free-Labor Ideal: Freedom plus Labor
    1. During the 1840s and 1850s, leaders throughout the North and West emphasized the advantages of free labor, which seemed to explain why the changes underway in their society benefited some more than others.
    2. By the 1850s, free-labor ideas described a social and economic ideal that accounted for both the successes and the shortcomings of the economy and society taking shape in the North and West.
    3. Free-labor spokesmen celebrated hard work, self-reliance, and independence, affirming the free-labor ideal of an egalitarian vision of human potential.
  - B. Economic Inequality
    1. The free-labor ideal made sense to many Americans, especially in the North and West, because it seemed to reflect their own experiences.
    2. Free-labor spokesmen considered economic inequalities a natural outgrowth of freedom, the inevitable result of some individuals being more able, more willing to work, and luckier.
    3. Inequalities also demonstrated the gap between the promise and the performance of the free-labor ideal; economic growth allowed some to become self-employed producers, but left many more landless and working for wages.
    4. Seeking out new opportunities in pursuit of free-labor ideals created restless social and geographic mobility in a society where two-thirds of the rural population moved every decade and population turnover in cities was even higher.
- C. Immigrants and the Free-Labor Ladder
  1. The risks and uncertainties of free labor did not deter millions of immigrants from entering the United States during the 1840s and 1850s.
  2. Nearly three out of every four immigrants who arrived between 1840 and 1860 came from either Germany or Ireland.
  3. German immigrants settled into the middle stratum of sturdy independent producers celebrated by free-labor spokesmen; Irish immigrants, by contrast, entered at the bottom of the free-labor ladder and had difficulty climbing up.
  4. Roughly three out of four Irish immigrants worked as laborers or domestic servants, but despite widespread prejudice against them, in America's labor-poor economy, Irish laborers could earn far more than in Ireland.
  5. Despite the claims of free-labor proponents many wage laborers could not realistically aspire to become independent, self-sufficient property holders.
- III. The Westward Movement
  - A. Manifest Destiny
    1. Most Americans believed that the superiority of their institutions and white culture bestowed on them a God-given right to spread their civilization across the continent.
    2. In 1845, New York journalist John L. O'Sullivan coined the term "manifest destiny" as the latest justification for white settlers to take the land they coveted.
    3. As important as national pride and racial arrogance were to manifest destiny, economic gain made up its core.

**B. Oregon and the Overland Trail**

1. American expansionists soon looked toward the vast Oregon country of the west.
2. Both Britain and the United States laid claim to Oregon; in 1818, the two countries settled on a “joint occupation” that would leave Oregon “free and open” to settlement by both countries.
3. By the late 1830s, settlers began to trickle along the Oregon Trail, following a path blazed by the mountain men.
4. Emigrants encountered Plains Indians, some of whom were peaceful, sedentary farmers; but the majority of the tribes from the central and southern Plains were horse-mounted, nomadic, nonagricultural peoples, whose warriors symbolized the “savage Indian.”
5. Plains Indians struck fear in the hearts of whites on the wagon trains and the emigrants insisted that the federal government provide them with more protection; in reality, the Native Americans had far more to fear from whites.
6. In 1851, the government adopted a new policy of Indian concentration and persuaded Indian chiefs to sign agreements to clear a wide corridor for the wagon trains by restricting Native Americans to specific areas that whites promised they would never violate.
7. Everyone experienced hardships on the trail, but no one felt the burden quite as much as the women who made the trip.
8. When men reached Oregon, they saw unbounded opportunity; when women reached Oregon, they found a wilderness whose “primitive state” promised unending work.
9. Despite the ordeal of the trail and the difficulties of starting from scratch, emigrants continued to move westward.

**C. The Mormon Exodus**

1. In 1830, Joseph Smith Jr. published *The Book of Mormon* and founded the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (the Mormons).
2. Converts, attracted to the promise of a pure faith in the midst of antebellum America’s social turmoil, flocked to the new church.
3. Neighbors branded Mormons heretics, and persecution drove Smith and his followers from New York to Ohio, then to

Missouri, and finally in 1839 to Nauvoo, Illinois, where they built a prosperous community.

4. Dissenters within the church accused Smith of advocating polygamy and opponents of the church eventually arrested Smith and his brother.
5. On June 27, 1844, a mob stormed a jail in which Smith and his brother were being held and shot both men dead.
6. The embattled church turned to Brigham Young as its new leader; he immediately began to plan the exodus of his people from Illinois to their new home beside the Great Salt Lake.
7. In 1850, the Mormon kingdom became annexed to the United States as Utah Territory.
8. Outraged at the Mormon practice of polygamy, the United States sent an army of 2,500 troops to invade Salt Lake City in what was known as the Mormon War, demonstrating that most Americans viewed the Mormons as a threat to American morality, law, and institutions.

**D. The Mexican Borderlands**

1. In the Mexican Southwest, westward-moving Anglo-American pioneers confronted northern-moving Spanish-speaking frontiersmen.
2. From the time Mexico won its independence from Spain, the country had a hard time defending its ill-defined borders, especially when faced with a northern neighbor that was convinced of its own superiority and bent on territorial acquisition.
3. The American assault began quietly, with Anglo-American trappers, traders, and settlers drifting into Mexico’s far northern provinces but soon the Mexican province of Texas attracted a flood of Americans who had settlement, not long-distance trade, on their minds.
4. The Mexican government wanted to populate and develop its northern territory and granted the American Stephen F. Austin a huge tract of land in Texas.
5. Thousands of Americans poured into Texas bringing cotton and slaves with them.
6. In 1830, the Mexican government sought to halt further immigration by outlawing slavery, which it hoped would make Texas less attractive, and by muting settlers’

- voices in local politics by concentrating political power and authority in Mexico City.
7. Faced with what they considered tyranny, the Texan settlers rebelled and fought several violent battles against Mexican General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna's troops.
  8. In April 1836 Sam Houston's army crushed Santa Anna's troops and declared the independent Republic of Texas; the following year, the United States recognized the independence of Texas from Mexico.
  9. In California, the Mexican government sought to increase the number of Mexican immigrants, at the expense of California Indians, whose condition sometimes approached that of slaves.
  10. Americans who championed manifest destiny sought to attract American settlers from Oregon Country to California, and in the 1840s, Americans streamed into California.
  11. The U.S. government made no secret of its desire to acquire California; in 1846 former army captain John Fremont and sixty white frontiersmen raised an independence movement known as the Bear Flag Revolt.

#### IV. Expansion and the Mexican-American War

##### A. The Politics of Expansion

1. Texans had sought admission to the Union almost as soon as winning their independence from Mexico in 1836 but annexing Texas raised the question of slavery and risked precipitating war with Mexico, which had never relinquished its claim to the province.
2. John Tyler became president after William Henry Harrison's death in April 1841, and when he took office inherited the complicated issues of westward expansion and the nation's boundaries.
3. Tyler decided to risk annexing Texas and in April 1844, Secretary of State John C. Calhoun laid an annexation treaty before the Senate.
4. Calhoun linked annexation to a defense of slavery, ensuring the treaty's defeat in the Senate, but the issue of Texas had not died down by the 1844 elections.
5. The Whig Party nominated Henry Clay, an ardent opponent of annexation, and the Democrats chose James K. Polk, a strong supporter of annexation.

6. During the campaign, Clay fluctuated too much on the issue of expansion and Americans elected Polk, who in his inaugural address offered a ringing reaffirmation of manifest destiny.
  7. In February 1845, after a fierce debate between antislavery and proslavery forces, Congress approved a joint resolution offering the Republic of Texas admission to the United States as the fifteenth slave state.
  8. The United States and Britain compromised on the boundary of Oregon, and in 1846, the Senate approved the treaty, granting the United States a huge territory peacefully.
- B. The Mexican-American War, 1846–1848
1. From the first day of his administration, Polk craved Mexico's northern provinces: California and New Mexico, land that today makes up California, Nevada, and Utah, most of New Mexico and Arizona, and parts of Wyoming and Colorado.
  2. Because Mexico refused to sell the land to the United States, Polk concluded that it would take military force to acquire it.
  3. Polk sent General Zachary Taylor to march his 4,000-man army from its position on the Nueces River, the southern boundary of Texas according to the Mexicans, to the banks of the Rio Grande 150 miles south, the boundary claimed by Texans.
  4. The Mexican cavalry attacked a party of U.S. soldiers on April 25, 1846, and shortly thereafter the U.S. Congress passed a declaration of war.
  5. Despite the flood of volunteers, the war divided the nation, with Northern Whigs strongly opposing it.
  6. Polk intended to wage a quick war, in which American armies would occupy Mexico's northern provinces and defeat the Mexican army in a decisive battle or two, after which Mexico would sue for peace and the United States would keep the territory its armies had occupied.
  7. Initially Polk's strategy succeeded; Zachary Taylor led his troops to several victories over the Mexican army, earning him a reputation as a war hero.
  8. A second prong of the campaign centered on Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny, who led 1,700 troops to occupy New Mexico, and marched 300 of those troops on to California, where, after several clashes and

- severe losses, U.S. forces occupied Los Angeles.
9. By September 1845, Taylor had driven deep into the interior of Mexico, and in February of 1847, after a five-day siege, Santa Anna finally withdrew his army of 21,000.
- C. Victory in Mexico
1. Although Americans won battle after battle, Mexico refused to trade land for peace.
  2. Polk devised another plan for winning the war, sending General Winfield Scott 250 miles inland to Mexico City, while Taylor's troops still occupied the north.
  3. After fierce fighting from Veracruz to the capital, Scott won Mexico City in September 1847.
  4. On February 2, 1848, American and Mexican officials signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in which Mexico agreed to give up all claims to Texas above the Rio Grande and to cede the huge provinces of New Mexico and California to the United States.
  5. The American triumph in the war had enormous consequences for both Mexico and the United States.
- D. Golden California
1. In January 1848, weeks before the formal transfer of territory from Mexico to the United States, James Marshall discovered gold in the foothills of the Sierra Nevadas.
  2. Between 1849 and 1852, more than 250,000 would-be miners descended on California, hoping to strike it rich in the California gold rush, one of the wildest stampedes in the world's history.
  3. A stream of races and nationalities bent on getting rich arrived in California, where forty-niners turned the quiet world of Mexican ranches into a raucous, roaring mining and town economy.
  4. The miners rarely had much money or mining experience, and for many of them, life in the gold fields was nasty, brutish, and often short.
  5. By 1853, San Francisco, which depended on gold, had grown into a raw, booming city of 50,000, and city life was no tamer than the mining camps; in 1851, the "Committee of Vigilance" determined to bring order, but many years would pass before anyone pacified the city.
  6. Efforts to establish civic order were often made difficult by Anglo bigotry and the welter of multiethnic immigrants; Chinese immigrants, in particular, were often victims of racial violence.
7. Westward expansion did not stop at the California shore; by mid-century, California's ports were connected to a vast trade network in the Pacific, where American seafarers and merchants traded.
- V. **Reforming Self and Society**
- A. The Pursuit of Perfection: Transcendentalists and Utopians
1. A group of New England writers, including Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, who came to be known as transcendentalists believed that individuals should conform neither to the materialistic world nor to the dogma of formal religion, but that people should look within themselves for truth and guidance.
  2. Unlike transcendentalists, some reformers tried to change the world by organizing utopian communities as alternatives to the prevailing social arrangements.
  3. Followers of Charles Fourier organized many communities based on the belief that individualism and competition were evils that denied the basic truth that men were brothers, not competitors.
  4. The Oneida community went beyond the Fourierist notion of communalism; they believed in economic and sexual communalism and despite being ostracized from the mainstream, survived long after the Civil War.
- B. Women's Rights Activists
1. Women participated in many reform activities that grew out of evangelical churches.
  2. In 1848, about one hundred reformers led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott gathered at Seneca Falls, New York, for the first national women's rights convention in the United States.
  3. Nearly two dozen other women's rights conventions assembled before 1860, repeatedly calling for suffrage; but they had difficulty receiving a respectful hearing.
  4. Stanton and other women's rights activists sought fair pay and expanded opportunities for women by appealing to free labor ideology.
  5. In 1860, women's rights activists were successful in protecting married women's rights to their own wages and property in New York.

- C. Abolitionists and the American Ideal
1. During the 1840s and 1850s, abolitionists continued to struggle to draw the nation's attention to the plight of slaves and increasing the need for emancipation.
  2. Abolitionists published newspapers, held conventions, and petitioned Congress, but were unable to attract a mass following among white Americans.
  3. Many white Northerners in this period became convinced that slavery was wrong, but still believed that blacks were inferior; other white Northerners believed slavery was necessary and even desirable.
  4. During the 1840s and 1850s, black leaders—many of them former slaves—rose to prominence within the abolitionist movement.
  5. The commitment of black abolitionists to battling slavery grew out of their impatience with white abolitionists and their own experiences with white supremacy.
  6. Most black leaders worked against racial prejudice in their own communities, organizing campaigns against segregation, particularly in transportation and education.
  7. Outside the public spotlight, free African Americans in the North and West contributed to the antislavery cause by quietly aiding the fugitive slaves.

- *Concentration of workforce in factories:* Factory workers were about twice as productive as agricultural workers. Consequently, as the number of factory workers went up, so did national productivity. (p. 397)

- *Mechanization:* Known as the "American system," mechanization was one of the techniques used by American manufacturers to compensate for a relatively tight supply of workers; it allowed them to increase production while using less labor. (p. 399)

- *Shift from water to steam power:* Steam engines, powered by coal, allowed manufacturing and transportation to increase productivity. The expansion of railroads that depended on steam power operated largely independent of weather, and further, allowed settlements not on rivers or canals to participate in larger economies with greater ease. (p. 397)

- *Rising agricultural productivity:* Farmers continued to represent the most important category of American workers, still comprising about 80 percent of the nation's population in 1860. During the nineteenth century, farmers almost doubled their level of productivity. Federal policies aimed at facilitating the settlement of western lands, and movement into the Midwest, where the absence of forests eased agriculture, along with development of steel plows and mechanical reapers, all contributed to the rise in agricultural productivity. (p. 397)

2. How did the free-labor ideal account for economic inequality? (pp. 402–405) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on the free-labor ideal:* Hard work, self-reliance, and independence were primary virtues for free-labor advocates. In contrast to slavery, promoters of free-labor ideals emphasized its egalitarian thrust—freedom in theory provided all workers a common level of opportunity to work and achieve independence. (pp. 402–403)

- *Explaining inequality:* Even in the land-rich, labor-poor American economy, all did not achieve equal levels of success. Women and minorities faced distinct legal and social liabilities that restricted their ability to generate and control their earnings. Even among white men, an uneven distribution of wealth prevailed. Free-labor advocates understood such inequality as a natural outgrowth of freedom, where ability and willingness to work, as well as luck, produced dramatically varied results. (p. 405)

3. Why did westward migration expand dramatically in the mid-nineteenth century? (pp. 398–401, 407–408) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Acquisition of new territory:* The federal government's aggressive acquisition of territory through treaties and wars in the early nineteenth century

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 12, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 12.

## Review Questions

1. Why did the United States become a leading industrial power in the nineteenth century? (pp. 397–399) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Expansion of urban population:* Millions of Americans abandoned farms for the city in the mid-nineteenth century. (p. 397)

eased the way for American settlers. (p. 398; *see also* chapter 11)

- *Improvements in transportation:* The technological innovations in communication and transportation made westward migration easier. (pp. 399–401)

- *Ideology:* Americans' faith in the superiority of their white culture contributed to a growing sense that it was not only their right but their duty to spread westward across the continent. Christened "manifest destiny" by John L. O'Sullivan, this justification for westward settlement gripped the nation. (pp. 407–408)

- *Economic pressure:* The booming American economy also fueled migration of the ambitious and the displaced. Ambition for expanding trade with Asia drove some politicians to promote westward expansion. For most settlers, hunger for land and opportunity pushed them westward. (p. 408)

4. Why was the annexation of Texas such a controversial policy? (pp. 413–415) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on the settlement of Texas:* American settlers flooded into the Mexican province of Texas, and at first, Mexico welcomed them, granting Stephen F. Austin a large tract of land and making him the state's colonization agent. As the number of Anglo settlers began to dwarf the number of Tejano, Mexico tried to stem the tide. Americans circumvented their efforts and demanded a greater voice in government. They rebelled and declared the independent Republic of Texas in 1836 and immediately began seeking admission into the Union. (pp. 413–414)

- *Risks and benefits of annexing Texas:* Annexing Texas risked a war with Mexico. Further, annexing it as a slave state threatened to undo the precarious détente between slave and free states, thereby reinvigorating sectional tensions at home. To expansionists such as president John Tyler, it nevertheless was too tempting a prospect to pass up. The issue became a focal point of political wrangling in the 1840s. (pp. 414–415)

5. Why were women especially prominent in many nineteenth-century reform efforts? (p. 425) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Connections between reform and evangelicalism:* Reformers and evangelicals shared a conviction of righteousness, energy, self-discipline, and faith that improving the world was within their capacity. Further, the reform movement grew out of evangelical movements, where women were able to become more actively involved. (p. 425)

- *Women and church membership:* Women outnumbered men in church membership. The social and ideological connections between evangelical churches and reform movements were conduits that

led women into temperance, antislavery, peace movements, and so on. (p. 425)

## Making Connections

1. Varied political, economic, and technological factors promoted migration west in the mid-nineteenth century. Considering these factors, discuss migration to two different regions (for instance, Texas, Oregon, Utah or California). What drew migrants to the region? How did the U.S. government contribute to their efforts? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background:* Most of the Americans who headed westward in the mid-nineteenth century sought better economic opportunities and access to land. Technological improvements eased transportation and communications, providing means of integrating outlying settlements into national political and economic life. (p. 407)

- *Texas:* Mexico had long attracted Americans engaged in trade, but its northern province, Texas, drew Americans intent on settlement. Cheap land drew American settlers, mostly from the southeast, who replicated the agriculture and labor system of their home states. Cotton and slavery came with American settlement. When Mexico became troubled by Anglo dominance of the province, they tried to reduce immigration by outlawing slavery. Texan settlers revolted and declared an independent republic. The United States helped them protect their claims, first by recognizing the Republic of Texas, later, by accepting Texas into the Union, and finally, by engaging in a war with Mexico that vastly extended American territorial claims. (pp. 412–420)

- *Oregon:* The United States and Britain both claimed this large expanse of territory and compromised in 1818, agreeing to a "joint occupation" that would allow citizens of both countries to settle there. With this sanction, large numbers of settlers had traveled the Oregon Trail by mid-century seeking land. Settlers demanded, and received some, assistance from the United States government in protecting them from Indians across whose lands they traveled on their way to Oregon. The United States responded by constructing a chain of forts along the trail and by adopting a new policy of "concentration" toward Indians, restricting them to specific areas. (pp. 408–410)

- *California:* The United States facilitated immigration to California through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which gave the United States control over California in 1848. The Gold Rush quickly drew a flood of migrants seeking a fortune in gold, or providing services for miners. In the short term, the rush of migrants hastened California's statehood. (pp. 420–424)

• *Utah:* Like other migrants, Mormons sought land, but they also sought freedom from religious persecution in the East. Having been forced from New York to Ohio to Nauvoo, Illinois, where John Smith, the church's founder, was murdered, the Mormons sought a refuge in the inhospitable land next to the Great Salt Lake. The Mormon practice of polygamy, which had drawn violent opposition elsewhere, drew the federal government to invade Salt Lake City in 1857 to assert its authority over Utah. (pp. 411–412)

2. How did the ideology of manifest destiny contribute to the mid-nineteenth century drive for expansion? Discuss its implications for individual migrants and the nation. In your answer, consider how manifest destiny built on, or revised, earlier understandings of the nation's history and racial politics. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Explanation of manifest destiny:* Manifest destiny cast Americans' settlement of the West as a right and duty grounded in the superiority of white civilization and the distinctive virtues of the American political system. Manifest destiny suggested that Americans' rights to the land superceded those of indigenous peoples and Europeans who might lay claim. (pp. 407–408)

- *Implications for individual emigrants:* The ideology of manifest destiny provided land-hungry Americans surging westward a sense that the pursuit of personal gain could also advance the nation. It also helped legitimize westward emigrants' demands that the federal government help protect them from hostile Indians and other governments on whose claims they might trespass. (pp. 407–408, 410)

- *Implications for the nation:* Politicians looked to westward expansion as a means of promoting American prosperity, through both agriculture and trade with the Far East. Defense of both westward expansion and trade with the Far East were couched in the same ideas about spreading civilization. (p. 408)

- *National precedents:* The language of manifest destiny wed two important strands of colonial ambition: (1) The language of noble purpose echoed the Puritan vision of the American experiment as having divine sanction; and (2) expansion facilitated the pursuit of wealth, the ambition characteristic of the Chesapeake settlements. Further, the almost endless supply of land seemed poised to satisfy Jefferson's vision of a nation of independent producers, echoed in the free-labor ideology of the mid-nineteenth century. (pp. 407–408; see also chapters 3, 4, 10)

- *Expansion and race:* Westward emigrants' hostile response to Indians and their territorial claims was part of a longstanding pattern of American dispossessing of Indians from their lands when their claims competed with whites' desires for expansion.

Although a common attitude toward Indians' rights joined northern and southern Americans who were eyeing the West, the question of how territorial expansion would affect tensions over the question of slavery was much more contentious. The precedent of the Missouri Compromise suggested how sharply disputes over the expansion of slavery could divide the nation, and how precarious solutions could be. (pp. 407–408; see also chapters 10, 11)

3. The Mexican-American War reshaped U.S. borders and more. Discuss the consequences of the war for national political and economic developments in subsequent decades. What resources did the new territory give the United States? How did debate over annexation revive older political disputes? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Debate over annexation:* The debate over the annexation of Texas raised concerns about hazarding a war with Mexico and reinvigorating national disputes about slavery. The 1844 election pitted an anti-annexation Henry Clay against a vigorously pro-annexation James K. Polk. Clay argued that annexation would produce war with Mexico, while other northern politicians emphasized that it would be a new source of power for the slave states. These concerns reawakened regional tensions that had been vividly on display in the War of 1812 and the debate over Missouri's admission to the Union. Polk skillfully tied Texas annexation to asserting U.S. claims to Oregon, thereby drawing the support of northerners who may have opposed the expansion of slavery, but hungered for the lands of the northwest. Clay's last-minute attempt to adopt a moderate pro-expansion position backfired. The election was treated as a referendum on annexation and President Tyler proceeded to act. (pp. 414–416; see also chapter 10)

- *Resources gained:* When Mexico signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, it gave up all claims to Texas north of the Rio Grande and ceded the provinces of New Mexico and California to the United States in return for \$15 million and American assumption of \$3.25 million in claims that American citizens had against Mexico. The United States had gained more than 500,000 square miles of territory, vast natural resources including gold in California, and access to the Pacific. (p. 420)

- *Political consequences of the war:* After Texas had become part of the Union, President Polk sought to expand U.S. territory to include the Mexican provinces of California and New Mexico, first through purchase, and then through war. The war, deemed illegitimate by some Northerners, intensified their sense that slave states were recklessly and greedily using federal power to advance their own interests. The success of the war as a tool of territorial expansion

seemed to fulfill the promise of manifest destiny; American territory now spanned the continent. Americans' sense of possibility and power had been strengthened. (pp. 416–417)

- *Economic consequences:* The new territory the United States now claimed brought vast resources and access to two oceans for trade and economic development. (p. 420)

4. Some nineteenth-century reform movements drew on the free-labor ideal, while others challenged it. Discuss the free-labor ideal in relation to two reform movements (such as abolitionism and utopian communalism). How did they draw on the ideal to pursue specific reforms? How did these minority movements try to influence national developments? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on the free-labor ideal:* Hard work, self-reliance, and independence were primary virtues for free-labor advocates. In contrast to slavery, promoters of free-labor ideals emphasized its egalitarian thrust—freedom in theory provided all workers a common level of opportunity to work and achieve independence. (pp. 402–403)

- *Abolitionism:* In calling for the end of slavery, abolitionists pointed to the hardship slaves endured and slavery's inconsistency with the American ideals of free labor. White Americans' belief in blacks' inherent inferiority proved a stumbling block. Most white men accepted the idea that equal access to opportunity meant equality for white men. Even those Americans who found slavery objectionable thought that blacks' inferiority made the absence of slavery a problematic solution. Abolitionists only gained traction when they could attach their goal of ending slavery to a concern shared by many white Northerners—limiting the geographic expansion of slavery. (pp. 426–427; see also chapter 11, pp. 381, 384–385)

- *Women's Rights:* A small group of women argued publicly that gender was an illegitimate basis for denying them the rights and privileges accorded to male citizens that provided an important context for the free-labor ideal. In pursuing these goals, they used the same tools of other reformers and political groups—conventions, publications, petitions, and so on. Their efforts to reform the nation largely fell on deaf ears. (pp. 425–426)

- *Transcendentalists and Utopians:* Transcendentalists' celebration of self-reliance and individual moral authority in significant ways partook of many of the same values that formed the basis of the free-labor idea. They expressed a hope that righteous individual action could encourage change in the larger world. Instead of appealing to the free-labor ideal, utopians questioned the premise of competition it was understood to manage. They withdrew to form communities organized

around their own ideals. Self-reform was their primary goal. (pp. 424–425)

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### **Westward the Star of Empire Takes Its Way—near Council Bluffs, Iowa (p. 401)**

**Reading the Image:** How does the artist use light to suggest the environment of progress? In what ways are the trees depicted in this painting? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Light:* The artist has the sky turn progressively darker as he moves from civilization on the left side of the painting toward as yet untrammeled nature on the right side. This pattern seems to link the civilization of the settlers with light and the regions they have not yet reached with darkness. The artist has also contrasted the natural light of the sky with the imposition of manmade light, from the train's headlight. Above the train the artist has added a black cloud of smoke that contrasts with the lighter sky over the settler's house and the darker shades of the still-undeveloped forest.

- *Trees:* On the other hand, the trees seem to suggest an opposing perspective. The trees left behind after the settlers' clearing efforts are scraggly and appear sickly, while the trees on the other side of the railroad tracks appear lush and more appealing. Such a contrast seems to suggest the damage caused by the expansion of American settlements.

**Connections:** What messages about nature and progress does the artist suggest? How does the title of the painting contribute to your understanding of this message? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Messages:* The messages in this painting are conflicting. While the progress symbolized by the oncoming train seems inevitable and in some ways beneficial, the author clearly reveals the damage left in the wake of progress through his representation of the destruction of the trees and the impending deaths of the animal life.

- *Title:* *Westward the Star of Empire Takes Its Way* evokes the painting *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way*, which hangs in the U.S. Capitol. That painting is an unreservedly romantic depiction of the westward expansion movement, but this one offers a more balanced perspective that takes into account

both the benefits and the costs of westward expansion. The title of this painting is also a quote from Henry David Thoreau, who was a sharp critic of the nation's efforts to subdue nature involved in westward expansion, further suggesting the painter's conflicted feelings about the inevitable development of the American West.

### Pioneer Family on the Trail West (p. 411)

**Reading the Image:** Based on this photograph, what were some of the difficulties faced by pioneers traveling to the far West? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Difficulties of traveling west:* The photograph shows that travel to the far West was slow and arduous. The family has a wagon pulled by two horses to take all of its possessions across thousands of miles of prairies and mountains. Very likely, some members of this group had to walk during the day because the wagon appears too small to hold them all. Even if the wagon could carry everyone, it would have moved slowly given the weight of the wagon and the power of the horses. If a person or an animal fell ill, the trip would be slowed further, just as it would if a wheel or an axle on the wagon broke.

**Connections:** How did wagon trains change the western United States? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Consequences of wagon trains:* Wagon trains carried tens of thousands of Americans to the far West. The wagon trains brought the economy, culture, and political power of the United States to places on the Pacific Coast that had heretofore had little contact with Americans. Wagon trains also devastated the Indian peoples of the Great Plains. Although most pioneers did not settle on the Plains, they nonetheless had a great impact on the Indians of the region. White emigrants killed thousands of buffalo, sometimes just for sport. Plains Indians had come to depend on buffalo for most of their food, clothing, and fuel; the rapidly diminishing buffalo herds intensified conflict among the Plains tribes. Americans traveling by wagon also passed along contagious diseases, such as smallpox, that devastated Indian populations because they lacked immunities to Old World diseases. Furthermore, white traders traveling with the wagons sold Indians alcohol, a commodity that made Indians dependent on unscrupulous merchants and which eroded the cultural traditions of Plains Indian societies. Finally, violence between whites and Indians followed in the wake of the wagon trains. In order to protect the pioneers on their trek west, the United States prohibited Plains Indians from inhabiting a wide path of land used by the wagon trains. This

restriction of the highly mobile tribes of the Plains would worsen over time until the Indians found themselves confined to reservations that were a fraction of the size of the land they once claimed.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 12.1 Railroads in 1860 (p. 400)

**Reading the Map:** In which sections of the country was most of the railroad track laid by the middle of the nineteenth century? What cities served as the busiest railroad hubs? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Railroad tracks in the mid-nineteenth century:* By midcentury, railroads were much more common in the northeastern and northwestern states than in the southern states. The North's industrializing economy drove a boom in railroad construction that the export-agricultural economy of the South failed to match. Cities at the eastern and western ends of the railroad network were the busiest hubs.

- *Railroad hubs:* In the East, railroad lines converged on the major ports of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, where goods could be shipped overseas. In the West, Chicago and St. Louis served as the gathering points for railroads that carried the products of western farms to the cities of the East.

**Connections:** How did the expansion of railroad networks affect the American economy? Why was the U.S. government willing to grant more than twenty million acres of public land to the private corporations that ran the railroads? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Expansion of the railroads and the economy:* Through railroad expansion, places that did not have access to a major waterway were connected to the major marketplaces of the nation, and indirectly to the world. Unlike canals, railroads did not need a large reserve of water to operate, and they ran year-round, unlike waterways that froze in winter. Railroads also improved communication and stimulated demand for coal and iron. The federal government granted more than twenty million acres to private railroad companies because it hoped that the incentive of free land would generate more track construction. The U.S. government had acquired a vast amount of territory in the first half of the nineteenth century, and abundant federal land was a commodity that could be used

to stimulate economic activity. Prior to the giveaways to the railroads, federal officials had granted millions of acres to turnpike, highway, and canal projects. Land grants to railroads expanded on this earlier tradition of using public land to encourage private improvements in transportation.

### Map 12.5 Territorial Expansion by 1860 (p. 420)

**Reading the Map:** List the countries from which the United States acquired land. Which nation lost the most land because of U.S. expansion? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Acquisition of land in the United States:* The United States gained land by means of purchase, cession, and war from nearly every country with an interest in the continent, including Britain, Spain, and Mexico. Great Britain lost the original thirteen colonies and then ceded the Oregon Country, part of North Dakota and Minnesota, and a piece of Maine. France sold the immense Louisiana Territory to the United States, while Spain ceded to the United States Florida, a bit of Louisiana, and the U.S.-annexed territory between the two states that constituted the southern borders of Mississippi and Alabama. Mexico, however, which declared its independence from Spain in 1821, lost the most land the least voluntarily. With the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexico gave up nearly one-third of its territory, land encompassing the modern states of California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and part of Colorado.

**Connections:** Who coined the phrase *manifest destiny*? When? What does it mean? What areas targeted for expansion were the subjects of debate during the presidential campaign of 1844? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Manifest Destiny:* A New York journalist named John L. O'Sullivan came up with the phrase *manifest destiny* in 1845. He was referring to his vision of western expansion as something more than a selfish desire for more land and resources: In his view, it was only right that Americans, with their superior civilization and political system, should take over the entire continent, thus spreading the benefits of freedom and democracy.

- *The 1844 Presidential Campaign:* This became a major issue in the presidential campaign of 1844. While Henry Clay and the Whig Party attempted to ignore territorial expansion, the Democrats seized on the issue. To avoid the sectional divide that arose when the annexation of Texas was proposed, the Democratic platform demanded that both Texas and the Oregon Country become part of the U.S. territory.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in “Additional Resources for Chapter 12.”*

### LECTURE 1

#### *The Economy in the North*

Begin this lecture by looking at demographic changes in America, and ask students why America attracted immigrants. When someone inevitably answers that it attracted people seeking freedom, ask why these immigrants didn't go elsewhere, such as Argentina or Canada (both of which attracted many immigrants). America's appeal extended beyond freedom. Suggest to students that the extreme shortage of labor in ratio to its increasing productive capacity made America seem attractive to immigrants. Wages were high, and opportunities to purchase land were readily available. Concentrate on land purchase, and ask how the federal government encouraged such purchases. Explain that federal subsidies of land sales engendered greater agricultural output by putting more land under tillage, which in turn allowed for the growth of large cities.

Ask whether immigration, urbanization, and increased tillage alone account for America's pattern of productivity. What about technological improvements? Without getting bogged down in minutiae, describe the advances in technology aimed at improving agriculture. Next, explore the ways in which railroads improved the movement of goods, people, and information. Using Map 12.1, “Railroads in 1860” (p. 400), show how railroads altered the sense of distance between locations. Be sure to include the telegraph when discussing technological innovation. Next, ask students about changes in industry and direct them to consider the “American system” of manufacturing. Was it about interchangeable parts? Discuss the ways in which tariff barriers aided industrialization more than did the slow adoption of technology in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Finally, introduce free-labor ideology, and suggest how that concept contributed to American productivity more than did any other single event, idea, or change. Once you have described what its proponents saw as the main benefits of the free-labor system, make it clear that this system, while it drove the economy, left many behind. Discuss how immigrants, Native Americans, African Americans, and white women fared under the free-labor system. Use the chapter's opening vignette about Lincoln's father to show how the system separated families.

## LECTURE 2

### *Manifest Destiny and Territorial Expansion*

This lecture shows the expansionist nature of the United States and how it acquired and consolidated territory to become a transcontinental nation. Begin by referring students to Map 12.5, “Territorial Expansion by 1860” (p. 420). Ask if the United States was preordained to become a transcontinental nation, and discuss the contingent nature of history. Ask students what parts of present-day America belonged to the United States at the beginning of the 1840s and what parts were owned by another country or were in dispute. Then, referring to Map 12.2, “Major Trails West” (p. 409), explain how travelers might get to western parts of North America from the United States and what sorts of economic ties were developed in the early nineteenth century. Mention that U.S. claims to Oregon dated back to the exploration by Lewis and Clark and that British claims dated back even earlier, to exploration by Sir Francis Drake. Spain had explored and settled portions of the American Southwest and settled on a common border with Oregon by treaty with the United States in 1819. None of these claims took into account the indigenous peoples who controlled most of the territory. By the 1840s, Americans believed that God had ordained them to be prosperous and to control the American continent.

Make clear that Mexico, which inherited the Southwest when it gained independence from Spain, was seen as an impediment to American expansion. Most Americans saw Mexico as a weak nation constantly wracked by civil war in its futile attempts to build a sovereign country and populated by an inferior people of mixed-race origins. Explain the original welcome extended by Mexico in the 1820s in hopes of peopling its sparsely settled northern provinces. Next, explain the ways in which America secured control of the province in 1836. Use Map 12.4, “The Mexican-American War, 1846–1848” (p. 416), to demonstrate that although Texas had bordered the next Mexican province at the Nueces River, the Republic of Texas claimed but did not occupy all lands east and north of the Rio Grande up to its source in present-day Colorado (including Santa Fe, the capital of another Mexican province). Then, explore why the United States did not immediately annex Texas, and mention that almost simultaneously the United States attempted to purchase California from Mexico. By 1844, annexation of Oregon and Mexico became the central issue of the presidential campaign. Using the map of the trails (Map 12.2, p. 409), explain the situation in Oregon and how it was quietly resolved in 1846. At this point, you might want to have students discuss the term *manifest*

*destiny*, which so accurately expressed Americans’ conviction that God had ordained that the United States would occupy the entire continent, peopling the land with a “superior” race of Anglo-Americans.

Explain why the United States went to war with Mexico. First, describe the nature of John Tyler’s presidency and why he created the issue of annexation. Once elected in 1844, James Polk provoked the Mexican government into attacking American troops sent into the disputed area claimed by Texas but occupied by Mexico, and then asked for a declaration of war. Many Northerners opposed the war, in part because they feared it would extend slavery; but the war was generally popular, especially in the South and West. The Mexicans fought harder than was expected of an “inferior” race of people, and the war dragged on. Using Map 12.4, “The Mexican-American War, 1846–1848” (p. 416), describe the strategies Polk designed to force Mexico to relinquish its northern provinces, and particularly how he grabbed the provinces of New Mexico and California. Then, show the effects of expansion and how it changed the demographic composition of the newly won western territories.

Next, introduce the discovery of gold with the feature *Historical Question*: “Who Rushed for California Gold?” (pp. 422–423). Ask your students to consider what happened to Americans’ fascination with free-labor ideology, which exalted the daily duty of work, in the abundance of wealth generated by the gold rush. Did Americans allocate mining rights fairly to all newcomers? And finally, discuss demographic heterogeneity resulting from the gold rush.

## LECTURE 3

### *Antebellum Reform Movements*

This lecture demonstrates the unforeseen consequences of society’s adoption of free-will theology and a free-labor ideology, both of which affirmed that the individual can shape his or her own destiny. Begin by suggesting to students that these unintended consequences compelled many reformers to action, hoping to ensure the promise of America. “Rugged individualism” failed many Americans, leaving them poor despite their hard work. They worried that the cyclic nature of the economy could set them back. Thus, if individual effort failed to create success, society would have to be changed to facilitate rewarding such efforts. As a result of these concerns, a number of utopian communities came into existence to attempt different ways of improving society. Explain to students the variety of communal living experiments that were founded in the 1840s, some of which survived

well beyond the Civil War to the 1870s. (You might want to draw their attention to the painting of Mary Cragin, a member of the Oneida community, on p. 425.) Ask them to consider how these communities were viewed by their neighbors, and then describe the long trek of the Mormons to Utah to escape persecution, using Map 12.2, "Major Trails West" (p. 409).

Next, explain the reform movements of the nineteenth century by demonstrating that the ideology of individualism encouraged political movements. You might begin this section of your lecture by asking students to think about the ways in which these reformers understood the promise of America and how they acted on that understanding. Describe how women came to the fore in a number of reform movements, particularly abolitionism, and learned how to organize themselves. Use the photograph of the abolitionist meeting in 1850 (p. 427) to show how men and women and blacks and whites worked together in the abolitionist cause—albeit not on equal terms. Finally, move to the discussion of the Seneca Falls Declaration, and describe the extent, means, and success of the early feminist movement. End this lecture by emphasizing the role of northern free blacks in the abolitionist movement. Explain the reasons behind their willingness to jeopardize their freedom in order to secure freedom for those African Americans still held in bondage. Discuss the reasons why some anti-slavery advocates promoted colonization. Ask students to consider what Liberia promised to African Americans.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. Free Blacks Were More Concerned with Protecting Their Freedom Than with Abolitionism

Most students will be familiar with Harriet Tubman and her work with the Underground Railroad. However, many might assume that Tubman serves as an isolated example of free blacks' commitment to abolitionism. Use the section at the end of the chapter to demonstrate to students that African Americans served as the driving force for abolitionism. Discuss the work of former slaves who spoke on the lecture circuit and told of the brutality and depravity of the institution of slavery. Emphasize to students that African American leaders refused to let whites dictate the pace or the tenor of calls for emancipation. They were not about to wait for white abolitionists' appeals to the conscience of America to come to fruition. Point out to students that African Americans formed their

own newspapers and held their own conventions in order to advance their opinions. Preview the concept of African Americans acting as their own liberators, which will be important in chapter 16.

### 2. Communes and Protest Movements Happened Only in the 1960s

Communal living thrived well before the Age of Aquarius. Before hippies proposed alternative modes of structuring society in the 1960s, and before civil rights, antiwar, and women's rights activists learned to protest in the television age, America had a well-established pattern of protest and a thirst for improving society. By the 1840s, as the textbook points out, Americans took the ideas that undergirded free-will salvation and free-will labor ideology and applied them to "improve" on their society. Communal living arrangements were used for a variety of religious, reform, and intellectual experiments, ranging from the Mormons (who practiced polygamy) to the Oneida community (where members practiced complex marriage). Mention also the various Fourierist communities that experimented with the organization of "meaningful" labor and the intellectual commune at Brook Farm outside Boston. Americans worried about their society and sought new ways to organize it to lessen that anxiety. They also had specific protest projects for which they labored. They took to heart the zeal for self-improvement made manifest by free-will theology, and they desired to improve life on earth as well as their own moral character. They outlawed alcohol and sought to reduce intemperance. They improved public education, introduced prisons, and reformed hospitals and asylums. They protested slavery, women's codified subordination, and "Mr. Polk's War" as well. In short, theirs was a society attempting to define itself as it went through radical economic and demographic changes.

### 3. A Continental United States, Ranging from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Was Inevitable

Because current boundaries of the United States reach from the Atlantic to the Pacific, students tend to believe that America was destined to be a continental nation. As demonstrated in earlier chapters, however, some Americans feared that the regional differences in a large nation would inevitably lead to centrifugal forces that would rip the nation apart. And clearly those fears were fulfilled by the Civil War. The idea of inevitability is the most dangerous idea for students of history to hold. It assumes that some sort of fate or divine mandate guides human affairs rather than acknowledging that humankind makes history through the actions, ideas, and decisions of individuals. Help your students to appreciate that history is contingent on those actions and decisions.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

Two episodes of the PBS series *The West* work particularly well in conjunction with this chapter. When discussing the influence of the manifest destiny ideology, consider showing “Empire upon the Trails, 1806–1848,” episode 2, which covers the movement west and the debate over the annexation of Texas. When discussing the feature *Historical Question: “Who Rushed for California Gold?”* (pp. 422–423) and related documents, consider showing “The Speck of the Future, 1848–1856,” episode 3 of *The West*, which covers the discovery of gold in California and tells the story of over 50,000 fortune hunters who moved west, scrambling for riches and forever altering the landscape.

### Class Discussion Starters

Have students consider the possible course of American history had Polk not purposely provoked a war with Mexico. Take advantage of any discussion of this issue to ask for alternative historical scenarios that might have changed the shape of the United States. For instance, Britain could have gone to war with the United States over Oregon, which would have created a two-front war. An understaffed U.S. army would then have had to fight a powerful empire on land and sea while simultaneously attempting to take Mexico’s northern provinces. And, as the next chapters will demonstrate, had the United States not acquired its western territory, those centrifugal forces might not have been sufficient to drive the country apart in a war between the states.

### Historical Debates

Have students debate the viability of free-labor ideology in a society that was becoming increasingly industrialized. Free-labor ideology means that laborers own their means of production and sell the fruits of their labor for a just price. Such laborers are thus independent (or free) from the dictates of a “master” or a boss. Factories, however, require capital to purchase the means of production (machines), which are housed under one roof. Very few laborers could hope to raise that kind of capital in antebellum America. Workers therefore no longer sold the fruits of their labor, but rather sold their labor itself for a wage determined by an increasingly distant market. Workers were no longer independent (or free) but dependent on wages. Ask students to consider, then, whether Lincoln’s words on the virtues of free labor (p. 403) were tenable in an increasingly industrialized and mechanized America.

## Additional Resources for Chapter 12

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 12 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 12.1: Railroads in 1860 (p. 400)
- Map 12.2: Major Trails West (p. 409)
- Map 12.3: Texas and Mexico in the 1830s (p. 412)
- Map 12.4: The Mexican-American War, 1846–1848 (p. 416)
- Map 12.5: Territorial Expansion by 1860 (p. 420)
- Global Comparison: Nineteenth-Century School Enrollment and Literacy Rates (p. 404)
- Shako Hat (p. 417)
- Mexican Family (p. 419)

#### Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 12 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 12.1: Railroads in 1860 (p. 400)
- Map 12.2: Major Trails West (p. 409)
- Map 12.3: Texas and Mexico in the 1830s (p. 412)
- Map 12.4: The Mexican-American War, 1846–1848 (p. 416)
- Map 12.5: Territorial Expansion by 1860 (p. 420)
- Figure 12.1: Antebellum Immigration, 1820–1860 (p. 406)
- Global Comparison: Nineteenth-Century School Enrollment and Literacy Rates (p. 404)
- Westward the Star of Empire Takes Its Way—near Council Bluffs, Iowa (p. 401)
- Pioneer Family on the Trail West (p. 411)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 12 include:

- *Margaret Fuller: A Brief Biography with Documents*, by Eve Kornfeld
- *William Lloyd Garrison and the Fight against Slavery: Selections from "The Liberator,"* edited with an introduction by William E. Cain
- *Women's Rights Emerges within the Anti-Slavery Movement, 1830–1870*, by Kathryn Kish Sklar
- *The U.S. War with Mexico: A Brief History with Documents*, by Ernesto Chávez

## For Students

### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 12 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- The Anxiety of Gain: Henry W. Bellows on Commerce and Morality: *The Influence of the Trading Spirit upon the Social and Moral Life of America*, 1845
- "That Woman Is Man's Equal": The Seneca Falls Declaration: *Declaration of Sentiments*, 1848
- A Farmer's View of His Wife: Eliza Farnham, *Conversation with a Newly-Wed Westerner*, 1846

- A Texan Farmer Enlists to Fight in the Mexican War: *Diary, 1885–1886*
- Gold Fever: Walter Colton, *California Gold Rush Diary, 1849–1850*

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 12:

### Map Activities

- Map 12.1: Railroads in 1860 (p. 400)
- Map 12.5: Territorial Expansion by 1860 (p. 420)

### Visual Activities

- Westward the Star of Empire Takes Its Way—near Council Bluffs, Iowa (p. 401)
- Pioneer Family on the Trail West (p. 411)

**CHAPTER**  
**13**

# The Slave South 1820–1860

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## Chapter Learning Objectives

1. What was the essential difference between the North and South in the antebellum period? In what ways did slavery, a plantation-based economy, and biracialism distinguish South from North?
2. How was a plantation physically organized, and what were the roles of the plantation master and mistress? What was the ideology of paternalism, and what role did it play on southern plantations?
3. Describe the lives led by slaves in the Old South. What different kinds of work did they do? In what ways did family, religion, and community contribute to an autonomous slave culture? How did slaves resist the authority of their masters?
4. Why did free blacks pose an ideological dilemma for white Southerners? Why was their freedom precarious, and what successes did they enjoy despite efforts to limit their achievements?
5. Who were the “plain folk” of the Old South? Distinguish among “poor whites,” the yeomen of the plantation belt, and the yeomen of the upcountry.
6. How did the political arena become democratized during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and what did “white man’s” democracy mean in the South? In what ways did the planter elite exert its authority in politics?

## Annotated Chapter Outline

- I. **The Growing Distinctiveness of the South**
  - A. Cotton Kingdom, Slave Empire
    1. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Southerners relentlessly pushed westward; by midcentury, the South

encompassed nearly a million square miles, much of it planted in cotton.

2. The South's climate and geography were ideally suited for the cultivation of cotton.
  3. The South's cotton boom rested on the backs of slaves, who grew 75 percent of the crop on plantations, toiling in gangs in broad fields under the direct supervision of whites.
  4. The slave population grew enormously, and by 1860, the South contained 4 million slaves, more than all the other slave societies in the New World combined.
- B. The South in Black and White
1. In 1860, one in every three Southerners was black (there were approximately 4 million blacks and 8 million whites) and only one in 76 Northerners was black.
  2. The presence of large numbers of African Americans had profound consequences for the development of Southern culture; language, food, music, religion, and accents were, in part, shaped by blacks.
  3. The most direct consequence of the South's biracialism was southern whites' commitment to white supremacy.
  4. Attacks on slavery compelled southern leaders to strengthen their region's commitment to the institution of slavery.
  5. Intellectuals joined legislators in the campaign to strengthen slavery and defended the institution as a “positive good” rather than a “necessary evil.”
  6. Champions of slavery employed every imaginable defense, turning to the law, history, and biblical interpretation as evidence of their claims.

7. The heart of the defense of slavery lay in the claim of black inferiority.
  8. The system of Black slavery encouraged whites to unify around race rather than to divide by class; slavery meant white dominance, white superiority, and—despite major class differences among Southern whites—white equality.
- C. The Plantation Economy
1. As important as slavery was in unifying white Southerners, only about one-fourth of the white population lived in slaveholding families.
  2. Most slaveholders owned fewer than five slaves, but planters—those 12 percent of slaveowners who owned twenty or more slaves—dominated the southern economy.
  3. The South's major cash crops—tobacco, sugar, rice, and cotton—grew on plantations, but after the advent of Eli Whitney's cotton gin, cotton became commercially significant.
  4. Cotton was relatively easy to grow and took little capital to get started; planters produced 75 percent of the South's cotton.
  5. Plantation slavery also benefited northern merchants as well as southern planters but the economies of the North and South steadily diverged; while the North developed a mixed economy—agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing—the South remained overwhelmingly agricultural.
  6. Without significant economic diversification, the South developed fewer factories and fewer cities than the North and because the South had so few cities and industrial jobs, it attracted relatively small numbers of European immigrants.
  7. Some critics of the South's economy railed against the excessive commitment to cotton and slaves, and bemoaned the region's scarcity of factories.
  8. State governments encouraged economic development by helping to create banking systems and by constructing railroads, but they also failed to create some of the essential services modern economies require, such as statewide public schools.
  9. Northerners claimed that slavery was an outmoded and doomed labor system, but few Southerners perceived economic weakness in their region; their decision to reinvest in the economy ensured the continual momentum of the slave system.

## II. Masters, Mistresses, and the Big House

### A. Plantation Masters

1. While smaller planters supervised the labor of their slaves themselves, larger planters hired overseers who went to the field with the slaves, leaving the planter free to concentrate on marketing, finance, and general plantation affairs.
2. In the nineteenth century, planters increasingly characterized their mastery in terms of what they called "Christian guardianship" and what historians have called "paternalism."
3. Paternalism defined southern slavery as a set of reciprocal obligations between masters and slaves; it was part propaganda and part self-delusion, but it was also economically shrewd.
4. One consequence of this paternalism and economic self-interest was a small improvement in slaves' welfare, but paternalism should not be mistaken for kindness and goodwill; it encouraged better treatment because it made economic sense to provide at least minimal care for valuable slaves.
5. Paternalism provided slaveholders with a means of rationalizing their rule, but it also provided some slaves with leverage over the conditions of their lives.
6. Social standing, political advancement, and even self-esteem rested on a reputation of honor in the Old South, and defending honor became a male passion.
7. Slavery buttressed the power of white men, and planters brooked no opposition from any of their dependents, black or white.
8. Individualistic impulses were strong among planters, but duty to family remained paramount.
9. Planters were linked by ties of blood and kinship, economic interest and ideology; the values of the big house—slavery, honor, male domination—washed over the boundaries of plantations and flooded all aspects of southern life.

### B. Plantation Mistresses

1. Like their northern counterparts, southern ladies were expected to possess feminine virtues of piety, purity, chastity, and obedience within the context of marriage, motherhood, and domesticity; all that was best in plantation society.
2. Chivalry—the South's romantic ideal of male-female relationships—at once

- glorified and subordinated the southern woman.
3. Daughters of planters confronted chivalry's demands at an early age; the educations they received aimed at fitting them to become southern ladies.
  4. Proslavery ideologues claimed that slavery freed white women from drudgery; in reality, having servants required the plantation mistress to work long hours, and while masters used their status as slaveholders as a springboard into public affairs, the mistress's life was circumscribed by the plantation.
  5. As members of slaveholding families, mistresses lived privileged lives, but they also had significant grounds for discontent, including miscegenation.

### III. Slaves and the Quarter

#### A. Work

1. All slaves who were capable of productive labor worked, and the overwhelming majority of all plantation slaves in 1860 worked as field hands.
2. A few slaves (only about one in every ten) became house servants; nine out of ten house servants were women.
3. Even rarer than house servants were skilled artisans; the rarest of all slave occupations was that of slave driver.
4. Normally, slaves worked from what they called "can to can't"—from "can see" in the morning to "can't see" at night.

#### B. Family, Religion, and Community

1. From dawn to dusk, slaves worked for the master, but at night, when the labor was done, and all day Sundays and usually Saturday afternoons, slaves were left largely to themselves.
2. In the quarter, slaves created a community and a culture of their own.
3. One of the most important consequences of the slaves' limited autonomy was the preservation and persistence of the family; the black family survived slavery.
4. Slave marriages were not legally recognized, but plantation records reveal that slave marriages were often long-lasting, although at least 300,000 slave marriages were ended upon the sale of the husband or wife.
5. Although they could not fulfill the traditional roles of provider and protector, slave fathers did what they could to help their families.

6. In the quarters, slave fathers and mothers divided responsibilities along traditional gender lines.
7. Religion also provided slaves with a refuge and a reason for living.
8. Planters began promoting Christianity in the quarter because they came to see the slaves' salvation as part of their obligation and believed that religion made slaves more obedient.
9. Meeting in their cabins or secretly in the woods, slaves created an African American Christianity that served their needs, not those of the masters', but Christianity did not entirely drive out traditional African beliefs.

#### C. Resistance and Rebellion

1. Slaves did not suffer slavery passively but engaged in day-to-day resistance against their enslavers.
2. The spectrum of slave resistance ranged from mild to extreme: from telling a pointed story by the fireside in a slave cabin to active protest in the fields.
3. Running away was a widespread form of protest, but escape from the Lower South was almost impossible.
4. While resistance was common, outright rebellion—a violent assault on slavery by large numbers of slaves—was very rare.
5. Despite the rarity of slave revolts, whites believed that they were surrounded by conspiracies to rebel.
6. Although masters often boasted that their slaves were "instinctively contented," steady resistance and occasional rebellion proved otherwise.
7. Slavery's destructive power had to contend with the resiliency of the human spirit; slaves not only survived bondage, but they created in the quarter a vibrant African American culture and community that sustained them through years of bondage and after.

### IV. Black and Free: On the Middle Ground

#### A. Precarious Freedom

1. Free blacks were rare in the colonial era, but their numbers swelled after the Revolution; the natural rights philosophy of the Declaration of Independence and the egalitarian message of evangelical Protestantism joined to challenge slavery.
2. In the 1820s and 1830s, state legislatures acted to stem the growth of the free black population and to shrink the liberty of

- those blacks who had already gained their freedom.
3. The elaborate system of regulations confined most free African Americans to a constricted life of poverty and dependence.
- B. Achievement despite Restrictions
1. Despite increasingly harsh laws and stepped-up persecution, free African Americans made the most of the advantages their status offered.
  2. Some free blacks escaped the poverty and degradation whites thrust upon them.
  3. Particularly in urban areas, a small elite of free blacks developed and even flourished; a few free blacks, such as William Ellison, owned slaves in large numbers and exploited them for labor.
  4. Most free blacks tried to preserve their freedom, which was under increasing attack.
- V. The Plain Folk**
- A. Plantation Belt Yeomen
1. Plantation belt yeomen lived within the orbit of the planter class.
  2. A dense network of relationships laced small farmers and planters together in patterns of reciprocity and mutual obligation.
  3. Plantation belt yeomen may have envied, and at times even resented, wealthy slaveholders, but in general, small farmers learned to accommodate.
- B. Upcountry Yeomen
1. By contrast, the hills and mountains of the South resisted the penetration of slavery and plantations and as a result yeomen dominated these isolated areas, making planters and slaves scarce.
  2. At the core of this distinctive upcountry society was the independent farm family working its own patch of land, raising hogs, cattle, and sheep and seeking self-sufficiency and independence.
  3. The typical upcountry yeoman also grew a little cotton or tobacco, but production for home consumption was more important than production for the market.
  4. As long as upcountry yeomen were free to lead their own lives, they defended slavery and white supremacy just as staunchly as did other white Southerners.
- C. Poor Whites
1. Hard working, landholding small farmers made up a majority of white Southerners.
  2. Most Northerners, however, believed that slavery had condemned most whites to poverty, brutality, and backwardness, and that they were ignorant, diseased, and degenerate.
3. In reality, only one in four nonslaveholding rural whites was landless and very poor; most lived responsible lives, and many were eager to climb into the yeomanry.
  4. In the 1850s the cotton boom increased land prices and made upward mobility more difficult for poor whites.
  5. Despite their economic differences, poor whites shared common cultural traits with yeomen farmers.
- D. The Culture of the Plain Folk
1. Situated on scattered farms and in tiny villages, rural plain folk lived isolated, local lives.
  2. Bad roads and a lack of newspapers meant that everyday life revolved around family, a handful of neighbors, the local church, and perhaps a country store.
  3. Work occupied most of their time, but plain folk also enjoyed music, dancing, tobacco use, fishing, and hunting.
  4. Plain folk did not usually associate “book learning” with the basic needs of life and spent more hours in revival tents than in classrooms.
  5. By no means were all rural whites religious, but many were, and the most characteristic feature of their evangelical Christian faith was the revival.
- VI. The Politics of Slavery**
- A. The Democratization of the Political Arena
1. The political reforms that swept the nation in the first half of the nineteenth century reached deeply into the South.
  2. Southern politics became democratic politics—for white men.
  3. White male suffrage ushered in an era of vigorous electoral competition.
  4. As politics became aggressively democratic in the South and across the nation, it also grew fiercely partisan; both Whigs and Democrats tried to portray themselves as a friend to the plain white folk.
- B. Planter Power
1. Whether Whig or Democrat, southern officeholders were likely to be slave owners and over time, slaveholders increased their power in the state legislatures.
  2. Upper-class dominance of southern politics reflected the elite’s success in

- persuading the white majority that what was good for slaveholders was also good for them.
3. Most slaveholders took pains to win the plain folk's trust and to nurture their respect.
  4. Smart candidates found ways to convince wary plain folk of their democratic convictions and egalitarian sentiments, whether they were genuine or not.
  5. The massive representation of slaveholders ensured that southern legislatures would make every effort to preserve their interests.
  6. The South's elite found a variety of ways to protect the institution of slavery.
  7. In the antebellum South, then, the rise of the "common man" occurred alongside the continuing, even growing, power of the planter class, but the politics of slavery helped knit together all of white society.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 13, the *Questions for Analysis* and *Debate* at the end of the *Documenting the American Promise* feature, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 13.

## Review Questions

1. Why did the nineteenth century southern economy remain primarily agricultural? (pp. 437, 443–446) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Climate and cotton:* As Southerners expanded westward into lands ceded by the Creek Nation, they gained access to vast quantities of land well suited to the propagation of cotton, which along with sugar, rice, and tobacco were the crops most important to the regional economy. (p. 437)

- *Plantation economy:* Although small farmers also grew cotton, the plantations of the South were responsible for producing the majority of the nation's cotton for export, which enriched planters, as well as northern merchants and shippers. In the first half of the nineteenth century, many in the South prospered through agriculture and saw no need to diversify the

economy. Instead of investing capital in manufacturing as the North did, southern planters plowed it back into slaves and land. (pp. 443–446)

2. Why did the ideology of paternalism gain currency among planters in the nineteenth century? (pp. 448–449) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Description of the ideology of paternalism:* Paternalism rejected the characterization of slavery as exploitative and instead argued that it was a set of reciprocal obligations between masters and slaves. It characterized slaveholders as benevolent people who took on the heavy burden of caring for slaves, in return for slaves' labor and loyalty. (pp. 448–449)

- *Refuting slavery's critics:* The ideology of paternalism was in part a retort to those who criticized slavery as an immoral institution. (pp. 448–450)

- *Preserving the institution of slavery:* The 1808 ban on the importation of slaves meant that if Southerners were to have continued access to an expanding labor force to work the fields ever-inching westward, it would be through natural increase. Consequently, the expectation that paternalism included providing adequate food and shelter for slaves helped protect planters' investment in human property. (p. 449)

3. What types of resistance did slaves participate in and why did slave resistance rarely take the form of rebellion? (pp. 459–461) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Oppositional speech:* Slaves frequently exchanged stories in which the weak got the better of the strong. (p. 459)

- *Oppositional behavior:* This type of resistance included adding rocks to their cotton bags before they were weighed, feigning illness, pretending not to understand instructions, breaking tools, and mistreating work animals. (p. 460)

- *Running away:* This was a common form of protest, often practiced by young, unattached men. Running away could involve simply "lying out" for a few days, or trying to escape to the North. (p. 460)

- *Why rebellion was rare:* In most of the slave South, whites out numbered blacks by two to one. Whites also controlled most means of communication and were heavily armed. This meant that outright rebellion would be unlikely to produce an end to slavery, and instead, would likely result in the deaths of many slaves. (p. 460)

4. Why did many state legislatures pass laws restricting free blacks' freedoms in the 1820s and 1830s? (p. 461) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Expansion of free black population in the 1810s:* After the Revolution, natural rights philosophy and evangelicalism contributed to a flurry of emancipations,

expanding the free black population to 100,000 in 1810. Many white Southerners were wary of free blacks in their midst, fearing they would weaken the institution of slavery. (p. 461)

- *Sense that slavery was under attack:* Restricting free blacks was part of a larger effort to protect the institution of slavery itself, which white Southerners perceived to be under attack from both within and without the South. (p. 461)

- *Expanding cotton economy:* White Southerners wanted slaves to help fuel the cotton economy spreading westward. An expanding population of free blacks could undermine this resource. (p. 461)

5. Why did yeomen dominate the upcountry? (p. 463) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Definition of yeomen:* Yeomen were small farmers who owned their own land. Typically, the whole family contributed to agricultural production, which was geared more toward home production than the market. (p. 463)

- *Climate and geography:* Cold climate, higher elevation, limited transportation and rough terrain, made the upcountry inhospitable to the commercial agriculture dominated by planters. Consequently, there were few planters or slaves in the region, and yeomen could dominate. (p. 463)

6. How did planters benefit from their control of state legislatures? (pp. 466–469) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Planter control of state legislatures:* Despite increased participation in elections by non-slaveholding whites, who had benefited from democratic reforms of the early nineteenth century—including the extension of suffrage to all white men—egalitarian common men in the South regularly elected wealthy slaveholders to office. A sense of shared interests and a common elevated status as white heads of household contributed to voters' deference to elites. (pp. 467–469)

- *Ability to protect their interests:* Planters used their control of the legislatures to establish systems of taxation and public spending that benefited their economic interests, including silencing opposition to slavery. (p. 469)

- *Profitability of cotton:* By 1860, the South produced three-fourths of the world's supply of cotton. Its importance as an American export reflected its ability to generate wealth for those who controlled its production and distribution. (pp. 437, 443–444)

- *Westward expansion:* The 1840s ushered in a period of rapid westward movement. Southerners moving westward planted their new fields with cotton and imported a slave workforce to work them. (p. 437; see also chapter 12, p. 413)

- *Agricultural economy:* Cotton's profitability and the availability of land and laborers to support its expanding production meant that the nineteenth-century southern economy remained predominately agricultural while the northern economy diversified. (p. 446)

- *Limited industrial or urban growth:* With capital being reinvested in the production of cotton, the South developed little manufacturing and few cities. This contributed to a more dispersed settlement pattern in the region. (p. 446)

- *Distinctive demography:* Without cities or industry, the South drew few immigrants. The cotton economy instead depended on slaves for its workforce. By 1860, one in every three Southerners was black. The South's biracial society shaped its economy and political culture. (pp. 437, 447)

- *Slavery:* Cotton's dependence on slave labor led to the shipping of over 300,000 slaves to the new western cotton lands from the east. Without importation of slaves from Africa, Southerners depended on natural increase to supply their need for laborers. (pp. 437, 449)

2. How did white southern legislators and intellectuals attempt to strengthen the institution of slavery in the 1820s? What prompted them to undertake this work? In your answer be sure to explore regional and national influences. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Intellectual defense of slavery:* Slavery came under increasing attack by abolitionists in the North and a smaller number of antislavery advocates in the South. In response to increasingly vocal critics, white intellectuals crafted defenses of slavery as a positive good rather than the necessary evil of Revolutionary days. They drew on the Bible, history, and science to defend the system and attack the economy of the North. (p. 439)

- *Paternalism:* Planters throughout the South came to characterize slavery as a benevolent, reciprocal arrangement between slaves and masters in which masters bore the greatest burden. The ideology of paternalism, along with the need to protect and expand the slave population as the labor source necessary to fuel the cotton boom, led to modest improvements in slaves' welfare. Paternalism strengthened slavery by attempting to answer the institution's critics and by

## Making Connections

1. By the mid-nineteenth century the South had become a “cotton kingdom.” How did cotton's profitability shape the region's antebellum development? In your answer, discuss the region's distinctive demographic and economic features. *Answer would ideally include:*

protecting (to a limited degree) the slave population on which it depended. (pp. 448–450)

- *Laws against free blacks:* Whites viewed free blacks as dangerous to the system of slavery. Their expanded numbers in the early nineteenth century and the expanded desire for slave labor to fuel the cotton economy led white Southerners to create laws to limit their freedoms in the 1820s and 1830s. (p. 461)

3. Although bondage restricted slaves' autonomy and left slaves vulnerable to extreme abuse, they resisted slavery. Discuss the variety of ways in which slaves attempted to lessen the harshness of slavery. What were the short and long term effects of their efforts? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Oppositional speech:* Slaves exchanged sly stories of victory by the weak over the strong. Although such stories had little effect on the circumstances of labor, they helped slaves resist the logic of white supremacy and "benevolent" slavery. (pp. 459–460)

- *Oppositional action in the fields:* In small but risky ways slaves undermined agricultural production by feigning illness, damaging the tools of production, and so on. (p. 460)

- *Running away:* A few slaves managed to escape slavery permanently by running away, but most who attempted flight could only manage a temporary departure. (p. 460)

- *Family life:* The limited autonomy slaves enjoyed in the quarter allowed them to have some family life. Although subject to disruption, slave families provided each other some comfort against the harshness of slavery. (pp. 457–458)

- *Religion:* Out of Christianity and African beliefs slaves created a religion that rejected slaveholders' account of slavery as a just arrangement and nursed their opposition to slavery and their connectedness to each other. (pp. 458–459)

- *Effects:* Slave rebellion, understood as an attempt to overthrow slavery through violence, was rare. Facing a majority white population with control of weapons, resources, and communication, such efforts had little chance of success and slaves rarely pursued them. Circumstances made the overthrow of slavery a dream for the future. Instead, the forms of resistances most slaves engaged in provided temporary relief. In the long term, they created vibrant communities and cultures that sustained them through slavery and for centuries beyond. (pp. 460–461)

4. Despite vigorous political competition in the South, by 1860, legislative power was largely concentrated in the hands of a regional minority—slaveholders. Why were slaveholders politically dominant? In your answer be sure to consider how the region's biracialism contributed to its politics. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Democratic politics:* The South, like the rest of the country, underwent important democratic reforms in the early nineteenth century. Even though more ordinary citizens participated in elections, they rarely served in southern legislatures. Still, shared participation in a vigorous male political culture forged a sense of egalitarianism. By participating in political culture, elites convinced plain folk of their democratic convictions and egalitarian sentiments (pp. 467–469)

- *Slavery and white unity:* Whites shared a belief in their inherent superiority over blacks and the importance of slavery as an essential system to manage this potentially dangerous population. Even nonslaveholding whites enjoyed an elevated social status and the confidence that they might be able to enter the planter culture if they had enough success. (pp. 466–467)

- *Sense of common interest:* White supremacy and white male egalitarianism helped elites convince ordinary Southerners that what was good for planters was good for everyone. Slaveholders used this foundation to strengthen their position through legislation that hid some of the costs of slavery and silenced its critics. (p. 469)

### Documenting the American Promise: Defending Slavery (pp. 440–441)

1. According to John C. Calhoun, what were slavery's chief benefits for blacks? How do did his proslavery convictions shape his argument? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Civilization:* Calhoun argues that, before slavery, the black race was in a "low, degraded, and savage condition," and that, because of slavery, it has "attained a condition so civilized and so improved, not only physically, but morally and intellectually."

- *Care and protection:* Calhoun also says that slaves in the United States are treated well and that, compared to the condition of poor people in Europe and other places in the world, slaves do very well. He also says that even sick and aged slaves receive good care from their masters.

- *Impact of proslavery convictions:* The impact of Calhoun's proslavery convictions are clear. He believes that slavery is a civilizing influence and an institution that takes good care of people who cannot take care of themselves. He believes that slaverowners are benevolent and paternalistic and his support of slavery has led him to argue that the institution is a positive good for both southern whites and blacks.

2. Why do you suppose William Harper interjected Americans' treatment of Indians into his defense of slavery? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Harper's comparison of slaves and Indians:* Harper is making an implicit comparison between the Indians

and the slaves, both of which he sees as inferior and uncivilized groups. He suggests that no one makes the argument that “civilized man” did not have the right to overrun North America and consequently implies that no one should make the argument that whites did not have the right to enslave blacks.

- *Harper's comparison of slaveowners and Americans:* Harper is also making an implicit comparison between slaveowners and the white European-Americans who removed Indians from their land. Civilized slaveowners and white Americans, he implies, were morally correct in enslaving Africans and possessing the country because, in doing so, they were both taming savages.

3. According to Thornton Stringfellow, the Bible instructs both masters and slaves about their duties. What are their respective obligations? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Masters' obligations:* Masters' obligations were to treat their servants justly and equally, knowing that God was their master, who treated them that way.
- *Slaves' obligations:* Slaves' obligations were to obey their masters and to do so with the same fullness and commitment they would muster when obeying God.

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### The *Henry Frank*, New Orleans (p. 448)

**Reading the Image:** How does the image of the *Henry Frank* demonstrate the centrality of cotton to southern agriculture and southern people? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Agriculture:* The *Henry Frank*'s owners are celebrating the accomplishment of carrying what we might presume to be a record number of cotton bales on a single boat. This focus on loading their boat to a dangerous level solely with cotton bales reveals the importance to Southern farmers and merchants of transporting as much cotton as possible to Northern and foreign ports at increasingly high speeds in order to satisfy what must have seemed to be the limitless demand for Southern cotton.

- *People:* This image reveals the centrality of cotton to Southern people because the sailing of the *Henry Frank* was clearly a spectacle that the New Orleans crowd found worthy of observing. The

departure drew spectators of all ages, classes, and races. Many of them knew that setting records by packing such a large number of cotton bales onto a single boat would prove beneficial for the city, but they were probably also awed by the sheer quantity of the cotton stored on the boat. Perhaps they were also awed by the economic power of this commodity that in single bales would have appeared so undistinguished.

### The Price of Blood (p. 455)

**Reading the Image:** Who is absent from the painting, and what does this suggest about the tragedy of miscegenation? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Role of women in the system of miscegenation:* Neither the slave mother, who was sexually exploited by the planter, nor the plantation mistress, whom the planter betrayed, takes part in the scene, reflecting women's subordinate role. Because of her status as a slave, the mother of the young slave being sold away was forced into sexual relations with the plantation master and also forcibly divided from her son by his sale to a slave trader. The master's absolute dominion sometimes led to miscegenation, or the sexual mixing of the races, as the existence of the mulatto son in the painting suggests. Though laws prohibited interracial sex, the realities of the master-slave relationship made it impossible for slave women to deny their master's advances.

**Connections:** The white, male planter represented the pinnacle of southern society. How did white women, black men, and black women fit into this strict hierarchy? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *White women:* The painting exposes as false the South's romantic ideal of male chivalry in which women were glorified and subordinated for their protection. Far from “glorifying” their wives, many Southern men had no misgivings about betraying their marriages to pursue relationships with slave women. Chivalry's underlying assumptions about the weakness of women—and about the absolute rights of the masters—resembled the assumptions underlying southern planters' concept of paternalism.

- *Black men:* The role of black men in southern society was almost exclusively that of a slave. The sale of the young mulatto slave in this painting reflects how slave men, even those biologically related to the plantation masters, were considered to be property and thus, bought and sold according to the highest bidder.

- *Black women:* Black women suffered doubly within the slave system, because of both their role as a slave and also because they were sexually vulnerable to their master. Black women were constantly sexually

exploited by the plantation masters and were then forced to see their own children sold away.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 13.1 Cotton Kingdom, Slave Empire: 1820 and 1860 (p. 438)

**Reading the Map:** Where was slavery most prevalent in 1820? In 1860? How did the spread of slavery compare with the spread of cotton? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Slavery in 1820:* In 1820, slavery was most common in the seaboard states of Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia, and along the lower Mississippi River, with a significant cluster in Kentucky, as well.

- *Slavery in 1860:* By 1860, slavery remained prevalent in those areas but had increased substantially all over the inland South and had become especially common in central Tennessee, in Alabama, and along the Mississippi River in Missouri. Slavery also spread into coastal Florida and Texas, the latter of which had not even been an American possession in 1820.

- *Spread of Cotton vs. Slavery:* While cotton was not necessary to the existence of slavery (for instance, in 1820 and 1860, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri had very little cotton production, but many slaves), it often encouraged the system's spread. For example, Alabama and the area around Macon, Georgia, experienced simultaneous booms in cotton production and the slave population.

**Connections:** How much of the world's cotton was produced in the American South in 1860? How did the number of slaves in the American South compare to that in the rest of the world? What does this suggest about the South's cotton kingdom? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Cotton produced in 1860:* About three-fourths of the world's cotton was produced in the South, particularly the Lower South, by 1860. By that time there were nearly 4 million slaves in the American South, an increase of almost 600 percent from the slave population in 1790.

- *Slaves and the Cotton Kingdom:* The South's slave population in 1860 exceeded the combined number of slaves contained in all the other slave societies in the

New World. The cotton kingdom was a slave empire; slaves grew 75 percent of the South's cotton crop on plantations.

### Map 13.2 The Agricultural Economy of the South, 1860 (p. 443)

**Reading the Map:** In what type of geographical areas were rice and sugar grown? After cotton, what crop commanded the greatest agricultural area in the South? In which region of the South was this crop predominantly found? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Southern crops:* Southerners grew rice along the seacoasts of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana. Sugar was grown along the Gulf coast of Louisiana and Texas. Next to cotton, corn commanded the most agricultural area in the South. Corn farms were more common in the upper tier of slave states, stretching east from North Carolina to Arkansas in the west. The somewhat cooler climate and less fertile soils of these states made it more difficult to grow cotton. Consequently, that region's farmers concentrated on hardier food crops, like corn, and sold them to planters in their own states and to those living in the cotton states of the Lower South.

**Connections:** What role did the South play in the U.S. economy in 1860? How did the economy of the South differ from that of the North? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Economy of the South vs. the North:* In 1860, the South played a vital role in the U.S. economy by supplying the nation's most valuable export commodity—cotton. The South produced 75 percent of the world's cotton, and cotton accounted for more than 60 percent of all U.S. exports. Southern planters also made money by selling rice, sugar, indigo, and tobacco, but cotton remained the most valuable export. The profits that planters derived from cotton and the power they enjoyed as the masters of large numbers of slaves encouraged them to plow their profits back into agriculture rather than develop manufacturing or commercial businesses. As a result, the South's economy remained overwhelmingly agricultural at the same time that the North's economy was becoming more industrial and more reliant on urban wage labor.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in "Additional Resources for Chapter 13."*

## LECTURE 1

### *The Political Economy of the Old South*

This lecture should explain the intersection of politics and economics in the slave South. First, confront the anticipated misconception that the Old South lasted for an extended period of time. The Old South began in the 1790s (and some historians even push the date forward to 1820) with the invention of the first effective cotton gin, which created the means for southern agriculture to supply Northern and European manufacturers with the cotton needed to spur the industrial revolution in those societies. You might want to draw students' attention to the photo of a cotton gin on page 445. Make clear that without an extended and extensive demand for cotton, the Old South would never have existed. Use Map 13.2, "The Agricultural Economy of the South, 1860" (p. 443), to show the areas of slave-based agriculture in the South and to discuss the types of work done by slaves in each of those areas. Then use Map 13.1, "Cotton Kingdom, Slave Empire: 1820 and 1860" (p. 438), to show how cotton and slavery meshed. Next, discuss the southern economy, and explain that although nascent industrialization and urbanization occurred in the South, the plantation economy fueled the South's growth.

Now, shift gears to introduce politics as an arm of economic development. Because the planter elite dominated southern politics, the laws enacted protected the economic interests of the planter class. Describe and explain the disproportionate power of the planter class, referring students to Table 13.1, "Percent of Slaveholders and Planters in Southern Legislatures, 1860" (p. 468). Show how the interests of these groups permeated society and how the planters aggressively counterattacked the intrusion of free-labor ideas. Have students consider the ways in which the planter elite convinced nonslaveholding whites that they represented the yeomen's interests. Introduce to your students the proslavery argument that slavery represented a "positive good." Prepare them for the next lecture by asking them to consider how slavery limited and directed the lives of southern whites.

## LECTURE 2

### *Whites in the Old South*

This lecture should illustrate how slavery affected all white Southerners. First, describe the different classes of white Southerners, and give some notion of their respective percentages of the white population and their geographic concentrations. Be sure to distinguish plantation belt and upcountry yeomen, and

note their differing relations to the plantation economy. Use the section "The Culture of the Plain Folk" (p. 466) to discuss shared commonalities of nonslaveholding whites. After covering notions of class differences, introduce gender roles and expectations in the Old South, and explain how patriarchy and chivalry set southern women up for domination by white men. Next, tackle the perception that slavery affected only the slaves. To reinforce the idea that one of the greatest consequences of the South's biracialism was the response it stimulated from the white majority, recount the vignette of Nat Turner found at the beginning of the chapter, and note white Virginians' response to the revolt. Ask students why Turner's rebellion may have elicited fear in the hearts of white Southerners. Note the ways in which it exposed the cracks in the ideology of paternalism. Refer to William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* and to David Walker's *Appeal . . . to the Coloured Citizens of the World*, both mentioned in the chapter's opening vignette, to suggest that southern whites increasingly feared the "outside agitator," who, according to white Southerners, provoked "contented" slaves to rebel with their seditious propaganda. Show how southern society evolved into an almost martial society to police itself against disobedient or disruptive slaves. Ask students to comment on how the constant need to punish slaves might have affected those inflicting the pain. Finally, discuss how the South silenced white dissent about slavery.

## LECTURE 3

### *African Americans in the Old South*

The third lecture discusses the African Americans in slavery. Begin by explaining paternalism. Ask students if the slaveholders practiced true reciprocity in dealing with their slaves or if paternalism was a convenient fiction for continued slaveholding. Explain that although white society may have claimed that overly cruel masters were considered pariahs, it failed to institute any legal defense of slaves against such abuse. Use the photograph of Gordon in the feature *Historical Question: "How Often Were Slaves Whipped?"* (pp. 452–453) to reinforce this idea. After showing the systematic violence used to coerce African Americans to work, address the myth that slaves were utterly dominated by their masters. Describe the various methods of resistance and the means for expanding slave autonomy. But also point out that resistance and autonomy had limits, with dire consequences if a slave pushed beyond them.

Dedicate at least half of your lecture to describing a slave's life. Be sure to cover the introduction of Christianity and its metamorphosis in the hands of the

slave community. Explore family life outside the view of the big house. Cover the ways in which the master's power to sell his slaves affected the dynamics of family life for slaves.

Finally, discuss the dilemma of free blacks. They existed as thorns in the side of a society in which whites believed that all blacks should be slaves. Discuss the middle ground of black freedom in the South and the continued limits imposed on free blacks by whites. Also describe the social difference between light- and dark-skinned free blacks. Explore the advantages light-skinned free blacks may have obtained from their white relatives.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. The Old South Lasted a Long Time

Students frequently think that the Old South lasted a very long time, in part because of its name but also because of the somewhat static descriptions of its society by historians. What we know as the Old South really started taking shape in the 1790s and ended in 1865, so at the most it lasted seventy years, or about three generations. Slavery predated the Old South, but both institutions died together because slavery was at the heart of southern society. Descriptions of that society frequently depict it at its height, in the 1850s, and as such fail to show many of the changes that took place to make it a viable system. Explain that the duration of the Old South was tied to the expansion of the cotton culture, beginning with the creation of the first workable cotton gin in 1793. Explain the growth of the slave system of the Old South as a process of frontier expansion, with a generation of settlers followed by generations of increasingly sophisticated social systems developed to maintain the slave regime.

### 2. The Institution of Slavery Affected Only the Lives of Slaves

Students rarely think about the impact that maintaining slaves had on the masters or on nonslaveholding whites in the slave society of the Old South. Yet slavery affected almost every aspect of southern life, from its ideology and intellectual life to its social and political structures based on white supremacy. The South developed forms of institutionalized violence to regulate the use of slaves. White society created slave patrols, composed of roving gangs from the lower classes of white society, to monitor the mobility of both free blacks and slaves. White families feared that slaves would murder them by poisoning their food, by burning their houses while they slept, or by starting general rebellions, such as that of Nat Turner. Southern society was on special alert for a particular type of criminal called a slave

stealer, who lured slaves away from home and then spirited them to other states in order to sell them. White Southerners devised laws to punish slaves differently from whites for similar crimes, in part to instill fear and obedience in slaves and in part to protect the human property of the master from destruction by the state. Manual labor was frequently defined as slave labor, and thus poor whites were cut off from economic advancement for fear of lowering themselves to the status of slaves. The progeny of female slaves raped by their masters was evident to all, and although such acts of rape were generally condemned by society, mixed-race slaves on nearly every plantation pointed to the ability of the institution of slavery to cripple white morality. In short, slavery affected every aspect of life for white and black Southerners alike.

### 3. African American Slaves Were Utterly

#### Dominated by Their White Masters and Overseers

Students rarely consider resistance in any terms other than outright rebellion. Thus, they frequently infer that slaves obeyed their masters and passively waited for someone else to save them from their fate. To counter such misperceptions, direct the students to questions of resistance and autonomy. How did slaves resist the will of their masters on a day-to-day basis? Masters deluded themselves into believing that these forms of resistance were really racially inherent character flaws, and that blacks were inferior people who would always lie, cheat, steal, argue, feign illness, run away, and so on. Furthermore, masters admitted privately that they could not limit the day-to-day autonomy of slaves outside their work life. Slaves worked with what they had and made the best of a bad situation. When slaveholders offered a few days off to slaves during the Christmas season (when little work in the fields could be done anyway), slaves took it as their right in succeeding years. Once a privilege was granted, it could not easily be taken away without fomenting discontent that resulted in greater sabotage and work stoppages. Such workplace resistance and desires for autonomy take place in all societies, but slave resistance and autonomy had specific limits as well, for if the slaves were caught, the masters meted out harsh punishments. Execution was used only in the most extreme cases; usually masters simply whipped troublemakers or sold them, passing on the problem to someone else. Slaves faced limits as to the extent of their resistance and search for autonomy.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

When discussing slave resistance, you may want to show "Brotherly Love, 1790–1831," episode 3 of the

PBS series *Africans in America*, which compellingly details, among other topics, the Denmark Vesey and the Nat Turner rebellions. You may also want to show a biographical documentary on Frederick Douglass, *Frederick Douglass: When the Lion Wrote History*, also distributed by PBS. To give a general overview of the westward expansion of slavery, the entrenchment of proslavery ideologues, and the eventual demise of slave-based plantation economy in the Old South, consider screening “Judgment Day, 1831–1865,” episode 4 of the PBS series *Africans in America*.

### Class Discussion Starters

Ask your students to consider the possible course of American history if the master-class elite in the South had not been able to exert hegemonic influence over lower-class whites. Would yeomen and poor whites have united with slaves along class lines to overthrow planter-class domination? Or would race have continued to divide the two groups in the Old South? Ask students to consider whether racism would have triumphed over class interests.

### Historical Debates

Have students debate the political implications of the arguments surrounding the degree to which slaves developed an autonomous culture. Those who argue for complete slave autonomy in the slave quarters, for example, run the risk of minimizing the devastating effects of institutionalized slavery on a race of people. Students who are comforted by the notion that slaves were able to lead meaningful lives outside the direct control of their masters may find the minimalization of the horrors of the institution of slavery unattractive. Those who argue that masters controlled all aspects of slave culture, even in the quarter, run the risk of suggesting that freed slaves and their descendants had very little on which to build their lives outside the institution of slavery. Students who stress the brutality of slavery may find the “impoverished legacy” untenable. Few historians put the matter so starkly, but do convey to your students that historians disagree widely in their interpretations of the relative autonomy of slave culture.

### Reading Primary Sources

Direct your students to the feature *Documenting the American Promise: “Defending Slavery.”* Ask them to consider what cultural and political values, assumptions, and ideologies shaped the arguments Calhoun, Harper, and Stringfellow made in defense of slavery.

Ask them to consider the extent to which these ideas were particularly southern, and to what extent they were shared by all Americans.

## Additional Resources for Chapter 13

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 13 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 13.1: Cotton Kingdom, Slave Empire: 1820 and 1860 (p. 438)
- Map 13.2: The Agricultural Economy of the South, 1860 (p. 443)
- Map 13.3: Major Cities in 1860 (p. 447)
- The Fruits of Amalgamation (p. 442)
- Gourd Fiddle (p. 459)

#### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 13 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 13.1: Cotton Kingdom, Slave Empire: 1820 and 1860 (p. 438)
- Map 13.2: The Agricultural Economy of the South, 1860 (p. 443)
- Map 13.3: Major Cities in 1860 (p. 447)
- Figure 13.1: Black and White Populations in the South, 1860 (p. 439)
- Figure 13.2: A Southern Plantation (p. 449)
- Horrid Massacre in Virginia (p. 436)
- The Henry Frank, New Orleans (p. 448)
- The Price of Blood (p. 455)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor's Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and

Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 13 include:

- “*The Confessions of Nat Turner*” and Related Documents, by Kenneth S. Greenberg
- *Defending Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Old South*, by Paul Finkelman

## For Students

### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 13 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- Madison Hemings Recalls Life as Thomas Jefferson’s Enslaved Son: *Interview*, 1873
- Plantation Rules: Bennet Barrow, *Highland Plantation Journal*, May 1, 1838
- Nat Turner Explains Why He Became an Insurrectionist: *The Confessions of Nat Turner*, 1831
- The Pro-Slavery Argument: James Henry Hammond, *Letter to an English Abolitionist*, 1845
- Hinton Helper Demands Abolition for the Good of White Southerners: *The Impending Crisis of the South*, 1837

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 13:

### Map Activities

- Map 13.1: The Cotton Kingdom, Slave Empire: 1820 and 1860 (p. 438)
- Map 13.2: The Agricultural Economy of the South, 1860 (p. 443)

### Visual Activities

- The *Henry Frank*, New Orleans (p. 448)
- The Price of Blood (p. 455)

### Reading Historical Documents Activity

- Defending Slavery (pp. 440-41)

**CHAPTER**  
**14**

# The House Divided

## 1846–1861

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### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. Why was the question of extending slavery to federal territories the focus of constitutional debate from 1846 to 1860? What was the Wilmot Proviso? Who supported it, who opposed it, and why?
2. How did the debate over the expansion of slavery affect the election of 1848? What precipitated a congressional crisis in 1850? What were the terms of Henry Clay's proposed compromise? How did Stephen Douglas save the Compromise of 1850?
3. What tipped the precarious sectional balance during the 1850s? What was the Fugitive Slave Act and how did it influence relations between the North and South? What impact did the publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin have in the United States? What were the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and why was it so controversial?
4. What destroyed the second American party system in the 1850s, and how was the electorate realigned?
5. How was Kansas settled and organized, and how did it get the name "Bleeding Kansas"? What was the Dred Scot decision, and how did it shape the perceptions of the North? How did Abraham Lincoln rise to political heights, and what was the importance of the Lincoln-Douglas debates?
6. How did the events of the late 1850s lead to the collapse of the Union in 1861?

### Annotated Chapter Outline

- I. **The Bitter Fruits of War**
  - A. The Wilmot Proviso and the Expansion of Slavery

1. Most Americans agreed that the Constitution had left the issue of slavery to the individual states to decide, but the issue of slavery in U.S. territories proved contentious.
2. In August 1846, Pennsylvania Democrat David Wilmot proposed that Congress ban slavery in all lands acquired in the war with Mexico.
3. Regardless of party affiliation, Northerners, motivated by a variety of concerns, lined up behind Wilmot's effort to stop the spread of slavery.
4. While the specter of new slave states alarmed most Northerners, the thought that slavery might be excluded outraged almost all white Southerners.
5. Southern leaders understood the need for political parity with the North to protect the South's interests, especially slavery, and in the nation's capital, the two sides squared off.
6. The House, dominated by northern states, passed the Wilmot Proviso; the Senate, with a slave state majority, rejected it.
7. As a compromise, Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan proposed the doctrine of "popular sovereignty": letting the people who actually settled in the territories determine the fate of slavery for themselves.
8. The plan's most attractive feature was its ambiguity about the precise moment when settlers could determine slavery's fate; as long as the matter of timing remained vague, popular sovereignty gave hope to both sides.

9. Congress failed to pass legislation related to slavery in the territories, and the unresolved territorial question became an issue in the 1848 presidential election.
- B. The Election of 1848
  1. When President Polk chose not to seek reelection, the Democratic convention nominated Lewis Cass, the man most closely associated with popular sovereignty; but the party adopted a platform that avoided a firm position on slavery in the territories.
  2. The Whigs, hoping to unite their divided party, nominated Mexican-American War hero and slave owner Zachary Taylor; they, too, remained silent on the slavery issue.
  3. In the summer of 1848, antislavery Democrats and antislavery Whigs founded the Free-Soil Party, making slavery the central issue of the campaign.
  4. The November election dashed the hopes of the Free-Soilers as Taylor won the election, but the struggle over slavery in the territories had shaken the major parties badly.
- C. Debate and Compromise
  1. When Taylor assumed office, he championed a free-soil solution to the problem of slavery in the western lands, encouraging California and New Mexico, both of which had sizable antislavery majorities, to draw up state constitutions and apply for statehood as quickly as possible.
  2. Congress convened in December 1849, beginning one of the most contentious and most significant sessions in its history.
  3. Senator Henry Clay proposed a series of resolutions that sought to balance the interests of the free and slave states, but antislavery advocates and “fire-eaters,” radical secessionist Southerners, both savaged Clay’s plan.
  4. In May 1850, a Senate committee produced a bill known as the Omnibus Bill that combined Clay’s resolutions into a single comprehensive package.
  5. Clay bet that a majority of Congress wanted compromise and that each would vote for the package to gain an overall settlement of sectional issues.
  6. After the Omnibus Bill failed, Illinois senator Stephen Douglas broke it into its various parts and skillfully ushered each part through Congress: California entered

the Union as a slave state, New Mexico and Utah would be decided by popular sovereignty, Texas accepted a new boundary with Mexico, and the slave trade in Washington, D.C., would be abolished, but the fugitive slave laws would be more stringent.

7. In September 1850, Millard Fillmore, who had become president when Taylor died suddenly in July, signed each bill, collectively known as the Compromise of 1850, into law.

## II. The Sectional Balance Undone

- A. The Fugitive Slave Act
  1. The Fugitive Slave Act proved the most explosive measure of the Compromise of 1850.
  2. Some northern communities had passed “personal liberty laws” that provided fugitives with some protection and formed vigilance committees to help runaways by obstructing white Southerners who came north to reclaim them.
  3. Furious about northern interference, Southerners in 1850 insisted on the stricter fugitive slave law that was passed as part of the Compromise.
  4. Brutal enforcement of the unpopular law had a radicalizing effect in the North, and to Southerners, it seemed that the North had betrayed the Compromise.
- B. *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*
  1. In 1852, Harriet Beecher Stowe, a member of a famous clan of preachers, teachers, and reformers, wrote the novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* to expose the sin of slavery.
  2. Stowe’s book enjoyed immense popularity in the North where readers recognized slaves’ humanity, but most Southerners considered it slanderous.
  3. Ex-slaves, who knew of life in the slave cabins firsthand, also produced stinging indictments of slavery, but *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* remained the most popular and effective of the period.
- C. The Kansas-Nebraska Act
  1. In 1852, as national elections approached, Democrats and Whigs sought to close the sectional rifts that had opened within their parties, but the Whigs were hopelessly divided, allowing Democrat Franklin Pierce to win the election handily.
  2. Eager to leave the sectional controversy behind, Pierce turned swiftly to foreign expansion, sending James Gadsden to negotiate the purchase of 30,000 square

miles of territory south of the Gila River in present-day New Mexico and Arizona for the building of a southern transcontinental railroad.

3. In 1854, Senator Stephen Douglas, hoping to have the transcontinental railroad run through Chicago, introduced a bill to organize the Nebraska Territory, that left the decision about slavery to the settlers themselves and explicitly repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820.
4. Douglas skillfully shepherded the explosive bill through Congress in May 1854.
5. The Kansas-Nebraska Act split the huge territory in half: Nebraska, west of the free state Iowa, and Kansas, west of the slave state Missouri.
6. With this act the government also pushed the Plains Indians further west, making way for farmers and railroads.

### **III. Realignment of the Party System**

#### A. The Old Parties: Whigs and Democrats

1. The issue of slavery had distressed the Whig Party as early as the Mexican-American War and by 1856, after more than two decades of contesting the Democrats, the Whigs were hardly a party at all.
2. The collapse of the Whig Party left the Democrats as the country's only national party, but by 1854 the Democrats, although still a viable party, had become a southern-dominated party.
3. The breakup of the Whig Party and the disaffection of significant numbers of northern Democrats set many Americans politically adrift, looking for a new alternative.

#### B. The New Parties: Know-Nothings and Republicans

1. Dozens of new political organizations vied for voters' attention and out of the confusion, two emerged as true contenders.
2. Protestant American backlash against a tidal wave of Catholic immigrants led to the formation of the American, or "Know-Nothing," Party.
3. The Know-Nothings exploded onto the political scene in 1854 and 1855 with a series of dazzling successes, capturing state legislatures in the Northeast, West, and South and claiming dozens of seats in Congress.
4. Dissidents and political orphans who opposed the extension of slavery into the

territories united under the banner of another new political organization, the Republican Party.

5. Republicans tapped into the basic beliefs and values of the northern public and championed free-labor ideology, arguing that only by restricting slavery to the South could free labor flourish elsewhere.
6. Women as well as men rushed to the Republican Party; they participated by writing campaign literature, marching in parades, giving speeches, and working to influence voters, and ultimately nurturing the women's rights movement.

#### C. The Election of 1856

1. The election of 1856 revealed that the Republicans had become the Democrats' main challenger and that slavery had become the election's principal issue.
2. The Know-Nothing Party split over the Kansas-Nebraska Act but still managed to nominate Millard Fillmore in 1856.
3. The Republicans adopted a platform that focused on making every territory free and nominated a political newcomer, John C. Frémont.
4. The Democrats chose "a northern man with southern principles," James Buchanan of Pennsylvania.
5. The Democratic strategy helped carry the day for Buchanan, but Frémont did astonishingly well.

### **IV. Freedom under Siege**

#### A. "Bleeding Kansas"

1. In Kansas, free-state and slave-state settlers each sought majorities at the ballot box.
2. Each camp set up its own societies to promote settlement and each side elected its own legislature.
3. Organized into two rival governments and with both sides heavily armed, Kansas was on the brink of civil war.
4. Fighting broke out on the morning of May 21, 1856, when a mob of several hundred proslavery men entered the town of Lawrence, the center of free-state settlement.
5. In retaliation, John Brown led a posse to massacre five allegedly proslavery settlers; guerrilla warfare engulfed the territory.
6. "Bleeding Kansas" gave the fledgling Republican Party fresh ammunition; it also capitalized on Northern outrage when Preston Brooks, a young South Carolina member of the House, caned Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner, who had

- delivered a speech titled “The Crime against Kansas.”
7. Like “Bleeding Kansas,” “Bleeding Sumner” provided the Republican Party with a potent symbol of the South’s “twisted and violent civilization.”
- B. The *Dred Scott Decision*
1. In 1857, the Supreme Court announced their judgement of the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* case, deciding the constitutionality of the extension of slavery into the territories and demonstrating that the Court enjoyed no special immunity from the sectional and partisan passions that convulsed the land.
  2. In *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, Scott argued that because his master had taken him to Illinois, a free state, and Wisconsin, a free territory according to the Missouri Compromise of 1820, he and his family were free.
  3. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, who hated Republicans and racial equality, handed down the Court’s decision: Dred Scott could not legally claim violation of his constitutional rights because blacks were not citizens of the United States, and the laws of Scott’s home state, Missouri, determined his status, and thus his travels in free areas did not make him free.
  4. Additionally, the Taney court ruled that Congress lacked the right to prohibit slavery in the territories and the Missouri Compromise was therefore unconstitutional (though it already had been voided by the Kansas-Nebraska Act).
  5. With its decision, the Court validated the proslavery position that Congress had no authority to exclude slavery from the territories and in effect declared that blacks were not citizens and had no rights.
  6. Republicans exploded in outrage at Taney’s extreme proslavery decision and the young Party became energized.
- C. Prairie Republican: Abraham Lincoln
1. Invigorated by the growing sectional crisis over slavery, Republican politicians, including Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, faced both fresh challenges and fresh opportunities.
  2. Convinced that slavery was a “monstrous injustice,” Lincoln condemned Douglas’s Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 for giving slavery new life.
  3. Lincoln held what were, for his times, moderate racial views: defending black humanity without challenging white supremacy.
4. Lincoln envisioned the western territories as “places for poor to go to, and better their conditions,” believed that slavery’s expansion threatened westward-moving free men’s basic right to succeed, and warned that slaveholders were engaging in a conspiracy to nationalize slavery.
  5. Lincoln’s convictions that slavery was wrong, that Congress must stop its spread, and that it must be put on the road to extinction formed the core of the Republican ideology.
- D. The Lincoln-Douglas Debates
1. In 1857, President Buchanan approved a proslavery constitution (the Lecompton constitution) for the state of Kansas, even though Free-Soilers outnumbered proslavery settlers by at least two to one.
  2. Stephen Douglas broke with the Democratic administration and came out against the proslavery constitution and, in doing so, declared his independence from the South, hoping his actions would make him appealing to voters.
  3. A relative unknown and a decided underdog in the Illinois election, Lincoln challenged the incumbent Douglas to debate him face to face.
  4. In seven debates, Lincoln badgered Douglas with the question of whether he favored the spread of slavery.
  5. For his part, Douglas worked the racial issue, calling Lincoln an abolitionist and an egalitarian enamored with “our colored brethren.”
  6. The election, hard-fought and closely contested, was won by Douglas, but the debates thrust Lincoln into the national spotlight.
- V. The Union Collapses
- A. The Aftermath of John Brown’s Raid
1. Following his attack on Harper’s Ferry, John Brown stood trial for treason, murder, and incitement of a slave insurrection.
  2. Northerners at first denounced Brown’s raid at Harpers Ferry as dangerous fanaticism, but after his heroic death on the gallows, denunciation gave way to grudging respect, although they did not advocate bloody slave insurrection.
  3. Southerners looked to and celebrated Brown as a martyr and a Christian hero, rather than a murderer and a robber.

## B. Republican Victory in 1860

1. Anxieties provoked by John Brown's raid heightened sectional hostility and estrangement and the normally routine business of electing a Speaker of the House threatened to turn bloody as Democrats and Republicans battled over control of the office.
2. When southern Democrats converged on Charleston for their convention, they gave notice that they intended to make federal protection of slavery in the territories binding party doctrine.
3. The Democrats split; the northern wing nominated Stephen Douglas for president and Southern Democrats nominated Vice President John C. Breckinridge and approved a platform with a federal slave code.
4. Southern moderates refused to support Breckinridge and formed a new party, the Constitutional Union Party, to provide voters with a Unionist choice.
5. The Republicans, needing to make their platform more broadly appealing, expanded their platform beyond antislavery, advocating free homesteads, a protective tariff, a transcontinental railroad, and a guarantee of immigrant political rights.
6. Lincoln emerged as the Republican Party candidate for president.
7. The election broke into two contests: in the North, Lincoln faced Douglas; in the South, Breckenridge confronted Bell.
8. After a unprecedented number of voters cast ballots, Lincoln won in all eighteen free states except New Jersey, which split electoral votes between him and Douglas; Breckenridge, running on a southern-rights platform, swept the Lower South plus Delaware, Maryland, and North Carolina.

## C. Secession Winter

1. The telegraphs had barely stopped tapping out the news of Lincoln's victory when anxious Southerners began debating what to do.
2. After Lincoln's election, Southern Unionists stressed the risks of secession; secessionists emphasized the dangers of delay.
3. For all of their differences, southern whites were generally united in their determination to defend slavery.

4. On December 20, 1860, South Carolina seceded from the Union; by February 1861, six other Lower South states followed suit.
5. On February 4, 1861, representatives from the seven southern states that had seceded formed the Confederate States of America, with Jefferson Davis as president and Alexander Stephens as vice president.
6. Lincoln's election had split the Union and secession had split the South.
7. The nation had to wait until March 4, 1861, when Lincoln took office, to see what he would do.
8. Lincoln began his inaugural address with assurances to the South, conciliatory about slavery, but inflexible about the preservation of the Union, declaring that the decision for civil war or peace rested in the South's hands.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 8, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 8.

## Review Questions

1. Why did response to the Wilmot Proviso split along sectional rather than party lines? (pp. 476–478)  
*Answer would ideally include:*

- *Explanation of the Wilmot Proviso:* In 1846, David Wilmot, Democratic representative from Pennsylvania, proposed that Congress forbid slavery in the lands acquired through the Mexican War. Recognizing the implications of the proviso for western settlement and national politics, support for it broke along regional lines. (p. 477)

- *Northern commitment to free labor and free soil:* Northerners crossed party lines to back Wilmot's proviso as a tool to protect western territory for free labor and to restrict the expansion of slave power. If slavery spread into the territories, new slave states would emerge and multiply the institution's advocates in federal government. (p. 477)

- *Southern claims to the West:* Southerners looked on the proviso as an insult to slaveholders who had fought in the Mexican-American War. Further, they

believed the survival of slavery depended on the growth of slave states keeping pace with the expansion of free ones. (p. 478)

2. Why did the Fugitive Slave Act provoke such strong opposition in the North? (pp. 482–483) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Runaways and the law:* The Constitution included a provision that required the return of runaway servants and slaves. A 1793 federal law strengthened the provision by empowering slave owners to enter and retrieve their property from other states. (pp. 481–483)

- *Northern resistance to slave returns:* In the 1830s, many northerners became increasingly dissatisfied with the 1793 law and challenged it by passing personal liberty laws that gave fugitives some protection. Some even assisted fugitives by forming vigilance committees. (p. 482)

- *Southern resistance and the Fugitive Slave Act:* Northern interference infuriated southerners who responded with the Fugitive Slave Act. It stipulated that to seize an alleged runaway slave, a slaveholder had only to testify that the individual was his property before a commissioner who got ten dollars if the person was returned to slavery, and five if he remained free. Further, all citizens were expected to assist officials in apprehending runaways. Northerners resented the strengthening of a law they already opposed, the new law's susceptibility to abuse, and being forced to participate in actions they found objectionable. (pp. 482–483)

3. Why did the Whig party disintegrate in the 1850s? (pp. 476–479, 485–487) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Mexican-American War:* Antislavery northerners, many of them Whigs, had criticized the war as a bald attempt to strengthen slavery in the nation. When the question of what would become of the territory gained through the war came before Congress, opinions followed regional rather than party lines. (pp. 476–477)

- *Elections of 1848 and 1852:* In the 1848 election, the Whig Party's attempt to manage the regional divisions within the party by remaining silent on slavery in the territories and nominating a slaveholding war hero for president failed miserably. Antislavery Whigs broke off and joined antislavery Republicans to form the Free Soil Party, though Taylor won the presidency. The party was even more deeply divided and made a pitiful showing in the 1852 election. (pp. 479, 487)

- *Kansas-Nebraska Act:* The Kansas-Nebraska Act repealed the Missouri Compromise, introduced slavery into the West, and brought sectional tensions to new heights. By 1856, the Whig party was utterly

incapable of unifying its northern and southern factions to succeed in elections. (pp. 485–487)

4. Why did the *Dred Scott* decision strengthen northern suspicions of a "Slave Power" conspiracy? (pp. 497–499) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *The decision:* Chief Justice Roger B. Taney's decision in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* found that black people were not citizens of the United States and consequently could claim no violation of constitutional rights; the laws of one's home state determined the status of free or slave, which followed an individual throughout the United States' territory; and concluded that Congress had no rights to prohibit slavery in the territories. (pp. 497–498)

- *"Slave Power" conspiracy:* Republicans asserted that slaveholders, whom they called the "Slave Power," were conspiring through their control of the Democratic Party to expand slavery, subvert liberty, and undermine the Constitution. (pp. 498–499)

- *Republican response to the decision:* Republicans decried the decision, which, by denying the federal government's ability to outlaw slavery in the territories, effectively undercut the party's reason for being. The sweeping nature of the decision and its dramatic intervention in contemporary political battles became striking evidence that a hostile Slave Power conspired against northern liberties. (pp. 498–499)

5. Why did some southern states secede immediately after Lincoln's election? (pp. 501–506) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Perceived threat to slavery:* Secessionists rejected arguments that the South should wait and see what Lincoln would do in office. They argued that Republicans intended to extend equal rights to African Americans, a direct challenge to slavery. Further, they argued that the South would be unable to protect its interests after the nation had elected a president without any southern support. (pp. 504–505)

- *Legality of secession:* They argued that the Union was a voluntary compact. In response to opponents who raised fears of war, they argued that the legitimacy of secession would protect them from northern aggression. (p. 505)

## Making Connections

1. The process of compromise that had successfully contained tensions between slave and free states since the nation's founding collapsed with secession. Why did compromise fail at this moment? In your answer, address specific political conflicts and

attempts to solve them between 1846 and 1861. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Mexican-American War and western territory:* At the end of the Mexican-American War the United States had gained an enormous amount of land. The question of who would get to settle it and what laws would prevail reinvigorated regional tensions around the question of slavery and national politics. (pp. 476–477)

- *Wilmot Proviso:* David Wilmot's attempt to convince Congress to ban slavery in the new territories revealed the depths of sectional tensions around the question of slavery and the future of the territories. (p. 477)

- *Compromise of 1850:* Stephen A. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois, engineered the passage of a series of bills that came collectively to be known as the Compromise of 1850. Based on Henry Clay's proposal to build a compromise solution to the question of slavery in territory ceded by Mexico, its provisions included California entering the Union as a free state and a strengthened fugitive slave law. In practice, there was little compromise in the legislation and all parties were dissatisfied with the outcome, but it defused conflict for the moment. (pp. 479–481)

- *Fugitive Slave Act:* One provision of the Compromise, the Fugitive Slave Act, greatly exacerbated Northern resentment and suspicion that the South was working not only to protect slavery, but also to limit Northern freedoms. (pp. 481–482)

- *Kansas-Nebraska Act:* Stephen A. Douglas's machinations to try to ensure that a future transcontinental railroad went through his home state of Illinois included seeking southern support by repealing the Missouri Compromise in order to open up the Nebraska Territory to slavery. The act that ultimately passed, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, divided the territory in two: Nebraska, west of the free state of Iowa, and Kansas, west of the slave state of Missouri. The repeal of the long-standing Missouri Compromise exacerbated sectional tensions. (pp. 485–487)

- *Collapse of national political parties:* The existing national parties—the Whigs and the Democrats—strained to maintain their national coalitions in the face of mounting regional tension. Beginning with the Free-Soil Party, new parties formed along regional lines. The Republican Party emerged as a powerful contender on the new political horizon. The emergence of a northern party explicitly committed to exclusively free labor in the territories—the Free-Soil Party—confirmed weaknesses in the Whig Party that soon collapsed. Northern Democrats also grew frustrated and sought other options. By the 1850s, the Know-Nothings and Republicans had emerged as important alternatives to the Democratic Party. (pp. 487, 490–493)

- *Intersectional violence:* Violent clashes between pro- and antislavery forces in Kansas and the caning of Charles Sumner by Preston Brooks enflamed tensions and provided ammunition for the Republican Party's battle against the Slave Power. (pp. 496–497)

- *Dred Scott decision:* In this decision the Supreme Court determined that African Americans had no constitutional rights, that Congress could not exclude slavery from the territories, and that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional. Outraged Republicans cited the decision as further evidence that the Slave Power had seized the machinery of government to restrict the freedoms of northern free men. (pp. 497–499)

2. In the 1850s, many Americans supported popular sovereignty as the best solution to the explosive question of slavery in the western territories. Why was this solution so popular, and why did it ultimately prove inadequate? In your answer, be sure to address popular sovereignty's varied critics as well as champions. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Explanation of popular sovereignty:* The doctrine of popular sovereignty held that the people who settled the territories would decide for themselves whether they would permit or prohibit slavery. (p. 478)

- *Ideological appeal:* This solution to the question of slavery in the territories, first proposed by Lewis Cass of Michigan, appealed for its grounding in democratic principles and local governance. (p. 478)

- *Political appeal:* As sectional divisions threatened to splinter the nation, a solution that took the decision out of the hands of the federal government and deferred it to an undetermined date had considerable appeal to both sides. (p. 478)

- *Dangers of popular sovereignty:* Stephen A. Douglas invoked popular sovereignty both in the Compromise of 1850 in regard to slavery in New Mexico and Utah, and more problematically in regard to the organization of the Nebraska Territory. In this latter instance, popular sovereignty repealed the Missouri Compromise. The costs of this approach became clear in Kansas where both sides sought majorities and claimed divine sanction. Partisans within and outside the territory engaged in fraud, and outright violence in pursuit of control of the state. (pp. 481, 486, 496)

3. In the 1840s and 50s, the United States witnessed the realignment of its long-standing two-party system. Why did the old system fall apart, what emerged to take its place, and how did this process contribute to the coming of the Civil War? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on the two-party system:* Since the 1830s, the Whig Party and the Democratic Party had appealed to Americans in the North and the South.

The parties had effectively organized differences on the appropriate scope of federal government, economic development, and so on, and intentionally avoided explicitly sectional appeals (pp. 487, 490)

- *Western territory:* Although never entirely satisfactory to all parties, the careful balance of power between slave states and free states faced new challenges in the mid-nineteenth century. The Mexican-American War had given the United States claim over an enormous expanse of land and immediately raised questions about who would control it and how it would reshape national politics. (p. 476)

- *Slavery in the territories:* The challenge that the old parties were unable to manage was the question of whether slavery would be permitted in the new territories, and how such a question should be answered. As this question came to preoccupy national politics, it split Americans along sectional lines. The stakes of the outcome displaced other matters that had previously promoted cross-sectional alliances. (pp. 476–477)

- *Parties seek compromise:* The Whigs, with a strong antislavery faction in the North, fell most dramatically to the challenge of the territorial question. But even Democrats, who found that popular sovereignty soothed sectional divisions, became significantly weaker in the North. (pp. 487, 490)

- *New Parties:* The two strongest parties to emerge from the confusion were the American Party and the Republican Party. The anti-Catholic Know-Nothings enjoyed some significant successes, but it was the Republican Party that would become the most nationally significant party. (pp. 490–493)

- *Secession:* The Republican Party appealed to the northern ideals of free labor and warned that the slave states were subverting the Constitution and infringing on freemen's rights in an effort to extend slavery and consolidate their power. To some Southerners, despite Lincoln's promises to protect slavery where it existed, a party that succeeded without any southern support and unequivocally rejected the territorial expansion of slavery made remaining in the Union appear too dangerous. (pp. 504–505)

4. Abraham Lincoln believed he had staked out a moderate position on the question of slavery, avoiding the extremes of immediate abolitionism and calls for unlimited protection of slavery. Why, then, did some southern states determine that his election necessitated the radical act of secession? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on Lincoln and the Republican platform:* The Republican Party explicitly advocated free labor and argued that the expansion of slavery necessarily restricted free labor. Lincoln, a former Whig and opposed to the extension of slavery, gravitated toward the Republican Party. (pp. 492, 499)

- *Lincoln's middle ground:* Although Lincoln abhorred slavery as harmful to blacks and whites, he was most concerned that the extension of slavery westward would make it more difficult for free laborers to succeed there. Although he looked to the future extinction of slavery, he was committed to protecting it in the states in which it already existed. (pp. 499–500)

- *Perceived threat to slavery:* Although all southerners looked on the election of a Republican as a threat to themselves and slavery, some were very wary of the dangers of secession, especially the risk of war. Pro-secession Southerners rejected arguments that the South should wait and see what Lincoln would do in office. They argued that Republicans held that equality extended to African Americans, a direct challenge to slavery. Further, they cast secession in terms of self-protection, arguing that the South would be unable to protect its interests in a union where a president could be elected without any southern support. (pp. 504–505)

- *Legality of secession:* To some Southerners, secession might have been radical, but it was not illegal. Pro-secession Southerners argued that the Union was a voluntary compact, claiming that they were within their rights to leave the union. As to the threat of war, they argued the Union could not force them to remain loyal. Further, they were certain that if it came to war, they would prevail. (p. 505)

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### ***Uncle Tom's Cabin Poster (p. 485)***

**Reading the Image:** According to this poster, in what languages was the book available? What does this suggest about the book's readership? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Languages:* According to the poster, the book was available in both English and German.

- *Readership:* The printing of the book in English and German, as well as in both cheap (37 cents) and luxurious (bound in cloth and with illustrated plates for \$1.50) editions suggests an unusually wide readership that included all classes and a variety of ethnic backgrounds.

**Connections:** What region would not agree that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was the greatest book of the age? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Region:* Obviously, the popularity of this book across class and ethnic boundaries did not extend to the South. While there were some antislavery forces in the South, most people of that region would have disagreed that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was the greatest book of the age. In fact, several Southerners wrote novels directly in response to Stowe's novel that celebrated the lives that both blacks and whites led under the slave system.

### **John Brown Going to His Hanging, Horace Pippin, 1942 (p. 502)**

**Reading the Image:** What is the artist trying to convey about the tone of John Brown's execution? According to the painting, what were the feelings of those gathered to witness the event? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Tone of the execution:* The painting's dark, muted tones reflect the solemnity of the event. Grey, white, and black buildings and black trees contribute to the somber mood. The few dead leaves dangling from the trees could be seen as a portent of Brown's own hanging. The weather appears cold and clear; most of the onlookers wear scarves and heavy, dark coats. This late autumn setting is itself suggestive of death. The attention of most of the crowd is focused intently on John Brown, who appears prominently against the stark white background of a building. The lone African American, presumably a rendering of the artist's grandmother, is not turned toward the procession but rather faces the viewer directly, with a pained expression, perhaps reflecting her sorrow over the pending execution of Brown, who fought to end slavery.

**Connections:** How did John Brown's trial and execution contribute to the growing split between North and South? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Growing conflict between the North and South:* Although most Northerners did not approve of Brown's violent actions at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, the statements he made at his trial and the dignity he exhibited at his execution led Northerners to grant him a certain amount of respect. Others went further: Figures such as Lydia Maria Child and William Lloyd Garrison celebrated Brown as a model of principle and humanity. In contrast, White Southerners considered Brown a bloodthirsty murderer and robber, and they were disgusted with northern sympathy toward him. Many Southerners concluded that the North's support for Brown meant that Northerners were eager to see the end of slavery and were committed to its abolition at any cost. Such feelings heightened sectional animosity and contributed to Southern fears surrounding the prospect of a Republican president.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### **Map 14.3 The Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854 (p. 487)**

**Reading the Map:** How many slave states and how many free states does the map show? Estimate the percentage of territory likely to be settled by slaveholders. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Slave vs. Free States in 1854:* In 1854, there were sixteen free states and fifteen slave states. There also were five open territories; the Washington, Oregon, and Minnesota territories were free, and the Nebraska, Kansas, Utah, and New Mexico territories were open to slavery. Under the terms of the Missouri Compromise, perhaps a quarter of the U.S. territories could have become slave states, based on the restrictions of the Missouri Compromise that banned slavery above the southern border of Missouri and would leave only half of the Utah and New Mexico territories as potential slave territory. However, even with the revocation of the Missouri Compromise line, most Americans did not expect that Utah or New Mexico would be useful for plantation agriculture. Instead, slaveholders set their sights on the Kansas and Nebraska territories, which constituted about half of the remaining territorial land.

**Connections:** Who would be more likely to support changes in government legislation to discontinue the Missouri Compromise, slaveholders or free-soil advocates? Why? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Overturning the Missouri Compromise:* Slaveholders had more reasons to want to discontinue the Missouri Compromise than free-soil advocates. With the admission of California to the Union as a free state, the amount of land available to turn into slave states was diminished to perhaps a quarter of the remaining territory. As long as the Missouri Compromise remained in effect, slave states virtually were guaranteed to lose their numerical parity with the free states and thus their ability to wield influence in the national government. With the withdrawal of the Missouri Compromise, however, slave states conceivably could spread into northern areas from which they previously had been barred.

### **Map 14.4 Political Realignment, 1848–1860 (p. 491)**

**Reading the Map:** Which states did the Democrats pick up in 1852 compared to 1848? Which of these

states did the Democrats lose in 1856? Compare the general geographical location of the states won by the Republicans in 1856 versus 1860. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Democratic states won and lost in elections:* In 1852, Democrats won several states in the North and South that Whig Zachary Taylor had captured four years earlier. In 1856, Democrats lost the northern states of Connecticut, New York, Vermont, and Rhode Island. Democrats also lost Maryland, a slave state that they had picked up from the Whigs in 1852.

- *Republican states won and lost in elections:* In 1856, Republicans, rather than Whigs, triumphed in the northern tier of free states. Four years later, Republicans added to their victory column the lower northern states of Illinois, Indiana, and Pennsylvania and part of New Jersey; in the far West, Republicans won California, a state that supported Democrats in 1856, and the new state of Oregon.

**Connections:** In the 1860 election, which party benefited the most from the western and midwestern states added to the Union since 1848? Why would these states choose to back the Republicans over the Democrats? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Effect of western states on the 1860 election:* In 1860, the Republican Party benefited the most from the addition of new states in the Midwest and far West. Voters in these new states supported Republicans because the party promised to exclude slavery from new states, all of which would be in the West. The thousands of nonslaveholding small farmers who settled these new states agreed with Republicans who argued that the ability to exploit slave labor gave wealthy southern planters an unfair advantage in any competition for new lands. Democrats also extolled the virtues of small farmers and the common man, but they would not go so far as to support a ban on slavery's extension.

and South. The U.S. victory in the Mexican-American War left a number of questions on the issue of slavery unresolved. Both North and South wanted the conquered territory for their own economic advantage. Be sure to point out that Northerners and Southerners had vastly differing visions for the western lands. Emphasize that the debate surrounding slavery in the 1840s largely centered on political and economic gain, not on the morality of the institution as many students might expect. Explain that Pennsylvania Democrat David Wilmot proposed his proviso to reduce northern alienation from the Democratic Party for failing to pursue the Oregon question as vigorously as the Polk administration had pursued expansion at Mexico's expense.

Explain that sectional politics had not yet destroyed the power of the national political parties; both Democrats and Whigs received electoral votes from all sections of the country. Explain how the rapid population increase in California precipitated a crisis over sectional representation in the Senate. Then, explain the terms of Henry Clay's Omnibus Bill and why it did not pass until Stephen Douglas broke it into separate bills. Cover Lewis Cass's doctrine of "popular sovereignty," and use Map 14.2, "The Compromise of 1850" (p. 481), to show which areas were subject to that idea and which ones still adhered to the Missouri Compromise. Ask students what part of the Missouri Compromise was completely repealed by the Compromise of 1850 and why the South should have feared the repeal.

Next, explore the prickly issue of the Fugitive Slave Act and how its enforcement alienated Northerners and its lack of enforcement disgusted Southerners. Introduce the railroad agitation of the 1850s, and explore why Stephen Douglas reopened the issue of the extension of slavery into the territories. Use Map 14.3, "The Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854" (p. 487), to show where slavery could possibly be extended and the areas generally expected to be contested. Finally, explain why the Kansas-Nebraska Act explicitly repealed the remaining operative clauses of the Missouri Compromise.

## Lecture Strategies

See also the maps and images for presentation in "Additional Resources for Chapter 14."

### LECTURE 1

#### *The Failure of Compromise*

This lecture introduces students to the problems and assumptions underlying the extension of slavery into the territories and explores the effects of the solutions to this issue on previous compromises between North

### LECTURE 2

#### *Political Realignment*

This lecture examines the demise of the second American party system and the birth of the present party system. Discuss how the failure of the two Whig presidencies to produce results in line with the Whig agenda contributed to the decline of the Whig Party. Explore how the growing sectional conflict weakened the Democrats and killed the Whig Party. Use Map 14.4, "Political Realignment, 1848–1860" (p. 491),

to demonstrate the trend from nationally based parties to regionally based parties. Explore the program of the American Party and the original single issue of the Republican Party. Refer your students to the text under the heading “The Old Parties: Whigs and Democrats” (pp. 487, 490), and then encourage them to explain why Whigs and northern Democrats migrated to the Republican Party. You may have to prod them by asking them to use Lincoln as a model.

Next, use the poster for Harriet Beecher Stowe’s book, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, on page 485 to discuss how Northerners imagined that slavery operated; then show how the South responded. Use this discussion to explore the myth that the coming of the Civil War was entirely the South’s fault. Show how failure to compromise because of fundamental differences led to increasing division within the political structure so that, by 1860, secession actually seemed a reasonable course to many Southerners and some Northerners, though only a few, actually applauded the departure of the “slavocracy.” Finish by reviewing the ways in which the Republican Party broadened its appeal in the 1860 election.

other events stand out as milestones of distrust: The caning of Charles Sumner convinced Northerners that southern society was violently barbaric, and John Brown’s raid at Harper’s Ferry suggested to Southerners that all Northerners were abolitionists who would provoke slave rebellions that would kill all white Southerners. Note that the panic of 1857 convinced Southerners that their economic system was superior to that of the North, because the panic had little effect on the South. Northerners believed Southerners had conspired with Europeans to damage the northern economy. Republicans fiercely denounced the power of the “slavocracy” to control the country.

Next, explain the splintering of the Democratic Party in the election of 1860 and how Lincoln won the election even though he failed to carry a single southern state. Discuss how Southerners went about seceding from the Union; be sure to point out that not all Southerners supported secession. Now, return to the question of the inevitability of the Civil War, and suggest how the course of history might have developed differently. At Lincoln’s inauguration in March 1861, few were convinced that war would come.

## LECTURE 3

### *Victims of Violent Conspiracy*

This lecture shows the depth of animosity and distrust engendered by the failures to compromise in the 1850s. Open by asking your students to consider whether the Civil War was inherently inevitable, but then tell them to hold their answers until the end of class. Show how both North and South came to believe they were victims of a conspiracy by the other. Southerners cried that they had been swindled into giving up parity in the Senate in exchange for a worthless fugitive slave law. Northerners felt victimized as well, as the southern-dominated Supreme Court ruled that Congress never had constitutional authority to restrict slavery, that blacks were not citizens, and that the laws protecting the safety of free blacks in the North from the hands of southern slave catchers were illegal.

Demonstrate the slippery slope from the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act to the election of Lincoln by showing how openly violent national politics had become. New England ran guns, along with its immigrants, to Kansas in an effort to make the territory a free state. Missouri slaveholders flocked to Kansas to vote in the territorial elections and intimidate the anti-slavery majority that had settled there. Use the chapter’s opening vignette to discuss the sack of Lawrence and the acts of John Brown. Cover the ways in which the proslavery party stole the elections in Kansas and framed a proslavery state constitution that the Buchanan administration proposed accepting. Two

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### **1. Morality, Not Economics, Governed the Debates about Slavery**

Although the issue of the morality of slavery grew to be an increasingly divisive one, the real issue underlying sectional hostilities was the extension of slavery into the territories. Southerners believed that slavery could not continue to thrive as an economic system if they were denied the opportunity to put more acreage under tillage. Because the staple agriculture of the South exhausted the soil of its nutrients, planters had to move westward in search of fertile soil. Preventing planters from carrying their slaves into the western territories would effectively destroy the institution of slavery in the United States. Southerners believed that limiting slavery to where it already existed would exhaust the soil and force them to abandon staple crop agriculture and to emancipate the then-unnecessary slave labor force. So, from the southern point of view, continued geographic expansion of slave territory was essential to the survival of slavery, and Northerners agreed.

Northerners adhering to a free-labor, free-soil ideology believed that western lands should be reserved for creating small farms for hardworking white people. Northerners also practiced soil-exhausting agriculture and thus needed new land on which to

expand agricultural production and maintain their ambitions for an improved standard of living. Therefore, they saw themselves as competing with Southerners for limited lands for future agricultural production. Competition with slave labor would mean that the land-use patterns of the West would come to resemble those of the plantation belt rather than those of the Midwest. Northerners would lose not only the economic future for their children but also the culture in which their children were raised, because as small-holders on a plantation they would resemble southern yeomen.

If the conquest of Mexico led to the expansion of slavery, then hardworking white families of the North would have to work shoulder to shoulder with blacks, whom they considered an inferior race. The West, they believed, was taken from Mexicans and Indians (who were also people they believed to be racially inferior to themselves) for the explicit benefit of the “superior” white race. Thus, the fight over extension of slavery into the western territories was not just a smoke screen for the debate on the morality of slavery but contained economic, cultural, and ideological dimensions as well.

## 2. The South Was Solely Responsible for the Coming of the Civil War

Regardless of geographical origins, many students may believe that because the South maintained the immoral institution of slavery and seceded from the Union, it must have caused the Civil War. Use this opportunity to discuss various interpretations of the coming of the Civil War. Some historians argue that both North and South caused the Civil War by misinterpreting each other’s motives and failing to seek real reconciliation to settle grievances fairly. According to this view, following the introduction of the Wilmot Proviso, the country was increasingly divided along sectional lines, which destroyed the ability of the national parties to find workable compromises. The political settlements of the 1850s lacked success because both sides failed to make them work.

The Compromise of 1850 exemplifies such failure. It passed not because it was worked out in the real spirit of compromise but because of the parliamentary skills of Stephen Douglas, who divided the bill into separate pieces and lined up sufficient votes to get each piece passed. When the voting was completed, however, an overwhelming majority of both houses of Congress had voted against some portion of the compromise package. The nature of this failure to compromise rested on fundamental disagreement over the issue, and you can explore how fundamental disagreements endanger the country with a look at modern issues such as abortion. Be careful not to

get entangled in the arguments themselves. A quick overview of the topic will suffice to demonstrate the potential for violent division of the electorate—a division that moderates on both sides would abhor. Quickly move back to the issues of the 1850s, and explore with your class the myriad ways in which both sections slid toward secession.

## 3. Lincoln Was a Radical Abolitionist

Perhaps because Lincoln bears the nickname the “Great Emancipator,” many students equate his 1850s position on slavery with that of the radical abolitionists. Remind students that Lincoln opposed the extension of slavery into the territories. As the textbook points out, however, he believed that the Constitution sanctioned slavery in those states where it already existed. Unlike William Lloyd Garrison, he did not condemn the Constitution as a “pact with the devil” or a “document dripping with blood.” And unlike David Walker and John Brown, Lincoln did not advocate “violence, bloodshed, and treason” to bring about the demise of the institution. Make clear to your students that Lincoln, on the eve of the Civil War, held moderate antislavery views.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

Episode 4 of the PBS series *Africans in America*, “Judgment Day: 1831–1861,” chronicles the growing strength of the abolitionist movement during the mid-nineteenth century and the widening divide between North and South on the issue of slavery. “Roots of Resistance: A Story of the Underground Railroad,” part of the PBS *American Experience* series, highlights the significance of the passages that led black men and women to freedom during the mid-nineteenth century. The PBS documentary *Abraham and Mary Lincoln: A House Divided* offers an interesting look into the marriage of the First Couple and suggests that Lincoln’s household mirrored the fissures that split the nation in two.

### Class Discussion Starters

In hindsight, major events such as the Civil War often seem inevitable. Ask students to consider some counterfactual events that could have conceivably altered history. What if gold had not been discovered in California? Would the territory have attracted such a large population in such a short time? Would it have created a crisis by applying for admission as it did in 1850? What if southern “filibusterers” had captured

Cuba in the 1850s? Would the acquisition of Cuba have satisfied those who wished to extend the territorial boundaries of slavery? What if the conditions in Europe had lessened the impact of the panic of 1857 on the North? Would this have reduced Southerners' smugness about the superiority of their economy? Would New England have seceded from the Union, as William Lloyd Garrison had proposed? What if one or more states of the Lower South had failed to secede from the Union? Would the Confederacy have come into existence, or would the federal government have had the opportunity to deal with each state individually?

### Historical Debates

To examine the fundamental differences of opinion in the 1850s on the legality of slavery, direct your students to the question of whether the Constitution protected slavery. Have them find all the ways that the Constitution, both explicitly and implicitly, protects slavery. Then, direct their attention to the Fifth Amendment, which guarantees that "no person shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." Proslavery ideologues claimed that Congress had no authority to interfere with the institution of slavery. Frederick Douglass, turning to the Fifth Amendment, claimed that the Constitution demanded that Congress abolish slavery immediately. Have your students debate whether the proslavery ideologues or Frederick Douglass gave a more convincing reading of the Constitution.

## Additional Resources for Chapter 14

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 14 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 14.1: The Election of 1848 (p. 479)
- Map 14.2: The Compromise of 1850 (p. 481)
- Map 14.3: The Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854 (p. 487)
- Map 14.4: Political Realignment, 1848–1860 (p. 491)
- Map 14.5: The Election of 1860 (p. 504)
- *Uncle Tom's Cabin* Poster (p. 485)
- *John Brown Going to His Hanging*, Horace Pippin, 1942 (p. 502)

### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 14 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 14.1: The Election of 1848 (p. 479)
- Map 14.2: The Compromise of 1850 (p. 481)
- Map 14.3: The Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854 (p. 487)
- Map 14.4: Political Realignment, 1848–1860 (p. 491)
- Map 14.5: The Election of 1860 (p. 504)
- Figure 14.1: Changing Political Landscape, 1848–1860 (p. 492)
- Slave Shackles (p. 484)
- Filibustering in Nicaragua (p. 489)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor's Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 14 include:

- *Defending Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Old South*, by Paul Finkelman
- *"Dred Scott v. Sanford": A Brief History with Documents*, edited with an introduction by Paul Finkelman
- *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave, Written by Himself*, edited with an introduction by David W. Blight
- *John Brown's Raid on Harper's Ferry: A Brief History with Documents*, edited with an introduction by Jonathan Earle

### For Students

#### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 14 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- The Kansas-Nebraska Act: Abraham Lincoln, *Speech in Peoria, Illinois, October 16, 1854*
- The Antislavery Constitution: Frederick Douglass, *The Constitution of the United States: Is It Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery?*, 1860

- The Pro-Slavery Constitution: Jefferson Davis, *Speech before the U.S. Senate*, May 1860
- A Free African Concludes Emigration Is Necessary: Granville B. Blanks, *Letter to the Editor*, 1852
- Abolitionist Lydia Maria Child Defends John Brown and Attacks the Slave Power: *Correspondence between Lydia Maria Child and Virginia Governor Henry A. Wise*, 1859

**Online Study Guide at**  
**[bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)**

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the

skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 14:

**Map Activities**

- Map 14.3: The Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854 (p. 487)
- Map 14.4: Political Realignment, 1848–1860 (p. 491)

**Visual Activities**

- *Uncle Tom's Cabin* Poster (p. 485)
- *John Brown Going to His Hanging*, Horace Pippin, 1842 (p. 502)

**CHAPTER**  
**15**

# The Crucible of War

## 1861–1865

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### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. What did Fort Sumter symbolize to Northerners and Southerners, and what effect did its fall have on secession debates in the Upper South?
2. What did combatants on each side believe they were fighting for, and why did they each believe their cause would prevail? What issues faced Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis as they began their terms as presidents of their respective nations?
3. What were the major battles in the eastern theater of the war from 1861 to 1862, and why did they result in a stalemate for the Union? What factors contributed to Union victories in the western theater? What was the significance of the Union blockade, and in what ways did the Confederacy seek to circumvent it?
4. How was the Civil War transformed from a war to preserve the Union to a war to end slavery? How did African Americans wage a war for their own liberation?
5. How did the Confederate government prepare for war? What were the effects of wartime deprivations on Southerners? How did the war affect the master-slave relationship in the South?
6. How did the Union war effort influence northern society? How did it change the economy, the role of women at work and on the home front, and the politics of dissent?
7. What was General Grant's strategy for Union victory, and how did he put that strategy into effect from 1863 to 1865? What was the significance of the election of 1864, and what role did Union victories play in the outcome? Why did the Confederacy collapse in the spring of 1865?

### Annotated Chapter Outline

- I. **"And the War Came"**
  - A. Attack on Fort Sumter
    1. In the spring of 1861, Major Robert Anderson and some eighty U.S. soldiers occupied Fort Sumter at the entrance to Charleston harbor.
    2. To Southerners, the fort, with its American flag, became a hateful symbol reminding Southerners of the nation they had abandoned while Northerners saw Fort Sumter as a symbol of federal sovereignty in the seceded states.
    3. Lincoln would not abandon Fort Sumter, so he had to provision it, but he avoided sending military reinforcements.
    4. On April 9, 1861, Jefferson Davis and his cabinet met to consider the situation; according to Davis, the territorial integrity of the Confederacy demanded the end of the U.S. presence.
    5. Against the advice of his secretary of state, Robert Toomb, Jefferson Davis sent Confederate soldiers to bombard the fort, forcing Anderson to surrender.
    6. In response, Lincoln called for 75,000 militiamen to serve for ninety days to put down the rebellion.
  - B. The Upper South Chooses Sides
    1. The Upper South faced a horrendous choice: either to fight against the Lower South or to fight against the Union.
    2. Within weeks, Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia joined the

Confederacy; in the border states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, Unionism triumphed.

3. The struggle turned violent in the West, especially in Missouri, where southern sympathizing guerrilla bands roamed the state for the duration of the conflict, wreaking bloody havoc on soldiers and citizens alike.
4. Throughout the border states, but especially in Kentucky, the Civil War became a “brothers’ war,” dividing families over the issue of slavery.
5. In the end, only eleven of the fifteen slave states joined the Confederate States of America; four of the seceding Upper South states contained significant numbers of people who felt little affection for the Confederacy.

## II. The Combatants

### A. How They Expected to Win

1. A comparison of northern and southern resources reveals enormous advantages for the Union, nevertheless, Southerners believed that they would triumph.
2. The South’s confidence rested partly on its estimation of the economic clout of its principal crop, cotton, believing that northern prosperity depended on the South’s cotton and that the crop would also make Europe a powerful ally of the Confederacy.
3. The Confederacy devised a military strategy that recognized that a Confederate victory required only that the South stay at home, blunt invasions, avoid battles that risked annihilating its army, and outlast the northern will to fight.
4. The Lincoln administration developed an offensive strategy that applied pressure at many points, most importantly aiming at blocking the export and sale of the South’s prized cotton crop.
5. Neither side, however, managed to predict the magnitude and duration of the war.

### B. Lincoln and Davis Mobilize

1. Mobilization required effective political leadership, and at first glance, it appeared that the South had a decided advantage over the North.
2. Lincoln had very little military experience and relatively little political experience, but was wise in appointing his cabinet members and took advantage of his rhetoric skills to rouse Northerners to the cause.

3. Davis, however, proved to be less than he appeared; ultimately, he had no gift for military strategy and was quarrelsome and proud in the political arena, making enemies the Confederacy could ill afford.
4. Lincoln and Davis began gathering their armies; the South building supplies from scratch and the North repurposing already established resources and troops.
5. The Confederacy made prodigious efforts to build new factories to produce war supplies, but the Confederate army nonetheless faced continual supply shortages.
6. Recruiting and supplying huge armies required enormous new revenues and both sides turned to the sale of war bonds and the collection of taxes.
7. Within months of the bombardment of Fort Sumter, both sides had found men to fight and people to supply and support them, but the underlying strength of the northern economy gave the Union the decided advantage.

## III. Battling It Out, 1861–1862

### A. Stalemate in the Eastern Theater

1. Though commanding Union general Irvin McDowell had no thought of taking his raw recruits into battle, Lincoln ordered him to prepare his 35,000 men for an attack on 20,000 Confederates defending Manassas, a railroad junction in Virginia very near Washington.
2. Fast-moving Confederate reinforcements blunted the Union attack and then counterattacked, forcing Union troops into a panicky stampede.
3. Casualties at Bull Run (known as Manassas to Southerners) were relatively light; the significance of the battle lay in the lessons Northerners and Southerners drew from it: Southerners reaffirmed their belief in the superiority of their fighting forces, and Northerners learned that victory would not be quick or easy.
4. Lincoln replaced McDowell with George B. McClellan and in May 1862, McClellan launched a long-awaited offensive, but when he was within six miles of the Confederate capital, Confederate general Joseph Johnston hit him like a hammer.
5. Johnston, who was wounded in the attack, was replaced by Robert E. Lee, who would become the South’s most celebrated general.

6. Lee initiated the Seven Days Battle, compelling Lincoln to wire McClellan to abandon the peninsula campaign to gain Richmond; afterwards Lincoln replaced McClellan with General John Pope.
  7. In August 1862, at the second battle of Bull Run, Lee's smaller army battered Pope's forces and sent them scurrying back to Washington.
  8. After the battle, Lincoln replaced Pope, restoring McClellan again to command.
  9. Lee, sensing he had his enemy on the ropes, pushed his army across the Potomac and invaded Maryland.
  10. At Antietam, Union and Confederate forces engaged in the bloodiest single day of fighting of the war; Lee's troops were forced to retreat.
  11. Although bloodied, Confederate forces dug in to deliver a crushing defeat to the Union at the Battle of Fredericksburg, and by the end of the year, the North seemed no nearer to ending the rebellion than it had been when the war began.
- B. Union Victories in the Western Theater
1. While most eyes focused on the East, the decisive early encounters of the war took place to the west between the Appalachian Mountains and the Ozarks.
  2. The West's rivers—the Mississippi, the Tennessee, and the Cumberland—became keys to the military situation.
  3. In Missouri, the Battle of Pea Ridge left the state free of Confederate troops (though not free of guerrillas).
  4. Rebel failures in the far West meant there would be no Confederate empire beyond Texas.
  5. The principal western battles took place in Tennessee, where General Ulysses S. Grant emerged as the key northern commander.
  6. In February 1862, Grant captured Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland, forcing the Confederates to withdraw from all of Kentucky and most of Tennessee.
  7. In April, Union forces prevailed at the costly battle of Shiloh in Tennessee, compelling Grant to realize that the Union would not be victorious "except by complete conquest."
  8. Although no one knew it at the time, Shiloh inflicted a mortal wound to the Confederacy's bid to control the western theater.
  9. By the end of 1862, the far West and most—but not all—of the Mississippi valley lay in Union hands.
- C. The Atlantic Theater
1. At the beginning of the war the U.S. Navy had a blockade fleet of only about three dozen ships and more than 3,500 miles of southern coastline to patrol, making it easy for rebel merchant ships to slip in and out of southern ports.
  2. The Union commissioned a new blockader almost weekly, and the fleet eventually reached 150 ships on duty, dramatically improving the Union navy's ability to stop blockade runners.
  3. Unable to build a conventional navy equal to the expanding U.S. fleet, the Confederates experimented with a radical new maritime design, the ironclad warship, and explored many naval innovations, including a new underwater vessel—the submarine.
  4. By 1863 the South wanted to ship cotton to pay for imports of the material it needed to fight the war, but the growing effectiveness of the federal blockade sealed off the Confederacy and weakened it dramatically.
- D. International Diplomacy
1. What they could not achieve on the seas, Confederates sought through foreign policy, hoping to force cotton-starved European nations to break the blockade and recognize the Confederacy.
  2. King Cotton diplomacy failed, however, and, in part because of the availability of cotton from other parts of the world, no country challenged the Union blockade or recognized the Confederate States of America as a nation.
  3. In 1862, Lincoln announced a new policy that made an alliance with the Confederacy an alliance with slavery; because both the French and English outlawed slavery in their empires, this was an alliance neither country was willing to make.
- IV. Union and Freedom**
- A. From Slaves to Contraband
1. Personally, Lincoln detested human bondage, but as president he felt compelled to act prudently in the interests of the Union.
  2. He knew that many white Northerners were not about to risk their lives to satisfy abolitionist "fanaticism," and thus did not want to risk losing the border states or

- completely alienating the Democratic Party, yet proponents of emancipation pressed Lincoln as relentlessly as the anti-emancipation forces.
3. The Republican-dominated Congress refused to leave slavery policy entirely in Lincoln's hands, passing the Confiscation Act, which allowed the seizure of any slave who was employed directly by the Confederate military.
  4. But slaves, not politicians, became the most insistent force for emancipation as, by the thousands, they escaped from their masters and ran away to Union lines, gradually forcing Lincoln to abandon his policy of noninterference.
  5. At the same time that Lincoln was developing his own initiatives, he snuffed out various federal commanders' efforts to free rebels' slaves because he believed it would jeopardize northern unity.
  6. Events moved so rapidly, however, that Lincoln found it impossible to control federal policy on slavery.
- B. From Contraband to Free People
1. By the summer of 1862, Congress passed a second Confiscation Act that freed all slaves of rebel masters, rapidly moving Lincoln towards emancipation.
  2. By July, Lincoln had drafted a preliminary emancipation proclamation that promised to free all slaves in the seceding states on January 1, 1863.
  3. Lincoln described emancipation as an "act of justice," but it was the increasing casualty lists that finally brought him around.
  4. The limitation of the proclamation—it exempted the loyal border states and the Union-occupied areas of the Confederacy—caused some to ridicule the act, but Lincoln had no power to free slaves in loyal states.
  5. By presenting emancipation as a "military necessity," Lincoln hoped he had disarmed his conservative critics.
  6. As promised, on New Year's Day 1863, Lincoln issued the final Emancipation Proclamation.
- C. War of Black Liberation
1. Even before Lincoln proclaimed emancipation an aim of the Union, African Americans in the North had volunteered to fight.
  2. As the Union experienced manpower shortages, Northerners reluctantly turned to African Americans to fill their blue uniforms.
3. Black soldiers soon discovered that the military was far from colorblind as it established segregated black regiments, paid black soldiers less than white soldiers, and discriminated in other ways.
  4. Nevertheless, an astounding 71 percent of black men ages eighteen to forty-five in the free states fought as Union soldiers.
  5. At the battles of Port Hudson and Milliken's Bend on the Mississippi River and at Fort Wagner in Charleston harbor, black courage under fire finally dispelled notions that African Americans could not fight.
  6. Blacks played a crucial role in the triumph of the Union and the destruction of slavery in the South.
- V. **The South at War**
- A. Revolution from Above
1. Jefferson Davis faced the task of building an army and navy from scratch, supplying them from factories that were scarce and anemic, and paying for it all from a treasury that did not exist.
  2. Building the army proved the easiest as hundreds of officers defected from the U.S. army and hundreds of thousands of eager rebels volunteered; amassing the economy and finances proved tougher.
  3. Despite bold efforts to build industry, the Davis administration failed to transform the agricultural economy into a modern industrial one.
  4. Richmond's war-making effort meant that government intruded in unprecedented ways into the private lives of Confederate citizens—drafting able-bodied white males, confiscating food and goods for below market rates, and legally impressing slaves.
  5. The war necessitated much of the government's unprecedented behavior, but citizens found it arbitrary, inequitable, and in opposition to the South's traditional values of states' rights and unfettered individualism.
- B. Hardship Below
1. During the war, hardships were widespread; inflation and food shortages affected everyone, but fell most heavily on the poor.
  2. Severe deprivation had powerful consequences, and according to some

estimates, when the war ended, one-third of the soldiers had already gone home.

3. The Confederacy also failed to persuade the suffering yeomen that the war's burdens were being shared equally, and class animosity grew.
4. The Confederate government hoped that the crucible of war would mold a region into a nation, but efforts of the government failed to win over all Southerners.

#### C. The Disintegration of Slavery

1. The legal destruction of slavery was the product of presidential proclamation, congressional legislation, and eventually constitutional amendment, but the practical destruction of slavery was the product of war.
2. The war disrupted the routine, organization, and discipline of bondage and in large parts of the South, the balance of power between master and slave gradually shifted.
3. Throughout the course of the war, slaves undermined white mastery and expanded control over their own lives.

### VI. The North at War

#### A. The Government and the Economy

1. When the war began, the United States had no national banking system, no national currency, and no federal income or excise taxes.
2. The secession of eleven slave states cut the Democrats' strength in Congress in half and destroyed their capacity to resist Republican economic programs, leading to the Legal Tender Act of 1862 which created a national currency and paper money, the National Banking Act of 1863, and the Internal Revenue Act.
3. Some of the Republicans' wartime legislation was designed to integrate the West more thoroughly into the Union, including the Homestead Act and the Pacific Railroad Act.
4. Congress also enacted legislation that had long-term consequences for agriculture and industry, such as the creation of the Department of Agriculture and the passage of the Land-Grant College Act.
5. Initiatives from Washington immeasurably strengthened the North's effort to win the war, but they were also permanently changing the nation.

#### B. Women and Work on the Home Front

1. With more than a million farm men called to the military, farm women added men's

chores to their own; in cities women stepped into jobs vacated by men, particularly in manufacturing, and also into essentially new occupations such as government secretaries and clerks.

2. Most middle-class white women stayed home, and hundreds of thousands contributed to the war effort in traditional ways, raising money and supplies for the armies.
3. Thousands of women on both sides defied prejudices about female delicacy and volunteered to nurse the wounded.

#### C. Politics and Dissent

1. At first, the bustle of economic and military mobilization seemed to silence politics, and Democrats supported the Union as fervently as Republicans, but the bipartisan unity did not last.
2. In September 1862, in an effort to stifle opposition to the war, Lincoln placed under military arrest any person who discouraged enlistments, resisted the draft, or engaged in "disloyal" practices, which led to the imprisonment of 14,000 people, most in the border states.
3. The draft law of March 1863 gave Democrats another grievance, and poor men opposed Union provisions that allowed a draftee to hire a substitute or simply to pay a \$300 fee to get out of his military obligation.
4. Linking the draft and emancipation, Democrats argued that Republicans employed an unconstitutional means (the draft) to achieve an unconstitutional end (emancipation).
5. Racist mobs went on rampages in northern cities, demonstrating that significant progress toward black equality would have to wait until the end of the war.

### VII. Grinding Out Victory, 1863–1865

#### A. Vicksburg and Gettysburg

1. The Confederate stronghold of Vicksburg, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi River, stood between Union forces and complete control of the river.
2. Union forces led by Grant laid siege to the city to starve out the enemy.
3. Eventually, the siege succeeded, and on July 4, 1863, nearly 30,000 rebels marched out of Vicksburg, stacked their arms, and surrendered unconditionally.
4. On the same day the nation also received the news that Union forces had defeated General Lee at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

5. The Union victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg proved to be the turning point of the war.
- B. Grant Takes Command
1. In September 1863, Union troops under Grant, whom Lincoln had made commander of all forces between the Mississippi River and the Appalachian Mountains, routed the Confederate army at Chattanooga.
  2. In March 1864, Lincoln asked Grant to come east and become the general in chief of all Union armies and once in Washington, Grant implemented his grand strategy of a war of annihilation.
  3. Grant and Lee met in early 1864 in northern Virginia at the Wilderness, a dense tangle of scrub oaks and small pines that proved to be Lee's ally, for it helped offset the Yankees' numerical superiority.
  4. Twice as many Union soldiers as rebel soldiers died in the four weeks of fighting in Virginia, yet Grant did not consider himself defeated.
  5. Grant then began a siege that immobilized both armies and dragged on for nine months.
  6. Under Grant's orders, General William T. Sherman marched into Georgia, taking Atlanta and destroying the will of the southern people during his "March to the Sea."
- C. The Election of 1864
1. Rankled by inflation, the draft, the attack on civil liberties, and the commitment to blacks, Northerners appeared ready for a change.
  2. The Democratic Party, however, was badly divided between "peace" and "war" Democrats.
  3. The capture of Atlanta in September turned the political tide in favor of the Republicans, who not only secured the White House but also won significant gains in Congress.
- D. The Confederacy Collapses
1. As 1865 dawned, military disaster littered the Confederate landscape and the interior of the Confederacy lay in Union hands.
  2. In the final months of the war, more and more Confederates turned their backs on the rebellion because they had been battered into submission.
  3. On February 1, 1865, Sherman's troops stormed out of Savannah into South Carolina.
  4. Lee abandoned Petersburg and Richmond fell.
  5. Grant pursued Lee for one hundred miles until Lee surrendered on April 9, 1865, at Appomattox Court House, Virginia; after four years, the war was over.
  6. Five days later, President Lincoln was assassinated.
  7. The man who had led the nation through the war would not lead it in its postwar search for a just peace.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 15, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 15.

## Review Questions

1. Why did both the Union and the Confederacy consider control of the border states crucial? (pp. 514–515) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Control of resources:* Jefferson and Lincoln both tried to claim the loyalty of the border states because they recognized the value of the population and wealth they contained. Control of border states would also bring control of major rivers and railroads. (pp. 514–515)

2. Why did the South believe it could win the war despite numerical disadvantages? (pp. 515–516) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Confidence in Confederate military ability:* Southerners believed they had superior ability and a much more powerful reason for fighting—defending their homes. They expected these things to translate into martial advantage. (p. 515)

- *Belief in the power of cotton:* Southerners believed that the North's economy was too dependent on southern cotton to risk a war with the Confederacy. Southerners also expected cotton to ensure that Europe, and especially the naval power, Britain, would be a Confederate ally. The South believed that Europe, like the North, could not do without southern cotton. (p. 516)

- *Geography and war objectives:* To win, the South had only to wage a defensive war and exhaust the North's willingness to fight. The North had to conquer and subdue a huge expanse of southern land. The

South's more limited task added to their optimism about success. (p. 516)

3. Why did the Confederacy's bid for international support fail? (pp. 516, 524) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on effective Union blockade:* Despite the Confederacy's industrious efforts, the Union blockade effectively blocked the South's attempts to export cotton. They hoped that Europe's need for southern cotton would prompt it to recognize the Confederacy and break the blockade. (p. 516)

- *Bumper crop 1860:* The South's unusually high production of cotton in 1860 meant that British manufacturers had plenty of cotton through 1861. (p. 524)

- *Alternative sources of cotton:* When Britain did face a shortage, they found other sources of cotton in Egypt and India. (p. 524)

- *Alternative trade:* Trading with the Union reduced the impact of lost trade with the South and encouraged European neutrality. (p. 524)

- *Union success:* Despite initially favoring the Confederacy's chances for success, Union military victories made Europeans less certain. Further, once the union committed to ending slavery, the French and the British became even less willing to support the Confederacy. (p. 524)

4. Why did the Union change policy in 1863 to allow black men to serve in the army? (pp. 528–529) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Actions of slaves:* The flight of slaves away from their masters and behind Union lines forced the North to consider and revise its policies toward slaves and, by extension, free African-Americans. (p. 528)

- *Contraband of war:* The persistence of slaves and the Union's need for laborers led some military leaders to refuse to return slaves to their masters. General Butler justified this policy by deeming runaway slaves contraband of war, thereby legitimizing retaining runaways and supplying the Union with a new labor supply. This became national policy in 1862. This was an important development in shifting Union policy toward slaves and free African Americans. (p. 528)

- *Progress of the war:* The most significant factor pushing Lincoln to revise policies toward black Americans was the growing numbers of Union casualties. He adopted emancipation as a military necessity, to deprive the Confederacy of workers and supply the Union with needed reinforcements. The same pressures led the Army to allow black soldiers to serve in the army. (p. 529)

- *Shifts in Union sentiment:* The Emancipation Proclamation changed the Union's objectives to include freedom for many slaves, leading whites in the North to reconsider their objections to black military service.

This, plus the emergence of a draft, led whites to insist that black Americans serve. (p. 529)

5. How did wartime hardship in the South contribute to class animosity? (pp. 531, 534–535) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on hardship:* Shortages of food, a draft that deprived families of important laborers, and the Confederate tax-in-kind meant that Southerners at home suffered severe privations. These burdens weighed heaviest on the poor, who found themselves without necessities, not simply luxuries. (p. 534)

- *Draft law:* Included in the draft law was a provision that draftees could pay a substitute to serve instead, contributing to resentment that the hardship of service, and the related hardship at home, was not shared equally by all. (p. 535)

- *"Twenty-Negro law":* This law, which exempted one white man on every plantation with twenty or more slaves, seemed to free some of the wealthiest southerners from the burdens of the war, exacerbating class tensions in the Confederacy. (p. 535)

6. Why was the U.S. Congress able to pass such a bold legislative agenda during the war? (p. 537) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Effects of secession:* The secession of eleven states from the Union greatly reduced Democratic power in Congress, enabling Republican lawmakers to pass a more ambitious agenda. (p. 537)

7. Why were the siege of Vicksburg and the battle of Gettysburg crucial to the outcome of the war? (pp. 539–541) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Military implications:* The battle of Vicksburg gave the Union control of the Mississippi River, and divided the Confederacy, undermining their chains of supply. Together, Vicksburg and Gettysburg cost the Confederacy 60,000 soldiers by injury, capture, and death. The Confederacy was unable to make up such losses, but continued to fight earnestly. This kind of costly Union victory was part of Grant's military strategy, which hinged on using the Union's ability to replenish troops to advantage over the Confederate's finite resources. (pp. 539–541)

## Making Connections

1. Despite loathing slavery, Lincoln embraced emancipation as a war objective late and with great caution. Why? In your answer, trace the progression of Lincoln's position, considering how legal, political, military, and moral concerns influenced his policies. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Lincoln's antebellum position on slavery:* Lincoln looked on slavery as a morally compromised system that was harmful to slaves and masters, but accepted that the Constitution protected it in states where it existed. He was, however, deeply opposed to its extension and believed Congress should act to limit its territorial reach, which he anticipated would ultimately contribute to the institution's demise. (p. 524–528)

- *Lincoln's response to secession:* Anxious to forestall secession by the Upper South and the border states, once in office Lincoln took pains to underline his commitment to protecting slavery where it already existed. Both legal and political considerations contributed to this attempt to conciliate proslavery Unionists. Lincoln's primary goal was protection and then restoration of the Union, and he believed that promises to protect slavery would advance this goal. In emphasizing that it was a war for union rather than emancipation, Lincoln was trying to maintain the support of northern voters, most of whom did not support the abolition of slavery. (pp. 525–529)

- *Lincoln's embrace of emancipation:* The actions of slaves and military necessity led Lincoln to take his first steps toward ending slavery. Slaves who fled to Union lines in the South forced commanders on the ground and the president to revise their policy toward slaves. Recognizing the importance of slaves as a labor source for Confederate forces, Lincoln adopted a half measure toward emancipation. The Emancipation Proclamation freed slaves within the Confederacy, strengthening the Union army's employment of ex-slaves, but left it intact within the Union and Union-held territory. He hoped endorsing emancipation as a military necessity would moderate northern opposition. (p. 529)

2. The Emancipation Proclamation did not accomplish the destruction of slavery on its own. How did a war over union bring about the end of slavery? In your answer, consider the direct actions of slaves and Union policy makers, as well as indirect factors within the Confederacy. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on the conflict:* The states that seceded from the Union and formed the Confederacy wanted to protect slavery and insisted secession was a legitimate act. Lincoln tried to protect the Union politically by appealing to unionists in the seceded states and within slave states that had not seceded. He also denied the legality of secession, refusing to engage in the war as a war between nations. Although slavery was always at the heart of the conflict, Lincoln's desire to conciliate unionist southerners, and protect his political base in the North, put union at the center of the conflict. (pp. 513, 524–529)

- *Actions of slaves:* Slaves responded dramatically and rapidly to the prospects for freedom opened up by the Civil War. They forced the Union to move toward

emancipation, and at the same time, deprived the Confederacy of crucial labor. (pp. 529–530, 532–533)

- *Union policy:* Lincoln's attempts to carve out a compromise position on slavery frustrated many Republicans in Congress who pushed more assertive antislavery policies, such as the Confiscation Act, prohibition of slavery in Washington, D.C., and the western territories, and so on. Commanders in the field, such as John Frémont, also pushed toward emancipation, despite Lincoln's best efforts to control federal policy toward slavery. (pp. 527–529)

- *The Confederacy:* The Confederacy's need for soldiers drew population away from the homefront, leaving women and a depleted male population to enforce the discipline on which slavery depended. Slaves responded to these changes and resisted the old forms of labor compulsion. By seceding from the Union, the Confederate states strengthened the Republican Party and nudged the Union toward emancipation. (pp. 530–531, 534–536)

3. In addition to restoring union and destroying slavery, what other significant changes did the war produce on the home front and in the nation's capital? In your answer discuss economic, governmental, and social developments, being attentive to regional variation. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Economic policy:* With reduced Democratic resistance, Republicans used their control of Congress to revolutionize the nation's financial systems by passing legislations like the Legal Tender Act of February 1862 and the National Banking Act in February 1863. (p. 537)

- *Western lands:* The Republican legislature also answered the question of the future of the western territories. It banned slavery in the territories and worked to promote its settlement with incentives like the Homestead Act and the Pacific Railroad Act. (p. 537)

- *Women and the war:* Although women in both the North and the South took up the work men left behind to serve, the home-front economies of the region differed greatly. The war effort impoverished many southerners, while many in the North enjoyed a booming economy. Although those benefits were not shared equally, women in the North took on new forms of employment and in some arenas, such as nursing, became leaders in the profession. (pp. 537–538)

4. Brilliant military strategy alone did not determine the outcome of the war; victory also depended on generating revenue, material mobilization, diplomacy, and politics. In light of these considerations, explain why the Confederacy believed it would succeed, and why it ultimately failed. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Belief in the power of cotton:* Southerners believed that the North's economy was too dependent

on southern cotton to risk a war with the Confederacy. Southerners also expected cotton to ensure that Europe, and especially the naval power, Britain, would be a Confederate ally. (p. 516)

- *Geography and war objectives:* To win, the South had only to wage a defensive war and exhaust the North's willingness to fight. The North had to conquer and subdue a huge expanse of southern land which would entail extensive chains of supply. The South's more limited task added to their optimism about success. (p. 516)

- *Confidence in Confederate military ability:* Southerners believed they had superior ability and a much more powerful reason for fighting—defending their homes. They expected these things to translate into martial advantage. (p. 515)

- *Demographics:* The battles of the Civil War exacted an extraordinary toll on both sides, but significantly, the North had deeper reserves of population from which to fill its armies. Part of Grant's winning military strategy was recognition that the South would be unable to replenish its troops the same way the North could. If the Union was willing to spend enough of its citizens' lives, it would win. The flight of slaves and the disintegration of slavery exacerbated the Confederacy's restricted supply of labor. (pp. 535–536, 544)

- *Material resources:* The North had extraordinary advantages over the South in its resources in population, production capacity, transportation systems, and food supply. These resources ensured that the Union troops and the Northern home front did not endure the kinds of material shortages that sapped the Confederacy. The Confederacy's economic inferiority produced massive inflation and exacted a toll on its citizens. (pp. 516, 531, 536–537)

- *Political dimensions:* Although the task of defending secession at first seemed within the Confederacy's grasp, the political challenges of creating a new nation and sustaining a long war was greater than anticipated. The hardships of war exacerbated the class tensions in the South and siphoned off soldiers unwilling to abandon their families to the dangerously straitened circumstances of war. Jefferson Davis proved an ineffective leader. Lincoln too faced political challenges and dissension, but had considerably more success in managing the military dimensions of the war and, despite his doubts, the political disputes within the Union. (pp. 517, 531, 534–535)

## Confederate Soldiers and Their Slaves (p. 531)

**Reading the Image:** What can we glean from the details in this image about a Confederate soldier's life in the military? Answer would ideally include:

- *Life of a Confederate soldier:* These Confederate soldiers stare unwaveringly into the camera, their countenances expressing a certain resoluteness and conviction. Their faces reflect confidence as well, confidence in their war aims—the preservation of the Southern slave system, made all too clear by the presence of the two slaves in the picture. Yet, despite posing for this picture, all four proud soldiers are dressed casually, even appearing a bit disheveled. Perhaps they had no plan to have a daguerreotype taken on this occasion and so made no preparations as to their attire. More likely, though, these are enlisted men and their attire is their own rather than the uniforms of commissioned officers. The men are dressed for cooler weather, wearing multiple layers: The two soldiers on the outside remain fully buttoned in their overcoats, and the stern one on the left is wrapped in a loosely knotted knit scarf. The Southern war effort, although enthusiastically supported, brought unimagined hardship and want to enlisted men and their families. With the onset of winter and the duration of the Civil War, provisions grew scarce, and men from both armies suffered exposure to the elements. Their hardships aside, these soldiers share simple pleasures: loyalty to a cause, friendship, and a good pipe.

**Connections:** This daguerreotype likely was not taken for any purpose other than to capture the camaraderie of four Southern cavalrymen, yet the inclusion of the two slaves speaks volumes. What are the possible ramifications of slaveholders bringing "body servants" to war? Answer would ideally include:

- *Role of "body servants" in the Civil War:* Slaveholders brought "body servants" with them to war so as not to entirely give up their privileged lifestyles; slaves washed, cooked, and cleaned for their masters, seeing to their needs just as they would have back on the plantation. Although the bond between slave and master could be strong, the presence of slaves on the warfront likely accomplished several other things as well. First, soldiers fortunate enough to bring personal slaves to their military posts may have benefited socially within the ranks; on the plantation or off, "masters" were able to maintain and enforce the Southern class system. Note that in the daguerreotype two of the cavalrymen are *not* flanked by slaves, leaving us to wonder if they were seen by their compatriots with the same regard as the two slaveholders. Second, potential rabble-rousers within the slave population could be kept under close supervision by slaveholders if taken to the front as "body servants"; leaving a

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

rebellious male slave on a plantation surely would have proven too great a danger to property and family. Third, to a Southerner's way of thinking, the portrayal of slaves "gladly" serving their masters even in the face of war would stand as proof to the North of slave loyalty and as an example of the willing dependence of the South's black population on their white masters. However, for the young black men in the daguerreotype, service to their masters in wartime undoubtedly represented an escape from the drudgery of plantation life as well as the potential for escape to Northern lines and eventual freedom.

### **Union Ordinance, Yorktown, Virginia (p. 536)**

**Reading the Image:** What does this image indicate about northern military might in the Civil War? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Abundant resources:* The North's main advantage over the South was access to the large amounts of artillery and resources amassed by the Federal army. This image illustrates the military might of the North as evidenced by the mortars, cannons, and shells lined up and, presumably, ready for transport by the ships docked further down the beach.

**Connections:** What role did the North's industrial power play in its victory in the war? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Economy of the North:* At the time of the Civil War, the North had established an economy reliant on industrial factories and agriculture, while the South's economy was almost entirely dependent on cotton. The abundance of factories in the North made it easier to produce the materials necessary to wage war against the South and provide the supplies needed by the soldiers. The North's control of the railways and of shipping industries also enabled them to cut off the South's access and ability to transport supplies and weaponry, making it more difficult to properly arm the soldiers.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### **Map 15.2 The Civil War, 1861–1862 (p. 519)**

**Reading the Map:** In which states did the Confederacy and the Union each win the most battles in this period? Which side used or followed water routes

most for troop movements and attacks? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Victories:* In 1861 and 1862, the Confederacy won the most battles in Virginia, while the Union won the most battles in Tennessee. The Union invaded both states, but in Virginia, Confederate forces repeatedly turned back their attackers. Only when Confederates tried to invade Maryland and move north did they lose. This defeat occurred at Antietam on September 17, 1862. In the West, Union forces had more success driving into Confederate territory. After capturing Forts Henry and Donelson, U.S. troops defeated a concentrated force of Confederates at Shiloh, Tennessee.

- *Use of water routes:* In both the eastern and western theaters, the Union made more use of water routes than did the Confederacy. Federal ships carried troops down the Chesapeake in a failed effort to capture Richmond in 1862. In the West, Union soldiers marched down riverbanks that served as highways into the Confederate interior. In perhaps their greatest victory in 1862, a Union fleet attacking up the Mississippi River captured New Orleans, Louisiana.

**Connections:** Which major cities in the South and West fell to Union troops in 1862? Which strategic area did those Confederate losses place in Union hands? How did this outcome affect the later movement of troops and supplies? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Cities and strategic land gained by the Union in 1862:* In 1862, the Union captured Memphis and New Orleans, two major Confederate cities along the Mississippi River. These victories placed much of the Mississippi River in Union hands.

- *Affect on Confederate strategy:* As these cities were shipment points for commerce along the river, by controlling them federal troops could prevent Confederates from using the Mississippi to move soldiers and supplies. Control of these cities also enabled the Union to use the Mississippi as a highway for their own troops and supplies being carried to the western theater. New Orleans was especially valuable because it opened a new front in the South that could be supplied via the sea. Both Memphis and New Orleans could serve as Union bases for organizing a campaign to take control of the entire Mississippi and thereby separate the Confederate states west of the river from those to the east.

### **Map 15.3 The Civil War, 1863–1865 (p. 541)**

**Reading the Map:** Describe the difference between Union and Confederate naval capacity. Were the battles shown on the map fought primarily in Union-controlled or Confederate-controlled territory? (Look

at the land areas on the map) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Union vs. Confederate navy:* The North's navy was the one branch of the Union military that was in fairly good shape when the war broke out in 1861: There were three dozen ships in service, and most of the officers and men were Unionists. A major prong of the Union strategy rested on a naval blockade of southern ports, which would make it impossible for the Confederacy to ship its cotton overseas to pay for supplies. By the end of the war, the U.S. navy was commissioning a new blockader almost weekly. Southerners attempted to counter the vastly superior Union navy by experimenting with a new type of ship—the ironclad warship. However, the Union quickly produced its own, rendering the southern advantage temporary.

- *Affect of the Union Blockade:* By 1865, the Union blockade covered almost the entire southern coastline from Louisiana, around Florida, and all the way up to North Carolina. The blockade helped the Union maintain control of nearly half of the South's coastal areas, and as a result the majority of the battles of the war took place in Confederate-controlled territories.

**Connections:** Did former slaves serve in the Civil War? If so, on which side(s), and what did they do? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Slaves in service:* Almost all the former slaves fought with the Union army. About 100,000 former slaves fought as soldiers in the Union army over the course of the Civil War. Black Union soldiers proved to be ferocious fighters. They suffered a casualty rate proportionally higher than that of white troops, and they played a crucial role in the Union victory and the destruction of the slave system. Many thousands of runaways were employed less directly as well; Union commanders often defined fugitives as "contraband" and used them to perform various kinds of labor in army camps.

back to chapter 14 and recount the factionalization of the Democratic Party and Lincoln's success in winning the 1860 presidential election. Using Map 15.1, "Secession, 1860–1861" (p. 514), explain why the first seven southern states seceded and what steps President Buchanan and president-elect Lincoln took to stop the nation from rupturing. Next, describe the significance of the federal base in Charleston harbor and what effect the fight over it had on the southern states. Discuss why four border slave states did not secede. Address the anticipated misconception that the South was a united front throughout the war by discussing disagreements over secession, disgust with conscription, and rejection of disunion by many geographic subsections of the South. Bring the North into the picture by reemphasizing how Lincoln kept the loyal slave states from seceding by avoiding any talk about emancipation and by suppressing civil liberties when he thought he could get away with it. Next, quickly discuss the campaigns of 1861 and 1862, using Map 15.2, "The Civil War, 1861–1862" (p. 519), to show why action in the western theater proved decisive. Be certain to mention Vicksburg and Gettysburg together as the turning point in the war, referring to the spot maps of the battles. Then, using Map 15.3, "The Civil War, 1863–1865" (p. 541), explain how Grant, with Sherman and Sheridan, perfected a "scorched-earth" policy to convince a defiant South that it was truly defeated. Discuss William T. Sherman's explanation of "the Hard Hand of War" to emphasize the psychological nature of northern strategy.

Be sure to point out that northern and southern strategies differed in many ways. Both sides thought they would win the war quickly, but the devastation of the earliest battles convinced leaders that the war could be won only after a long campaign. The South thought it could outwait the North and force it to accept the South's departure from the Union as northern resolve wavered. This war of attrition, southern leaders thought, would bring in European allies for the South and would dishearten the North with its many divided loyalties. Discuss the failure of King Cotton diplomacy, and ask whether the South accurately assessed the mood of the North. Also, appraise the degree to which the Union's blockade of the South hampered its war effort. The North chose to expand its army and increase the production of war materiel as necessary to obtain its objective. By 1863, the North accepted Grant's strategy of destroying as much of the South as possible in order to destroy the South's ability and desire to wage war. Use the feature *Historical Question: "Why Did So Many Soldiers Die?"* (pp. 542–543) to convey to students that the carnage of the Civil War was much higher than that of previous wars as a result of battles fought with outdated tactics and modern guns.

## Lecture Strategies

See also the maps and images for presentation in "Additional Resources for Chapter 15."

### LECTURE 1

#### *Chronology and Strategy*

This lecture introduces students to the Civil War, emphasizing its chronology and the strategies pursued by both sides. Start with the process of secession; refer

## LECTURE 2

### Total War

This lecture explores the newness of modern warfare and shows how the Civil War was the first “total war.” Begin by drawing on the section “And the War Came” (pp. 513–515) to describe how Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis each had to organize and gear his country for war. Explore how the productive means of each section became critical to the war effort and why the North had a clear advantage in both materiel and personnel. Suggest to students that, beginning with the Civil War and continuing into the present, war has involved entire societies, not just armies in the field. Show how, when southern Democrats abandoned the Congress, the Republican agenda centralized much of the economic decision-making process in the United States and, accordingly, increased the power of the national government. List and explain the features of that agenda, and conclude with the financial instruments created by Congress at that time. Address the anticipated misconception regarding the recent development of deficit spending at this point, and show how it made maximum northern mobilization possible.

Next, discuss the human side of the war. Ask students to consider the often competing pulls of home and country. How did those on the home front and those on the front line negotiate conflicting forces? Return to the feature *Historical Question*: “Why Did So Many Soldiers Die?” (pp. 542–543), and explain how technological advances in armaments and reliance on outdated military tactics produced significantly larger numbers of casualties in the Civil War than in any other war in American history. Discuss why so many of the wounded died, focusing primarily on the lack of medical knowledge.

Because of the loss of men, both sides instituted the draft for the first time in American history. Explain how the conscription laws worked and how they divided both northern and southern societies along class lines. Then, moving to the question of gender, ask about the role of women in the war: How did life change for those serving as nurses and those working at home while the men were away? You might ask students to consider what the war “promised” women on the home front. What expectations did they have? End the lecture with an explanation of why Lincoln refused to let the war interfere with the country’s electoral process and how the election of 1864 turned out.

## LECTURE 3

### The Crucible of Race

This lecture covers the evolution of northern policy regarding African Americans. Be prepared to deal

with students who maintain that slavery was not the central issue that caused the war. Look back to the chapter’s opening vignette about runaway slave William Gould to see how African Americans realized from the start that the war would affect slavery. Ask students to think about the ways in which African Americans interpreted the war as the means by which the Union could fulfill the “promise” of America. Show how and why Lincoln’s policy toward emancipation changed. Explain how events taking place outside the control of the federal government necessitated the reevaluation of what to do about slavery. Thousands of slaves freed themselves and flocked to the Union cause. Ask students to consider that slaves had both the means and the desire to affect their own destiny. Discuss the actions Congress took to liberate the slaves legally, despite Lincoln’s reticence. Be sure to cover who each of the acts and proclamations actually freed.

Ask students how both sides used African Americans in the early stages of the war. Note that the Confederate military could not have fielded the army the way it did without using slaves for menial work, thereby freeing up white men for fighting. The North originally began using free black volunteers in the same way, but African Americans wanted to prove their worthiness for freedom on the battlefield and pushed to be allowed to fight. Here, you may want to refer students to the photograph of the Guard Detail of the 107th U.S. Colored Infantry on page 533. Segregated units arose in the Union army, with black soldiers and white officers all thrown into some of the fiercest battles of the war. Discuss how racial prejudice affected the outcomes and punishments meted out by courts martial for black soldiers. How did immigrants react to conscription to fight to free the slaves? Discuss how African American valor in service to the country affected the way in which white Americans viewed blacks at the end of the war.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. Slavery Was Not the Central Issue That Caused the Civil War

One of the most common misconceptions brought into the first half of the American history survey is that the Civil War was about economics, philosophical differences, or political culture—anything but slavery. But when pushed to explain the differences between North and South, students should eventually see that slavery was at the root of every major difference they may propose. Point out that the economic differences stemmed from the North’s increasing efforts to diversify the economy based on free labor, while the South’s staple

crop, agriculture, remained based on slave labor. Southerners championed states' rights (largely a "lost cause" explanation not used in the immediate prewar environment) because it protected slavery. Cultural differences can be traced to the existence or absence of slavery in the two sections. Southern wariness of an active federal government that "interfered" in local politics stemmed from the concern that it would dismantle slavery. Southerners similarly worried about a loosely interpreted Constitution; although Southerners maintained that the Constitution protected slavery, they feared that Northerners had a corrupt understanding of the document. Many students learned history based on an interpretation that took Southerners' words at face value: Their avoidance of mentioning slavery meant that it was not a cause. Correct this interpretation by directing students back to slavery.

## 2. Each Section Was Completely United in Its Defiance of the Other's Actions

Each section was divided over the issues of secession and war. In the North, Lincoln suppressed the legal government of Maryland because it would have prompted secession. He also suppressed free speech and jailed antiwar agitators, whom he and his party called "Copperheads," in order to bolster the war effort. Most of the suppressions took place in border states—states with close ties to the South. In the South, Unionists opposed the war and aided the Union army whenever possible. Large portions of the Appalachian upcountry, primarily in western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee, experienced real civil war as neighbor killed neighbor over a difference of loyalties, with the Unionists finally winning the upper hand. At least one county in northern Alabama seceded from the state to protest Alabama's secession from the Union. Texas executed more than one hundred Unionists in Galveston after a hasty trial, while Missouri, Arkansas, Alabama, and the Carolinas continued a legacy of extralegal executions through bushwhacking opponents. Class divided both North and South as well, as the conscription laws operated to give the wealthy a legal means of dodging the draft. In the North, a man needed to pay only \$300 to avoid the draft. A Southerner could opt out by proving that he oversaw twenty or more slaves or worked in an industry essential to the war effort. In both sections, wealth or skill was a man's ticket out of the deadly fray. And thus the war came to be called "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight," as it was perceived that the wealthy would benefit from government investments in war production, but would take very little part in actual battle.

## 3. The Federal Government Did Not Begin Deficit Spending until FDR and the Great Depression

Students are frequently "presentist." They believe that government spending, being a perennial argument in

the politics of their own lives, could not have historical roots. Yet one need only look at the financing of every war the United States has fought to see that government rarely has the money available to finance a war effort. During the Revolutionary War, the states that provided funds to the Continental army borrowed the money or printed "fiat" money, both of which caused high rates of inflation. The War of 1812 caught the U.S. government without proper financial instruments for borrowing and transporting the large sums needed to field large armies. Thus, after the war, those responsible for its management spearheaded a campaign to create those instruments: They created the Bank of the United States and funded internal improvements. The war with Mexico also required the United States to borrow from its own citizens, with a promise to pay them back. The Civil War, however, institutionalized that process, as it required a much higher order of spending to achieve its ends. Modern warfare is expensive and requires more money in a short period of time than can be garnered through normal taxation. Both the U.S. and the Confederate governments sold bonds, raised taxes, and issued soft money for which they had no specie backing. Deficit spending—meaning spending more than the government takes in—is not a recent phenomenon in American history.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

Ken Burns's acclaimed series *The Civil War* works well in the classroom. Consider showing, "The Universe of Battle—1863," episode 5, which covers the transformative role that the battles of Gettysburg and Vicksburg had on the outcome of the war as well as African Americans' and women's wartime participation. You might also want to show a segment from the biographical documentary *Frederick Douglass: When the Lion Wrote History*, distributed by PBS Video, which covers the influential leader's wartime activities. The 1989 Hollywood film *Glory*, which tells the story of the famed Massachusetts 54th Regiment, also works well in the classroom.

### Class Discussion Starters

To underscore the central importance of slavery to the Civil War, ask students if they think the Union would have won had Lincoln not issued the Emancipation Proclamation. What if the North maintained throughout the entire course of the war that it was fighting to preserve the Union rather than to free the slaves? Even if the Union had won without this pivotal

transformation, what would the “reconstructed” Union have looked like had slavery persisted?

### Historical Debates

Have students debate whether a democratic government has the right to suspend civil liberties during national emergencies. Remind students of the positions they took when discussing the Alien and Sedition Acts of the Adams administration. What are the differences between peacetime and wartime society? Do the exigencies of war absolve the government for its actions? What threats, legitimate or perceived, did Clement Vallandigham pose to the Union war effort? Did the suspension of habeas corpus aid the Union war effort? In what ways did the stifling of free speech in the Confederacy affect its war efforts?

## Additional Resources for Chapter 15

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 15 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 15.1: Secession, 1860–1861 (p. 514)
- Map 15.2: The Civil War, 1861–1862 (p. 519)
- Map 15.3: The Civil War, 1863–1865 (p. 541)
- Map 15.4: The Election of 1864 (p. 544)
- Global Comparison: European Cotton Imports, 1860–1870 (p. 525)
- Confederate Soldiers and Their Slaves (p. 531)
- Doctor’s Surgical Kit (p. 543)

#### Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 15 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 15.1: Secession, 1860–1861 (p. 514)
- Map 15.2: The Civil War, 1861–1862 (p. 519)
- Map 15.3: The Civil War, 1863–1865 (p. 541)
- Map 15.4: The Election of 1864 (p. 544)
- Global Comparison: European Cotton Imports, 1860–1870 (p. 525)
- Figure 15.1: Resources of the Union and Confederacy (p. 516)

- Figure 15.2: Civil War Deaths (p. 542)
- Excavating for a New Junction at Devereux Station, Virginia (p. 517)
- Minié Ball (p. 518)
- The Dead at Antietam (p. 521)
- Human Contraband (p. 528)
- Confederate Soldiers and Their Slaves (p. 531)
- Union Ordinance, Yorktown, Virginia (p. 536)
- Wounded Men at Savage’s Station (p. 543)
- Richmond, Virginia, 1865 (p. 547)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 15 include:

- *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War: Selected Writings and Speeches*, by Michael P. Johnson
- “Hospital Sketches” by Louisa May Alcott, edited with an introduction by Alice Fahs
- *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents*, by Thomas J. Brown

### For Students

#### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 15 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- President Lincoln’s War Aims: *Letter to Horace Greeley*, August 22, 1862; *The Emancipation Proclamation*, January 1, 1863; The Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863
- A Former Slave’s War Aims: *Statement from an Anonymous Former Slave*, New Orleans, 1863
- The New York Draft Riots: *Report of the Committee of Merchants for the Relief of Colored People Suffering from the Late Riots in the City of New York*, 1863
- A Virginia Woman Confronts Union Foragers: Nancy Emerson, *Diary*, 1864
- General William T. Sherman Explains the Hard Hand of War, *Correspondence*, 1864

**Online Study Guide at  
[bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)**

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 15:

**Map Activities**

- Map 15.2: The Civil War, 1861–1862 (p. 519)
- Map 15.3: The Civil War, 1863–1865 (p. 541)

**Visual Activities**

- Confederate Soldiers and Their Slaves (p. 531)
- Union Ordinance, Yorktown, Virginia (p. 536)

**CHAPTER**  
**16**

# Reconstruction

## 1863–1877

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### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. What were the challenges and controversies facing efforts at reconstruction even before the end of the war?

2. What was President Johnson's plan for reconstruction? How was it similar to and different from Lincoln's plan?

3. What was the significance of the Fourteenth Amendment, and why did President Johnson advise southern states not to adopt it? What were the terms of radical reconstruction and the advent of military rule in the South?

4. Why did some in Congress think Johnson should be impeached, and why was he able to stay in office? What were the provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment, and why were some women's rights advocates dissatisfied with it?

5. How did congressional reconstruction alter political and everyday life in the South? Why did the North abandon reconstruction in the South? What was the effect of Grant's troubled presidency on this abandonment, and why did white supremacy triumph in the South?

3. His Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, which included full pardons for rebels willing to renounce secession and accept the abolition of slavery, angered abolitionists, who thought that the president was making a mockery of African Americans' freedom.
4. Congressman Henry Winter Davis and Senator Benjamin Wade sponsored a bill that demanded that at least half of the voters in a conquered rebel state take an oath of allegiance to the United States before reconstruction could begin, prohibited ex-Confederates from participating in the drafting of new state constitutions and also guaranteed the equality of freedmen before the law.
5. Lincoln refused to sign the Wade-Davis bill into law and proceeded to nurture the formation of loyal state governments under his own plan.
6. Lincoln endorsed suffrage for southern blacks for the first time in April, 1865, only four days before his assassination.

B. Land and Labor

1. The most critical of all of the problems raised by the North's victory was the South's transition from slavery to free labor.
2. The question of what to do with federally occupied land and how to organize labor on it engaged former slaves, former slaveholders, Union military commanders, and federal government officials long before the war ended.
3. Up and down the Mississippi Valley, occupying federal troops announced a new labor code that required slaveholders

### Annotated Chapter Outline

I. Wartime Reconstruction

A. "To Bind Up the Nation's Wounds"

1. President Lincoln's second inaugural address suggested that deep compassion for the enemy guided his thinking about peace.
2. Lincoln's plan for reconstruction, issued in December 1863, was designed primarily to shorten the war and end slavery.

- to sign contracts with ex-slaves, agreeing to pay them wages and to provide food, housing, and medical care.
4. Planters complained because the new system fell short of slavery, yet African Americans found the new regime to be too reminiscent of slavery to be called free labor.
  5. In January 1865, General William T. Sherman set aside part of the coastal land south of Charleston for black settlement.
  6. In March 1865, Congress passed a bill establishing the Freedmen's Bureau, which distributed food and clothing to destitute Southerners and eased the transition of blacks from slaves to free persons.
  7. Despite the flurry of activity, wartime reconstruction failed to produce agreement about whether the president or Congress had the authority to devise and direct policy or what proper policy should be.
- C. The African American Quest for Autonomy
1. Ex-slaves never had any doubt about what they wanted freedom to mean—all the rights they were forbidden during their enslavement.
  2. Whites contended that without the discipline of slavery, blacks would revert to their “natural” condition: lazy, irresponsible, and wild.
  3. Nevertheless, freedmen did not easily give up on their quest for economic independence, aspiration to restore their family life, desire for literacy, and freedom of independent worship.
- II. Presidential Reconstruction**
- A. Johnson's Program of Reconciliation
1. Andrew Johnson, the only senator from a Confederate state to remain loyal to the Union, held the planter class responsible for secession, but despite his antiplanter sentiment, he was no friend of the Republicans; Johnson had been a slaveowner and was a steadfast defender of slavery, only begrudgingly accepting emancipation.
  2. Johnson's plan for reconstruction was in many ways a continuation of Lincoln's plan; he stressed reconciliation between the Union and the defeated Confederacy, rapid restoration of civil government in the South, and the pardoning of most ex-rebels.
3. Johnson's plan differed from Lincoln's in response to restoring the governments of the rebel states; he only required the states' citizens to renounce the right of secession, refuse to disown their Confederate war debts, and ratify the Thirteenth Amendment.
  4. Johnson's eagerness to normalize relations with southern states and his lack of sympathy for blacks led him to instruct military and government officials to return to pardoned ex-Confederates all confiscated and abandoned land, even if it was in the hands of freedmen.
- B. White Southern Resistance and Black Codes
1. In the summer of 1865, delegates across the South gathered to draw up the new state constitutions required by Johnson's plan of reconstruction.
  2. The delegates balked at the president's mild terms of peace and began to think that they, and not the victorious Northerners, would shape reconstruction.
  3. State governments across the South adopted a series of laws known as black codes, which sought to keep blacks subordinate to whites by subjecting blacks to every sort of discrimination and attempting to limit them to farmwork or domestic service.
  4. President Johnson refused to intervene and personally pardoned 14,000 wealthy or high-ranking ex-Confederates, and he accepted the new southern state governments even when they failed to satisfy his minimal demands for readmittance to the Union.
  5. In the elections that took place in the fall of 1865, white Southerners chose former Confederates, not loyal Unionists, to represent them in Congress.
- C. Expansion of Federal Authority and Black Rights
1. Southerners miscalculated by assuming that the Republicans in office would be so quick to accept everything that Andrew Johnson accepted.
  2. The black codes, which became a symbol of southern intentions to “restore all of slavery but its name,” soured moderate Republicans who still remained distrustful of the ex-Confederates.
  3. Moderates represented the mainstream of the Republican Party and did not champion black equality, but wanted

- assurance that slavery and treason were dead.
4. In December 1865, when southern congressional representatives arrived in Washington, it became clear that southern obstinacy had succeeded in forging unity among Republican factions.
  5. Moderate Republicans took the lead, declaring that the president's policy was wrongheaded and drafted two bills strengthening the federal shield of protection for the newly emancipated.
  6. Johnson vetoed the first bill, an extension of the Freedmen's Bureau, and Congress failed to override the veto by a narrow margin.
  7. Johnson's veto galvanized nearly unanimous Republican support for the moderates' second measure, the Civil Rights Act, which nullified the Black Codes.
  8. Johnson again vetoed the bill; this time Congress had enough votes to override the president's veto.
  9. Congress also submitted another bill to extend the life of the Freedmen's Bureau and successfully overrode the president's veto.

### III. Congressional Reconstruction

- A. The Fourteenth Amendment and Escalating Violence
  1. In June 1866, Congress passed the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution; two years later it gained the necessary ratification of three-fourths of the states.
  2. The most important provisions of this complex amendment made all native-born or naturalized persons American citizens and prohibited states from abridging the "privileges or immunities" of citizens, depriving them of "life, liberty, or property without due process of law," and denying them "equal protection of the laws."
  3. The Fourteenth Amendment also dealt with voting rights, giving Congress the authority to reduce the congressional representation of any state that withheld suffrage from some of its adult male population.
  4. Republicans stood to benefit from the Fourteenth Amendment, either by gaining black votes or by lessening representation for southern Democrats who rejected black suffrage.

5. The suffrage provisions in the amendment completely ignored the small band of politicized and energized women who had emerged from the war demanding access to the ballot.
  6. The Fourteenth Amendment dashed women's expectations by introducing the word "male" into the Constitution and providing for punishment of any state that excluded voters on the basis of race but not on the basis of sex.
  7. Johnson advised southern states to reject the Fourteenth Amendment and to rely on him to trounce Republicans in the fall congressional elections.
  8. Johnson decided to make the Fourteenth Amendment the overriding issue of the 1866 congressional elections, gathering the amendment's white opponents into a new conservative party, the National Union Party.
  9. Johnson's strategy suffered a setback when whites in several southern cities went on rampages against blacks, shocking Northerners and renewing skepticism about Johnson's claim that southern whites could be trusted.
  10. The 1866 election resulted in an overwhelming Republican victory, retaining its three-to-one congressional majority over the Democrats.
- B. Radical Reconstruction and Military Rule
    1. The elections of 1866 should have taught southern whites the folly of trusting Andrew Johnson; Johnson continued to urge the rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment, and every southern state except Tennessee voted it down.
    2. Each act of defiance by southern whites boosted the standing of the radicals within the Republican Party.
    3. In March 1867, Congress overturned the Johnson-approved southern state governments and initiated military rule of the South.
    4. The Military Reconstruction Act (and three subsequent acts) divided the ten unreconstructed Confederate states into five military districts and placed a Union general in charge of each district to oversee political reform, which included the drawing up of new state constitutions guaranteeing black suffrage.
    5. When the voters of each state had approved the constitution and the state

- legislature had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, the state could submit its work to Congress.
6. Radicals proclaimed the provision for black suffrage a triumph, but despite its bold suffrage provision, the Military Reconstruction Act of 1867 disappointed those who advocated the confiscation and redistribution of southern plantations to ex-slaves.
  7. Johnson vetoed the Military Reconstruction Act; however, Congress overrode his veto on the very same day, thus dramatizing the shift in power from the executive branch to the legislative branch of government.
- C. Impeaching a President
1. Despite his legislative defeats, Andrew Johnson had no intention of yielding control of reconstruction and worked actively to encourage southern white resistance and to undermine Republicans' efforts.
  2. Radicals sought to impeach Johnson for abuse of constitutional powers and failure to fulfill constitutional obligations, but moderates refused to pursue impeachment unless Johnson had violated a criminal statute.
  3. In August 1867, Johnson violated the Tenure of Office Act by dismissing Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton without the Senate's approval, and news of this defiance convinced every Republican in the House to vote for a resolution impeaching the president.
  4. Impeachment forces in the Senate fell one vote short of the two-thirds needed to convict.
  5. Johnson survived, but for the remaining ten months of his term, congressional reconstruction proceeded unhindered by presidential interference.
- D. The Fifteenth Amendment and Women's Demands
1. In February 1869, Republicans passed the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting states from depriving any citizen of the right to vote because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.
  2. Rather than absolutely guaranteeing the right to vote, the amendment merely prohibited exclusion on grounds of race, leaving disenfranchisement open by other means.
  3. Woman suffrage advocates were sorely disappointed by the Fifteenth Amendment's failure to extend voting rights to women, and as a result, the Fifteenth Amendment severed the early feminist movement from its abolitionist roots.
- IV. The Struggle in the South**
- A. Freedmen, Yankees, and Yeomen
1. After 1867, the Republican party was made up of African Americans, nearly all of whom registered as Republicans, Northern whites who decided to make the South their home after the war and Southern whites, about one out of four white Southerners—typically yeoman farmers.
  2. The mix of races, regions, and classes in this improbable coalition meant friction as each group maneuvered to define the party.
  3. Activity on behalf of Republicans took courage, and violence against blacks—the “white terror”—took brutal institutional form in 1866 with the formation of the Ku Klux Klan.
- B. Republican Rule
1. In the fall of 1867, southern states held elections for delegates to state constitutional conventions and three-fourths of the seats were won by Republicans.
  2. The reconstruction constitutions introduced two broad categories of changes in the South: those that reduced aristocratic privilege and increased democratic equality, and those that expanded the state's responsibility for the general welfare.
  3. Forward-looking state constitutions provided blueprints for a new South but stopped short of the specific reforms, such as land redistribution or the banning of former Confederates from politics, advocated by some southern Republicans.
  4. Democrats were blind to the limits of the Republican program and instead saw a revolution; in almost every state, voters ratified the new constitutions and swept Republicans (most of them white) into power.
  5. Republican activity focused on three major areas—education, civil rights, and economic development; each state inaugurated a system of public education, attacked racial discrimination, and defended civil rights as well as launching ambitious programs of economic development.

6. The southern Republican record was mixed; its biracial party took up an ambitious agenda to change the South but was infected by corruption, which ultimately limited its success.
- C. White Landlords, Black Sharecroppers
1. In the countryside, clashes occurred daily between ex-slaves who wished to take control of their working lives and ex-masters who wanted to reinstitute old ways.
  2. Ex-slaves resisted every effort by former masters to reestablish forced labor.
  3. Although forced to return to the planters' fields, freedmen resisted efforts to restore slavelike conditions.
  4. Sharecropping was a compromise that offered both ex-masters and ex-slaves something, but satisfied neither.
  5. Sharecropping also introduced a new figure, the country merchant, into the agricultural equation.
- V. Reconstruction Collapses
- A. Grant's Troubled Presidency
1. In 1868, the Republican Party's presidential nomination went to Ulysses S. Grant, who narrowly won the popular vote but gained a substantial victory in the electoral college.
  2. Grant hoped to forge a policy that would secure both sectional reconciliation and justice for blacks.
  3. Anti-Grant Republicans grew disgusted with the corruption that plagued the president's administration, and in 1872 launched the Liberty Party which supported the end of the spoils system and the removal of the federal government from the South.
  4. The nation still felt enormous affection for the man who had saved the Union, and in 1872 Grant won reelection with 56 percent of the popular vote.
  5. Grant's administration was not without accomplishments, but the president's great passion for foreign policy—the annexation of Santo Domingo in the Caribbean—ended in failure.
- B. Northern Resolve Withers
1. Grant understood that most Northerners increasingly wanted to shift their attention from reconstruction to other issues, especially after the nation slipped into a devastating economic depression in 1873.
  2. Congress also wanted to leave reconstruction behind, but southern Republicans continued to press for the protection of blacks from Southern violence, eventually winning the passage of three laws, including the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871 and the Civil Rights Act of 1875.
- C. White Supremacy Triumphs
1. Republican state and local governments in the South attracted more bitterness and hatred than any other political regimes in American history.
  2. By the early 1870s, Democrats understood that race was their most potent weapon; they adopted a strategy to overthrow Republican state governments by polarizing the parties around color and by gathering white voters into the Democratic Party, leaving the Republicans to depend on blacks.
  3. To dislodge whites from the Republican Party, Democrats fanned the flames of racial prejudice and exploited the severe economic plight of small white farmers by blaming it on Republican financial policies.
  4. If racial pride, social isolation, and Republican financial policies proved insufficient to drive yeomen from the Republican Party, Democrats turned to terrorism.
  5. The second prong of Democratic strategy—intimidation of black voters and local political leaders—proved equally devastating and by 1876, only three Republican state governments—in Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina—survived.
- D. An Election and a Compromise
1. The centennial year of 1876 witnessed one of the most tumultuous elections in American history.

2. The Democrats nominated New York's reform governor, Samuel J. Tilden, who immediately targeted the corruption of the Grant administration and the despotism of Republican reconstruction; the Republican Party nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, governor of Ohio.
3. Tilden fell one vote short of securing a victory in the electoral college, but the electoral votes of Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina remained in doubt because both Republicans and Democrats in those states claimed victory.
4. Congress had to decide who actually won the elections in these states and the Constitution provided no guidance.
5. The impasse was broken when negotiations behind the scenes between Hayes's lieutenants and some moderate southern Democrats resulted in an informal understanding known as the Compromise of 1877; in exchange for his election to the presidency, Hayes agreed to provide the south with substantial federal subsidies and to withdraw federal troops from the South.
6. The last three Republican state governments in the South fell quickly once Hayes abandoned them and withdrew the U.S. army; Reconstruction came to an end.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 16, the *Questions for Analysis* and *Debate* at the end of the *Documenting the American Promise* feature, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* questions included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 16.

## Review Questions

1. Why did Congress object to Lincoln's wartime plan for reconstruction? (p. 555) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Description of Lincoln's plan:* In the December 1863 Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, Lincoln laid out his plan for reconstruction. He proposed a generous pardon for rebels willing to

renounce secession and to accept emancipation. He required that only 10 percent of the voting population take the loyalty oath before the state could organize its own government. His plan did not specify that social or political rights or assistance should be extended to freedmen. (p. 555)

- *Jurisdictional dispute:* Congress and the president differed over who had jurisdiction over the crafting of reconstruction. Congress held that it was a matter of establishing law, their domain. (p. 555)

- *Differing objectives:* Congress and the president had different primary objectives in their approaches to reconstruction. Lincoln's primary goal was to hasten the reestablishment of Union and his plan was therefore intended to encourage a quick end to the war and abolition of slavery. Members of Congress wanted a clearer guarantee of freedpeople's rights and assurances that whites returned to power in the seceded states would be loyal. They objected to Lincoln's plans for reconstruction as overly lenient toward whites, and overly quiet on the central question of black rights. (p. 555)

2. How did the North respond to the passage of black codes in the southern states? (pp. 562–564) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Description of black codes:* Black codes were discriminatory laws intended to keep ex-slaves subordinate to whites. Ex-slaves were prohibited from owing guns, serving on a jury, voting, and, in some states like Mississippi, from using specific language deemed offensive by whites. The Codes also highly restricted labor opportunities for blacks, requiring them to pay high taxes, have written proof of employment, and even bound some black children to white planters. (p. 562)

- *Northern response to the Black Codes:* The intransigence of southern whites led even moderate northerners to object strenuously. The Republican Party unified in response to the codes and the election of Confederate leaders to Congress. They refused to seat the southern representatives and they challenged Johnson's executive power in matters of reconstruction. (p. 564)

3. Why did Johnson urge southern states to reject the Fourteenth Amendment? (pp. 565, 568) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment:* The complex amendment made black Americans national citizens, thereby providing a national guarantee of equality before the law and insulation against the actions of southern states. It also gave Congress power to reduce the federal representation of states that abridged citizens' voting rights, potentially weakening the political clout of southern states. (p. 565)

• *Johnson's leadership:* Johnson saw the amendment as a threat to white supremacy, states' rights, and the southern voice in national politics. Johnson urged southern states to reject the amendment because he believed he would be able to rally conservative white opposition to its provisions in the upcoming elections and effectively rout the Republican Party. (pp. 565, 568)

4. Why was the Republican Party in the South a coalition party? (pp. 572–573) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *African American voters:* The southern Republican Party was home to diverse groups. The African American voters, newly enfranchised through the efforts of the Republican Party, supported the party, which they hoped would continue to protect their interests. (pp. 572–573)

- *Northerners in the South:* Northerners who moved south after the war hoping to participate in the economic reconstruction of the region also supported the Republican Party. (p. 573)

- *Southern white Republicans:* Some Southerners, especially yeomen, had remained steadfast supporters of union throughout the war. Many of these voters emerged as supporters of the Republican Party. (p. 573)

- *Opposition:* The majority of the white population in the South opposed the Republican Party and scorned its supporters. The Republican Party therefore needed a coalition of supporters to resist the large population of opponents, especially when their resistance became violent. (p. 573)

5. How did the Supreme Court undermine the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments? (pp. 582–583) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Slaughterhouse Cases (1873):* The U.S. Supreme Court's decision in these cases weakened the Fourteenth Amendment's ability to protect black southerners when state governments undermined their civil rights through law. The Court determined that the Fourteenth Amendment protected only those rights that stemmed from the federal government, and further, that most rights derived from the state. (pp. 582–583)

- *United States v. Cruikshank (1876):* In this case the Court determined that the reconstruction amendments had empowered Congress to legislate only against state discrimination. In deciding that Congress had no jurisdiction to address acts of discrimination by individuals, it gave states the prerogative to handle problems such as local violence. (p. 582)

- *Overall implication:* By issuing decisions that narrowed Congressional jurisdiction, the court undermined the legal foundation of reconstruction. (pp. 582–583)

## Making Connections

1. Reconstruction succeeded in advancing black civil rights but failed to secure them over the long term. Why and how did the federal government retreat from defending African Americans' civil rights in the 1870s? In your answer, cite specific actions by Congress and the Supreme Court. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Objectives of reconstruction:* Like Lincoln, many northerners expected the primary function of reconstruction to be the revitalization of union. It was only the unrepentant intransigence of white southerners that led them to accept that the protection of black civil rights was a necessary component of reconstruction. These objectives of union and black freedom coincided for a time, but could also be severed. (p. 564)

- *Loss of will:* The North grew tired of the demands of reconstruction and became increasingly consumed with other challenges, like the depression of 1873. At the same time, the reformers who had been prominent in the Republican Party at the start of reconstruction began to give way to more pragmatic business-oriented leaders. The party's power and Grant's initial popularity and lack of political skill also contributed to corruption. (p. 582)

- *Actions by the Court:* In decisions like the Slaughterhouse cases and United States v. Cruikshank, the court narrowed Congress's powers in preference of state governments, thereby undermining the legal foundation for federal action to protect black southerners' rights. (p. 582)

- *Actions of southern Democrats:* Campaigning on an explicitly racist platform, and blaming the Republican Party for southern financial woes, the Democrats drained the southern Republican Party of white support. They also employed terrorism in their efforts to dislodge Republicans. The Redeemers' success in the South further weakened Northern resolve to support reconstruction. (pp. 583–585)

- *Election of 1876:* This election brought the federal program of reconstruction to a close. Congress had to determine the winner in the extremely close election between Republican Rutherford B. Hayes and Democrat Samuel J. Tilden. The outcome—the election of Hayes—was the result of an agreement known as the Compromise of 1877 wherein Democrats promised to accept Hayes's inauguration and to deal fairly with the freedmen, while Hayes promised to withdraw military support of Republican regimes in the South and to give the region federal subsidies for internal improvements. (pp. 585–586)

2. Why was distributing plantation land to former slaves such a controversial policy? In your

answer, discuss why landownership was important to freedmen and why Congress rejected redistribution as a general policy. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Freedmen and land:* Freedmen wanted land because they believed it would be the basis of economic independence and freedom from the intrusions of masters. They also believed they had earned rights to it by virtue of their years of uncompensated labor. (pp. 557, 579)

- *Experiments in land distribution:* The Union gained control of vast expanses of land in the South during the war, and considered the legal and political problem of what would happen to the land after the war. Following Congressional authorization, Union forces had placed thousands of ex-slaves on plots of land, and raised the possibility of conveying the land to them permanently if law would permit. Property rights were a fundamental expectation. (pp. 556–557)

- *Actions of Johnson:* President Johnson began his administration of reconstruction by calling for the return of confiscated land to their antebellum owners. (p. 562)

- *Radical Reconstruction:* Although Congress's retort to Johnson's lenient reconstruction policies, the Military Reconstruction Act, called for the military administration of the former Confederate states and black suffrage, it did not include the distribution of land to ex-slaves. Although some Republicans had pushed confiscation and distribution, the majority of northern Republicans held that suffrage and equal legal rights was all that freedpeople were due. (pp. 568–570)

3. At the end of the Civil War, it remained to be seen exactly how emancipation would transform the South. How did emancipation change political and labor organization in the region? In your answer, discuss how ex-slaves exercised their new freedoms and how white southerners attempted to limit them. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Free labor:* The end of slave labor left many questions about the system that would emerge to take its place. Whites claimed that blacks would not work without compulsion; blacks objected to the coercive labor arrangements that emerged after the war, some of which were backed by the Freedmen's Bureau. (pp. 556–557)

- *Freedpeople's pursuit of autonomous households:* Ex-slaves rejoiced in emancipation as providing them new opportunities to exercise their autonomy, including freedom of movement and freedom to govern their own households. Freedpeople held that controlling their own labor was central to the exercise of domestic freedoms. To this end they pursued land ownership where possible, and sharecropping as a

tool for insulating themselves from white intrusion. (pp. 557, 560, 579)

- *White response to emancipation:* The black codes were part of white Southerners' initial attempts to limit the meaning of emancipation. Whites just as assiduously attempted to preserve their power over blacks through exploitative contract arrangements and every sort of discrimination. (pp. 562–564)

- *Black political participation:* Congress strengthened emancipation with the Fourteenth Amendment and the Military Reconstruction Act, giving black male southerners the right to vote. Black voters and nonvoters vigorously supported the Republican Party as the party most likely to protect their rights, even in the face of violent opposition. (pp. 568–569, 572)

- *White southern response to black political action:* White Southerners largely expressed horror at the political action of black Southerners. Calling themselves "Redeemers," they explicitly targeted black political participation and leadership in the successful effort to restore white supremacy in the South. (pp. 583–585)

4. The Republican Party shaped reconstruction through its control of Congress and state legislatures in the South. How did the identification of the Republican Party with Reconstruction policy affect the party's political fortunes in the 1870s? In your answer, be sure to address developments on the federal and state levels. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Republican power:* The Republican Party emerged from the Civil War strengthened by new support in the South and continuing appreciation for the party of union in the North. With the immensely popular General Grant as its candidate for president in 1868, the party continued to lead the nation. Despite scandal and corruption serious enough to cause a splinter within the party, Grant again won the presidency in 1872. (pp. 580–581)

- *Declining northern support for continuing reconstruction:* The northern public and Congress had grown tired of the work of reconstruction. Their support for black civil rights had also ebbed by the 1870s. (pp. 582–583)

- *Elections of 1874:* The relationship between the Republican Party and reconstruction policy contributed to Republican losses in the elections of 1874. The Democratic Party's assumption of control of Congress signified a substantial change. (pp. 582–583)

- *Redemption:* Whites trying to regain political control in the South used the Republican Party's relationship to reconstruction to support their claims that the party was corrupt, profligate, and opposed to white interests in the South. Democrats used their explicitly racist appeal, along with violence, to wrest control of southern states from Republicans. (pp. 583–585)

## Documenting the American Promise: The Meaning of Freedom (pp. 558–559)

1. How does John Q.A. Dennis interpret his responsibility as a father? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Uniting the family:* Dennis is writing to Stanton with the hope that he can obtain a document that will require their owners to release the children to his custody and unite his family under his authority.

• *Protecting the children from abuse:* Dennis's letter shows that he is saddened by the rough treatment the children have received at the hands of their master who "half freed them and half Cloth them & beat them like dogs" and suggests that, although he is struggling economically, he will treat them well and do his best to provide them with sufficient food and clothing.

• *Providing for their education:* Dennis asks to have his "Miserable writeing" excused and seeks permission to "rase a Shool," presumably because he hopes to gain access to education for himself and his children so that they can achieve a better and more autonomous life.

2. Why do you think ex-slaves wanted their marriages legalized? *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Freed people's desire to define their own families:* Slavery denied African-Americans the right to form legal partnerships and to maintain custody of their children. Gaining the right to marry legally provided some assurance that freed slaves could choose their own partnerships and define them legally.

• *Legal protection of the free family:* Marriages would provide legal recognition of the spousal relationship and the family and protect those relationships from the interference of whites.

3. Why, according to petitioners to the Union Convention of Tennessee, did blacks deserve voting rights? *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Freed slaves promise to support the Union:* Slavery had effectively barred most African-Americans from participating in the institutions of public life but this document suggests that freed slaves were freedom-loving patriots who understood the obligations of citizenship and, if given the ability, would uniformly support the Union cause and the U.S. federal government.

• *The importance of political equality in a democracy:* Political rhetoric about equality in democratic politics had long been important in the United States and freed slaves adopt the arguments here, suggesting that democracy is assured only if they also are granted equal citizenship rights, including a voice in the government.

• *Contributions of African-Americans to the Union army:* Opponents of black suffrage made arguments about African-Americans' inferiority. Freed slaves

countered these arguments by pointing to the achievements of black soldiers in the U.S. army, suggesting that they exemplified the promise of black citizenship with their bravery and commitment to the Union during the war.

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Grant and Scandal, Thomas Nast (p. 581)

**Reading the Image:** How does Thomas Nast see President Grant's role in corruption? According to this cartoon, what caused the problems? *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Nast's opinion of Grant:* Nast seems to feel that Grant was personally involved in the administration scandals. He couples Grant's headlong fall into the barrel of corruption with the caption that indicates that he will get to the bottom of them—by immersing himself in them. Nast clearly indicates that special-interest groups have caused the problems.

• *Cause of corruption during the Grant administration:* Nast indicts the Tammany ring—the Democratic machine that controlled New York City's politics—but also points to state, county, town, and ward interests. He also condemns the media and other groups that wanted to use the government to their own ends, including canal builders, Indian suppliers, and distillers, all of whom he lists on the bands keeping the barrel together.

**Connections:** How responsible was President Grant for the corruption that plagued his administration? *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Grant's culpability:* Despite the difficulties he experienced, Grant was not personally corrupt. However, he exhibited a stubborn naiveté when it came to choosing advisors and appointed officials. He surrounded himself with relatives and army friends and was unwilling to acknowledge their failings, sticking by them even when they had obviously betrayed his trust. During his time in office, his vice president, secretary of war, secretary of the navy, and private secretary were all tainted by or removed because of corruption charges.

### "Of Course He Wants to Vote the Democratic Ticket" (p. 583)

**Reading the Image:** What does the cartoon reveal about the cartoonist's political stance? How does the

cartoonist demonstrate his view of white southerners? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Artist's political stance:* This cartoon reveals that the cartoonist is most likely a Northerner and probably a Republican. Although the word Democrat or Republican appears nowhere in the cartoon, the image of two white southerners violently forcing a black man to vote indicates their support for the Democratic ticket, because nearly all southern whites and almost no southern blacks voted Democratic in the 1870s.

- *Artist's view of white southerners:* The cartoonist reveals his disapproval of white southerners in various ways in this drawing. First, the two men holding guns to the black man's head inspire negative opinions from the viewer in a number of ways. Both are overloaded with weapons, an indication of their willingness to use force to gain their political objectives. Their slouchy stances and the sloppy appearance of their clothes, the man on the left's long hair and malevolent stare, and the blankness of the man on the right's expression suggest a lack of intelligence and character. Finally, there is an open whiskey bottle sitting next to the ballot box, an indication of the corruption and lack of integrity in the southern approach to the political process.

**Connections:** Was the cartoonist's outrage about southern violence against blacks typical of white northern opinion in 1876? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Typicality of artist's opinion:* The cartoonist appears to be expressing outrage as well as frustration with southerners' insistence on using violence to determine election outcomes. By 1876, white northerners typically had grown tired of the conflict over reconstructing the south. Few of them held a deep commitment to protecting the rights of the freed slaves, and the continuing violence in the South suggested that Northern efforts were having little positive effect on the South. When the economy sunk into a depression in the 1870s, most northerners became increasingly concerned with extricating themselves from a situation that was not improving.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 16.1 A Southern Plantation in 1860 and 1881 (p. 580)

**Reading the Map:** Compare the number and size of the slave quarters in 1860 with the homes of the

former slaves in 1881. How do they differ? Which buildings were prominently located along the road in 1860, and which could be found along the road in 1881? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Homes of slaves in 1860 versus 1881:* In 1860, masters provided their slaves with very small dwellings clustered together in rows immediately behind the big house. The dwellings had no direct access to the main road and could be easily observed from service and farm buildings. By 1881, freed men and women had reorganized their living quarters. They built larger, more comfortable abodes, located a good distance from the big house and the watchful eye of their former master. Several sharecroppers placed their new homes in close proximity to the road to facilitate travel to church or school and local marketplaces.

**Connections:** How might the former master feel about the new configuration of buildings on the plantation in 1881? In what ways did the new system of sharecropping replicate the old system of plantation agriculture? In what ways was it different? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Effect of the new layout of plantation buildings:* White planters were probably very dissatisfied that the new system of sharecropping allowed the ex-slaves to settle farther from the plantation house. Plantation masters used the close proximity of the slave quarters to the main house to further exercise their mastery over the slaves. Once the sharecropping system was in place, the planters lost this ability, amongst other, to control the everyday lives of the ex-slaves living on their land.

- *Similarities of slavery and sharecropping:* Planters did retain ownership of the land along with the power to hire and fire black laborers, which helped to maintain the idea of order that the slave system had brought to the South and still gave the planters some semblance of power over the freedmen.

- *Differences of slavery and sharecropping:* Unlike the slave-based plantation system, freed men and women were able to determine their own work schedules without the direct supervision of masters or overseers. Former masters were constrained in their ability to administer physical discipline or enforce gang labor and other work patterns. Many freedmen opted to rent land from planters, rather than receiving hourly wages, in an effort to gain further independence from the planters.

### Map 16.3 The Reconstruction of the South (p. 584)

**Reading the Map:** List in chronological order the readmission of former states to the Union. Which

states quickly reestablished conservative governments most quickly? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Order of Readmission to the Union:* In 1866: Tennessee; in 1868: North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Arkansas, and Louisiana; and in 1870: Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi, and Texas.
- *Order of the establishment of conservative governments:* In 1869: Virginia and Tennessee; in 1870: North Carolina; in 1871: Georgia; in 1873: Texas; in 1874: Alabama, Arkansas; in 1876: Mississippi and South Carolina; and in 1877: Florida and Louisiana.

**Connections:** What did the former Confederate states need to do to be readmitted to the Union? How did reestablished Conservative governments react to reconstruction? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Requirements for re-admittance to the Union:* After the military would complete voter registration, which would include black men and exclude all those barred by the Fourteenth Amendment from holding public office, voters would elect delegates to conventions that would draw up new state constitutions. Each constitution would guarantee black suffrage. When the voters of each state had approved the constitution and legislature had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, the state could submit its work to Congress. If Congress approved, the state's senators and representatives could be seated and political reunification would be accomplished.

- *Conservative governments' reactions to the requirements for re-admittance:* In almost every state, voters ratified the new constitutions and swept Republicans into power. After they ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, the former Confederate states were readmitted to Congress. Southern Republicans then turned to a staggering array of problems. Wartime destruction still littered the landscape. The reconstruction constitutions introduced two broad categories of changes in the South: those that reduced aristocratic privilege and increased democratic equality, and those that expanded the state's responsibility for the general welfare.

## Lecture Strategies

See also the maps and images for presentation in “Additional Resources for Chapter 16.”

### LECTURE 1

#### *Presidential versus Congressional Reconstruction*

This lecture explains the origins of reconstruction, from its presidential phase, through its moderate

congressional phase, to its radical completion. Referring to the first anticipated misconception of this chapter, ask your students when reconstruction began, and why. Ask them to consider the Union army field commanders who had to make decisions about runaway slaves (known as “contraband”). When did reconstruction begin for them, and how did they impose it in the areas they controlled? Next, students must consider the various plans political leaders devised to reincorporate the “rebellious” section of the country back into the framework of the nation. Ask your students what sort of terms they would have imposed and how their plans would have differed from those actually used. Use this opportunity to list the terms of Lincoln’s Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction. Be sure to emphasize that Lincoln designed his plan to shorten the war and to end slavery. Go over why some in Congress considered Lincoln’s plan inadequate, and then cover the major points of the Wade-Davis bill. Remind students that Lincoln refused to sign the bill into law. Then, compare Lincoln’s plan with the additional requirements under Johnson’s plan.

To render the evolution of congressional reconstruction understandable, shift gears from straight politics to political economy. Direct your students to the question of rehabilitating the southern economy. How was agricultural labor to be organized? Show how this question led to unanticipated developments: (1) the long-term development of sharecropping and (2) the establishment of the black codes. Use a discussion of the black codes to emphasize that southern whites were not ready to grant any sort of real freedom to blacks. This virtual reenslavement of the freedmen by the enactment of the black codes enraged both radicals and moderates in the North. They believed they had won the war, and they did not intend to lose the peace. Show how Andrew Johnson’s intransigence led Congress to take more radical action and ultimately led to his impeachment. Finally, list the terms of the radical plan of congressional reconstruction—here, refer students to the spot map of the reconstruction military districts (p. 568)—and describe the purpose of the Freedmen’s Bureau, the Civil Rights Act, and the Fourteenth Amendment.

### LECTURE 2

#### *The Meanings of Freedom*

This lecture demonstrates how newly emancipated slaves experimented with the various meanings of freedom and how freedom has both a social and a political context. Begin by referring your students to the feature *Documenting the American Promise*: “The

Meaning of Freedom" (pp. 558–559). What are the different types of freedom referred to in the first two documents? The first was the freedom to find one's family and to protect it against abuse, and the second was to define the family in such a way that no exterior forces could deny its existence. Use the photo of the freedmen's school primers on page 577 to reinforce the general types of freedom. What does this image say about African Americans who had tasted freedom for only a little while? Explain that African Americans separated themselves from the white-dominated churches to gain freedom from oversight into the most personal aspects of their lives. Refer back to Lecture 1, and show how sharecropping promised the same sort of freedom by allowing the cropper to determine if his wife and children would work alongside him in the fields and what hours would be spent at labor. Use Map 16.1, "A Southern Plantation in 1860 and 1881" (p. 580), to show how the freedmen moved their residences to gain privacy, both from the landlord and from their neighbors.

To consider aspects of freedom, review the Tennessee Freedmen Convention petition in the feature *Documenting the American Promise: "The Meaning of Freedom"* (Document 3) (pp. 558–559) to examine what party black people considered the party of freedom and why they thought that way. Explore the right to assemble. Show how southern whites feared this right in much the same way they feared slave rebellions. Explain that it was white prejudice and hatred that forestalled successful biracial political society during reconstruction, and address the misconception that reconstruction governments were uniquely corrupt. Talk about the Gilded Age corruption in the North, and direct students to think about the political cartoon in the text on page 581 showing President Grant falling into a barrel of scandals held together by various corrupt political "rings." Explain that examining someone's competence in governing is a subjective question. Were the reconstruction governments corrupt? The answer is abundantly yes. But compare the corruption of these governments with the corruption of white-controlled governments in the North at the same time or with white-controlled governments in the South following reconstruction. The level of corruption is indistinguishable. During reconstruction, however, competence to govern was judged by one's race.

## LECTURE 3

### *Redemption*

This lecture shows how southern whites overthrew reconstruction and why northern whites abandoned

it. First, discuss the ongoing campaign of violence waged by white Southerners against black and white Republicans. Explore the various means of intimidation that were used to silence Republicans. The reign of terror included economic coercion, assault, and murder. A black man could be threatened with expulsion from the farm where he worked for attending a rally or voting Republican in an election. The army could not deal with the violence because it was too small to be effective, and because local law enforcement remained in the hands of the individuals who perpetrated the crimes or at least sympathized with those who did. Ask about the legacy of this sort of paramilitary terrorism. Were Ku Klux Klan members really only trying to defend themselves, or were they attempting to subjugate blacks through intimidation and murder? By 1874, the governments of all the southern states except South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida were "redeemed," and for blacks, the slide into disfranchisement and long-term second-class citizenship had begun.

Show how northern weariness, political opportunism, and racism contributed to the overthrow of reconstruction. Explain that most moderates felt that once blacks were given the basic political tools of the right to vote, they should find their own way in the world. No large-scale confiscations had taken place as a result of the war. Ask whether confiscations could have redistributed southern property to the freedmen as payment for their enslavement. Northerners did not anticipate the ferocity with which white Southerners would wage their campaign of violence against black Southerners. Increasingly, "home rule" for the South, which meant withdrawing what Union troops remained, sounded like a reasonable request. Discuss the mythology of the "Lost Cause," and explain how white southern justifications for the extreme violence of "reclaiming" government were self-serving. Explain the election of 1876 and the Compromise of 1877 to your students. Here you might want to draw your students' attention to Map 16.4, "The Election of 1876" (p. 585), showing the breakdown of votes in the electoral college. Note that both sides cheated in the election: The Democrats stole the election through the campaign of violence waged against Republican Southerners, and the Republicans stole it back by stuffing ballot boxes in the three southern states they still controlled. Next, show how extra constitutional means were used to resolve the crisis. Then, ask why a backroom deal removed federal troops from the South and why southern Republicans were abandoned by the national party. Introduce the last of the anticipated misconceptions at this point. Ask your students whether there were any long-term consequences to the way reconstruction was handled.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. Reconstruction Began after the Civil War Ended

Lincoln officially began reconstruction in 1863 with his Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, but it really began as soon as the Union army occupied any of the slaveholding states that were in rebellion. With the army near at hand, the slaves took advantage of the change in power to free themselves or at least to renegotiate the terms of their enslavement. With wartime occupation of large parts of the South, the Union army had to come to terms with the problem of restructuring the southern labor system. In the Sea Islands of Georgia and South Carolina, the army experimented with turning over plantations abandoned by their masters to the slaves who occupied them. In the Mississippi Valley, however, the army developed a system of “compulsory free labor” that foreshadowed much of the treatment blacks would experience after the war ended. With emancipation, the freedmen suddenly stopped playing the role of servile creatures, a role forced on them in order to survive while living under the lash. The outward change in attitude surprised the former masters, who refused to believe that they had been cleverly duped by their slaves and thus believed that blacks were fickle and “ungrateful” for all the masters had done for them. Ask students to consider the implications of pushing back the date of reconstruction to late 1861. How would the account of reconstruction change?

### 2. Reconstruction Governments in the South Were Uniquely Corrupt

Gilded Age, a term coined from Mark Twain’s first novel, alluded to the political corruption supposedly pervading the nation after the Civil War. Southern governments under the Republican Party were no more corrupt than their northern counterparts. The idea that southern Republican governments during reconstruction were somehow more consistently corrupt than governments in any previous period in American history comes from Redeemer propaganda against those governments. That propaganda reflected the racism and class sentiment of its originators. The white elites who had previously held power in the southern states chafed at being excluded from power and assumed that Republican-controlled legislatures filled with blacks and nonelites could not intelligently govern, immediately citing any mistake or misstep as evidence of the inherent incompetence of those groups in power. By the end of the nineteenth century, the myth of black incompetence and carpetbagger

corruption achieved the status of fact in the South, and this “fact” was then communicated to the rest of the country through histories of the era written by white Southerners. This myth ignores both the facts of reconstruction and the context of late-nineteenth-century political culture.

### 3. Reconstruction Had No Long-Term Impact and Is Irrelevant Today

Reconstruction still influences the nation and will continue to do so. By understanding the violence with which the South opposed the political, social, and legal consequences of emancipation, students can make sense of the ongoing racial problems of the twenty-first century. It is also important to show the origins of overwhelming black poverty in reconstruction. When explaining that ex-slaves got “nothing but freedom” when they were set free—no land or monetary compensation, no reward for two hundred years of slave labor in developing the nation’s economy—ask your students how the government in the nineteenth century helped other groups through federal legislation, pointing to homestead legislation, tariffs, and internal improvements. Few Americans have started with literally “nothing but freedom.”

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

Consider showing the last episode of Ken Burns’s acclaimed Civil War series, “The Better Angels of Our Nature.” Ask students if they agree with Burns’s “romance of the reunion” interpretation of the war’s aftermath. The PBS documentary *Reconstruction: The Second Civil War* also works well in the classroom.

### Class Discussion Starters

Remind students that Lincoln’s reconstruction plan was a wartime measure designed to bring back waffling Confederate states to the Union. There is no evidence to suggest that Lincoln intended to stick with his 10 percent plan at the end of the war. Ask students to consider the possible direction of reconstruction had Lincoln not been assassinated. Would Lincoln have adopted a harsher, more radical course? Would he have been able to steer his way clear through Congress, or would he have faced problems similar to those Johnson faced? Had Lincoln lived, would the freed men and women have received something more than “nothing but freedom”?

## Historical Debates

Have students debate whether “forty acres and a mule” would have solved many of the problems faced by the freed men and women during reconstruction. Remind students that successful farming depends, in part, on access to cash, credit, and markets. Would land alone have addressed these issues? Remind them, too, that redistributing land to blacks would have done much to destroy the power base of the Old South.

## Reading Primary Sources

Have your students review the feature *Documenting the American Promise*: “The Meaning of Freedom” (pp. 558–559), and ask them to consider what informed the former slaves’ notions of freedom. In what ways were the concerns of freed men and women based on the history and legacy of bondage? In what ways were they based on assumptions about American citizenship? Did they ask for special privileges and rights or only for those granted to all American citizens? Emphasize to your students the logic behind the former slaves’ definitions of freedom.

## Additional Resources for Chapter 16

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 16 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 16.1: A Southern Plantation in 1860 and 1881 (p. 580)
- Map 16.2: The Election of 1868 (p. 581)
- Map 16.3: The Reconstruction of the South (p. 584)
- Map 16.4: The Election of 1876 (p. 585)
- Samuel Dove Ad, and Harry Stephens and Family, 1866 (p. 560)
- Confederate Flag Dress (p. 564)

### Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 16 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 16.1: A Southern Plantation in 1860 and 1881 (p. 580)
- Map 16.2: The Election of 1868 (p. 581)
- Map 16.3: The Reconstruction of the South (p. 584)
- Map 16.4: The Election of 1876 (p. 585)
- Figure 16.1: Southern Congressional Delegations, 1866–1877 (p. 576)
- Republican Rule Cartoon, “The Reconstruction Policy of Congress” (p. 576)
- Grant and Scandal (p. 581)
- “Of Course He Wants to Vote the Democratic Ticket” (p. 583)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for using the Bedford Historians at Work Series volume *When Did Southern Segregation Begin?*, by John David Smith, in the U.S. history survey.

### For Students

#### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 16 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- Carl Schurz Reports on the Condition of the Defeated South: *Report of the Condition of the South*, 1865
- Black Codes Enacted in the South: *Mississippi Black Code*, November 1865
- Former Slaves Seek to Reunite Their Families: *Advertisements from the Christian Recorder*, 1865–1870
- A Black Convention in Alabama: *Address of the Colored Convention to the People of Alabama*, 1867
- Klan Violence against Blacks: Elias Hill, *Testimony before Congressional Committee Investigating the Ku Klux Klan*, 1871

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The

following map, visual, and document activities are available for chapter 16:

### Map Activities

- Map 16.1: A Southern Plantation in 1860 and 1881 (p. 580)
- Map 16.3: The Reconstruction of the South (p. 584)

### Visual Activities

- Grant and Scandal (p. 581)
- “Of Course He Wants to Vote the Democratic Ticket” (p. 583)

### Reading Historical Documents Activity

- The Meaning of Freedom (pp. 558–559)

# The Contested West

## 1870–1900

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### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. Explain the federal policy on Native Americans during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Why did the policy of removal give way to the policy of allotment, and how did these policies affect Native American life and cultures? How did Native Americans resist U.S. federal policy, and how did the government quash these acts of resistance?
2. How did the late-nineteenth-century frenzy for gold and silver out West transform both the region and mining? How did the development of the mining industry, the settlements of towns, and the running of territorial governments mimic the processes of industrialization, urbanization, and political developments back East?
3. Who migrated west, and why? Who were the homesteaders, speculators, ranchers, cowboys, tenants, and sharecroppers? In what ways did farming become increasingly commercialized and ranching increasingly industrialized?

### Annotated Chapter Outline

- I. **Conquest and Empire in the West**
  - A. Indian Removal and the Reservation System
    1. From the early days of the Republic, Americans advocated a policy of Indian Removal that relocated eastern tribes to the west of the Mississippi, promising that they could remain there permanently.
    2. By the mid-nineteenth century Manifest Destiny dictated U.S. policy and the government sought control of Indian lands, promising in return to pay annuities

and to place Indians on lands reserved for their use.

3. In 1851 ten thousand Plains Indians met at Fort Laramie, Wyoming, to negotiate a treaty that ceded a wide swath of their land to allow passage of wagon trains; the U.S. government promised that the rest of Indian lands would remain inviolate, but did not follow through with that promise.
4. Indian wars against white settlers in the West marked the last resistance of a Native American population devastated by disease and demoralized by the Indian removal policy.
5. In 1862, the starving Dakota Sioux in Minnesota went to war; under Chief Little Crow the Sioux killed more than 1,000 white settlers before American troops quelled the uprising.
6. In November 1864, at Sand Creek, Colonel John Chivington and his local Colorado militia savagely killed 270 Cheyenne, including children, after the Indians had raised a white flag to surrender.
7. The Grant administration advocated reservations as a way to segregate and control Indians, but also because it opened up land to white settlers.
8. The U.S. army herded Indians onto reservations, but the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs was badly managed and corrupt and the Indians relocated to the reservations suffered from poverty and starvation.
9. The reservations became cultural battlegrounds on which outside bureaucrats attacked Indian ways of life in the name of progress and civilization, but

- despite the actions of the U.S. government to assimilate the tribes, the Indians found ways to resist and hold onto their identities.
- B. The Decimation of the Great Bison Herds and the Fight for the Black Hills
1. The Sioux staked their survival on buffalo but, by the nineteenth century, due to various factors including Eastern demand for buffalo hides, the coming of the transcontinental railroad, and the impact of systematic buffalo hunting, the great herds fell into decline.
  2. The decimation of the buffalo meant the end to the traditional way of life for many Plains Indians tribes, forcing them onto reservations.
  3. Gold fever only further fueled the conflict between Indians and European Americans on the Northern plains.
  4. The Cheyenne and Sioux united in 1866 to protect their hunting grounds in the Powder River Valley; their efforts led the United States to negotiate the second Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1868, which guaranteed Indians control of their sacred land in the Black Hills.
  5. The discovery of gold in the Black Hills of the Dakotas led the federal government to break its promise to preserve that land as sacred to the Indians; miners and the Northern Pacific Railroad invaded the region.
  6. Under the leadership of Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, the Sioux tribes mounted a resistance, winning a pyrrhic victory against Lieutenant Colonel George Custer in 1876.
  7. In the five years that followed, Crazy Horse was killed, Sitting Bull surrendered, and the government had taken the Black Hills, confining the Lakota to the Great Sioux reservation.
  8. The Sioux never accepted the loss of the Black Hills, filing suit and demanding compensation for lands illegally taken from them; in 1980, the Supreme Court granted \$122.5 million in monetary compensation to the tribes, but the Sioux refused the settlement and continue to press for the return of the Black Hills.
- C. The Dawes Act and Indian Land Allotment
1. The practice of relocating the Indians onto reservations lost momentum in the 1880s in favor of allotment—a new policy designed to encourage assimilation through farming and the ownership of private property.
  2. Partly in response to critics of the reservation policy, Congress passed the Dawes Allotment Act in 1887 to abolish reservations and allot lands to individual Indians as private property.
  3. Indian rights groups viewed the Dawes Act as a positive initiative, but the act effectively reduced Indian lands from 138 million acres to a scant 48 million.
  4. Although the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 restored the right of Native Americans to own land communally, the Dawes Act had by then dealt a damaging blow to traditional tribal cultures.
- D. Indian Resistance and Survival
1. Facing the extinction of their traditional ways of life, different groups of Indians responded in different ways in the waning decades of the nineteenth century.
  2. The Crow, Arikara, Pawnee, and Shoshoni fought alongside the U.S. army against their old enemies the Sioux in an effort to hold onto their lands.
  3. The Nez Perce attempted to flee to Canada to escape confinement on a reservation but surrendered to U.S. army soldiers after a five-day siege.
  4. The Apache tribes resorted to armed resistance and perfected a hit-and-run guerrilla warfare that terrorized white settlers and bedeviled the army in the 1870s and 1880s.
  5. In the 1880s, Geronimo repeatedly led Apache warrior raiding parties off the reservation, but eventually surrendered to General Nelson Miles.
  6. The government arrested nearly 500 Apaches, though fewer than three dozen had been hostile, and sent them as prisoners to Florida, where more than a quarter of them died.
  7. In 1892, the Apaches were moved to Fort Sill in Oklahoma and then later to New Mexico.
  8. Many tribes turned to a nonviolent form of resistance—the new Ghost Dance religion.
  9. Ghost Dances were generally nonviolent, but among the Sioux, they took on a militant flavor, prompting President Benjamin Harrison to dispatch several thousand federal troops to Sioux country to handle any outbreak.
  10. In December 1890 when Sitting Bull joined the Ghost dancers in South Dakota, he was

shot and killed by Indian police as they tried to arrest him at his cabin on the Standing Rock Reservation.

11. A melee ensued, and the army opened fire on the Indians; minutes later, more than two hundred Sioux lay dead or dying in the snow.
12. Although the massacre at Wounded Knee did not end the story of Native Americans, it ended a way of life.

## II. Gold Fever and the Mining West

### A. Mining on the Comstock Lode

1. In 1859, refugees from California's gold mines flocked to the Washoe basin in Nevada, where they found the richest silver ore on the continent—the legendary Comstock Lode.
2. Silver mining was an expensive operation that required capital and technological resources to exploit the claims.
3. Speculation, misrepresentation, and outright thievery ran rampant in the mining West during the latter half of the nineteenth century.
4. The promise of gold and silver drew thousands of men to the mines of the West, the honest as well as the unscrupulous.
5. The West also drew an international array of immigrants, including a large number of Irish immigrants, making Virginia City more cosmopolitan than either New York or Boston.
6. Irish and Irish American women constituted the largest group of women on the Comstock; conversely, the Chinese community was overwhelmingly male.
7. In 1873, Comstock miners uncovered a new vein of ore, prompting the transition from small-scale industry to corporate enterprise, creating a radically new social and economic environment.
8. New technology eliminated some of the dangers of mining but not all; in the 1870s one out of 30 miners was injured on the job and one out of 80 killed.
9. Although the mining towns of the Wild West were often depicted as lawless outposts, these places were often urbanized and industrialized.

### B. Territorial Government

1. The federal government practiced a policy of benign neglect toward territorial government in the West.
2. Nevada, because of its mines, became a state in 1864, but many areas remained territories for decades, during which time

they were subject to territorial governors, who were underpaid, often unqualified, and largely ignored by Washington.

3. Territorial governors often experienced long delays in receiving their salaries and often had to pay government expenses out of their own pockets.
  4. Nearly all territorial appointees tried to make ends meet by maintaining business connections in the East or by investing in the West.
  5. Underfunded and overlooked, territorial government was rife with conflicts of interest and corruption, mirroring the political and economic values (or lack thereof) of the late nineteenth century.
- ### C. The Diverse Peoples of the West
1. Like the big cities of the East, the West in the late nineteenth century was a widely diverse place populated by New Englanders, Mormons, African-Americans, Mexicans, and Latinos as well as immigrants from Europe, Asia and Canada.
  2. The sheer number of peoples who came together in the West produced a complex blend of racism and prejudice.
  3. African Americans who ventured out to the territories faced hostile settlers determined to keep the West for "whites only."
  4. Hispanics also suffered from discrimination, as fraud, chicanery, and intimidation dispossessed them of their land and forced them into segregated urban barrios.
  5. Mormons were another of the West's oppressed groups, ostracized for their practice of polygamy.
  6. The Chinese suffered brutal treatment at the hands of employers and other laborers; by 1870, over 63,000 Chinese immigrants lived in America, but they were denied access to citizenship.
  7. In 1876, the Workingman's Party formed to fight for Chinese exclusion and in 1882, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, effectively barring further Chinese immigration; the predominantly male Chinese population declined, eventually replaced by Japanese immigrants.
  8. The American West in the nineteenth century witnessed more than its share of conflict and bloodshed.
  9. Violent prejudice against Chinese and other Asian immigrants remained common, but conflicts also broke out

between cattle ranchers and sheep ranchers, between ranchers and farmers, between striking miners and their bosses, among rival Indian groups, and between whites and Indians.

### III. Land Fever

- A. Moving West: Homesteaders and Speculators
  1. People who ventured west faced hardship, loneliness, and deprivation.
  2. Blizzards, tornadoes, grasshoppers, hailstorms, draught, prairie fires, accidental death, and disease were only a few of the catastrophes that could befall even the best farmer.
  3. The Homestead Act of 1862 promised 160 acres free to any individual who settled on the land for five years; however, homesteaders still needed as much as \$1,000 for a house, a team of farm animals, a well, fencing, and seed.
  4. For women on the frontier, simple daily tasks such as obtaining water and fuel meant backbreaking labor.
  5. By the 1870s, much of the best land was taken; the least desirable tracts were left for homesteaders.
  6. The railroads were by far the biggest winners in the scramble for western land.
  7. As land grew scarce on the prairie in the 1870s, farmers began to push farther west, moving into western Kansas, Nebraska, and eastern Colorado—an area known as the Great American Desert.
  8. Farmers attempted to cultivate the region but cyclical droughts in the 1880s and 1890s sent starving farmers reeling back from the plains.
  9. The opening of the Oklahoma territory in 1889 brought as many as 10,000 settlers in one day.
- B. Ranchers and Cowboys
  1. Between 1865 and 1885 cattle ranchers followed the railroads onto the plains, establishing a cattle kingdom from Texas to Wyoming.
  2. Barbed wire revolutionized the cattle business: as the largest ranchers in Texas began to build fences, nasty fights broke out with “fence cutters,” who resented the end of the free range.
  3. On the range, the cowboys (many of whom were African-American) gave way to the cattle king and, like the miner, became a wage laborer.
  4. By 1886, cattle overcrowded the range but severe blizzards during the winters of 1886–87 and 1887–88 decimated the herds

and in the aftermath of the storms, new and more labor-intensive forms of cattle ranching replaced the open-range model.

### C. Tenants, Sharecroppers, and Migrants

1. Many who followed the American promise into the West prospered, but land ownership proved an elusive goal for freed slaves, immigrants from Europe and Asia, and Mexicans in California and on the Texas border.
  2. Some freed slaves managed to pull together enough resources to go west, but most remained propertyless farm laborers.
  3. In California, skilled horsemen—Mexican cowboys called *vaqueros*—commanded decent wages until the 1870s, when the coming of the railroads ended the long cattle drives and the need for the *vaqueros'* skills, forcing them to become migrant laborers, often on land their families had once owned.
  4. After the heyday of cattle ranching ended in the late 1880s, cotton production began its rise in southeastern Texas, and ranch life soon gave way to a growing army of agricultural wageworkers.
  5. In California, land monopoly and large-scale farming fostered tenancy and migratory labor.
- ### D. Commercial Farming and Industrial Cowboys
1. In the late nineteenth century, America’s population remained overwhelmingly rural and new technology and farming techniques revolutionized American farm life.
  2. As the rural population decreased, the number of farms rose and American agriculture entered the era of agribusiness; as farming moved onto the prairies and plains, mechanization took control and farming emerged as a big business.
  3. Like cotton farmers in the South, western grain and livestock farmers increasingly depended on foreign markets for their livelihood.
  4. Commercial farming, along with mining, represented another way in which the West developed its own brand of industrialism.
  5. Two Alsatian immigrants, Henry Miller and Charles Lux, pioneered the West’s mixture of agriculture and business, developing investment strategies and corporate structures to control not only California land but water rights as well.

6. Their company shared the main characteristics of other modern enterprises: corporate consolidation, vertical integration, and schemes to minimize labor costs and stabilize the workforce.
7. By the end of the nineteenth century, agriculture had been transformed: The typical farmer was no longer a self-sufficient yeoman but was tied to global markets as either a businessman or a wage laborer.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 17, the *Questions for Analysis* and *Debate* following the feature *Documenting the American Promise*, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 17.

## Review Questions

1. How did the slaughter of bison contribute to Plains Indians' removal to reservations? (pp. 596–597) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Importance of buffalo:* The buffalo was a vital source of food and fuel to groups such as the Sioux and the Kiowa. It also figured prominently in their cultural and religious life. (p. 596)
- *Westward expansion and the destruction of buffalo:* The large herds of buffalo across the West presented a challenge to the railroads expanding westward. They sponsored kills, contributing to the decimation of the herds. (pp. 596–597)
- *Impact on Indians:* Indians' prospects for independence declined significantly without the buffalo, forcing them to move onto reservations. (p. 597)

2. How did industrial technology change mining in Nevada? (pp. 604–607) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Scale:* Small-scale gold miners gave way to industrial concerns that could extract metals more efficiently. This trend accelerated after the "Big Bonanza" strike of 1873. The scale of industrial mining also made mining centers like Virginia City fully functioning cities, with schools, churches, and families. (p. 606)
- *Capital investment:* Efficiently extracting precious metals required a high investment in capital. The technology of industrial mining, like stamping mills, also required massive amounts of capital. (p. 604)

- *Unions:* Industrial mining also required a large workforce that immigrants from all over the world were willing to fill. In Nevada, workers organized into unions to bargain for wages and to provide death benefits and nursing care. (pp. 605–607)

3. Why did many homesteaders find it difficult to acquire good land in the West? (pp. 612–615) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on inducements:* The Homestead Act of 1862 promised 160 acres to settlers who remained on the land for five years. (p. 612)
- *Other land grants:* In practice, the federal government had already given much of the best land to the railroads or to the states. The land that was left for homesteaders was usually isolated or of poor productive quality. (p. 613)
- *Land purchase:* Instead of getting land by homesteading, western migrants often bought it from railroad companies or other speculators. For many, however, the cost put land ownership out of reach. (p. 613)

## Making Connections

1. What was the U. S. government's policy toward Indians in the West, and how did it evolve over time? How did the Indians resist and survive white encroachment? In your answer, discuss the cultural and military features of the conflict. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Discussion of military interventions:* Fights between Indians and the U.S. military were frequent in the 1860s and 1870s as western settlers regularly made incursions into Indian lands. The United States' attempts to buy Indian lands were sometimes successful. When they were not, the United States did not hesitate to use force to advance their cause. The railroads bolstered the U.S. military efforts by slaughtering buffalo and compromising Indians' sustenance. (pp. 594–597)

- *Discussion of voided treaties:* Even recent treaties, such as the Treaty of Fort Laramie, gave Indians little protection against the United States' hunger for land. (pp. 594–597, 600)

- *Discussion of assimilation initiatives:* The 1887 Dawes Allotment Act rejected reservations in favor of allotting smaller parcels of lands to individual Indians and giving them American citizenship. Advocates of the program expected it to promote Indians' assimilation into American culture. It also freed up large amounts of Indian land for white settlers. Institutions like Hampton Institute in Virginia also promoted assimilation of Indians through education. (pp. 591–592, 600)

- *Indian resistance:* Indians responded in diverse ways to American incursions. Some acquiesced to losses of land and tried to build lives in the narrower frame granted to them. Others, like Geronimo, engaged in armed resistance. The Ghost Dance religion, with its promise of an end to whites' presence in the West and the restoration of older ways, attracted many Indians. The dances drew the anger and fear of whites. (pp. 600–603)

2. The economic and industrial developments characteristic of the East after the Civil War also made their mark on the West. How did innovations in business and technology transform mining and agriculture in the West? In your answer, be sure to consider effects on production and the consequences for the lives of miners and agricultural laborers. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Description of changes in mining technology:* The gold and silver in the West attracted corporate mining interests who invested in capital-intensive technology, like stamping mills, to make mining more efficient. (p. 604)

- *Impact on demographic character of mining centers:* Even before corporate mining had become dominant, western mining towns had become extremely cosmopolitan as immigrants from all over the world flooded in seeking financial opportunity. The scale of industrial mining contributed to the emergence of strong labor unions and large towns like Virginia City. (pp. 605–607)

- *Changes in agriculture, mechanization:* The development of tools like mechanized reapers and plows transformed American agriculture, particularly in the West. These developments increased productivity dramatically. Even productive farmers were vulnerable to the volatility of the global market they now depended on to sell their goods. (p. 619)

- *Changes in ranching, barbed wire:* Innovations like barbed wire transformed the cattle business. When large ranchers enclosed their property with wire, it disrupted the open range and displaced ranchers who could not afford investment in those technologies. (p. 615)

- *Changes in agriculture and ranching, land ownership:* The concentration of land in the hands of railroads and speculators had undermined the expectation that land ownership would be accessible to almost all in the West. Land monopoly in California similarly contributed to the prevalence of wage labor and tenancy. Some groups, like cowboys, responded to these changes by unionizing. (pp. 618–619)

- *Business innovation:* The tools of corporate business changed western agriculture. Businesses like Miller & Lux used the techniques of vertical integration and corporate consolidation to control

large sectors of the economy. They used their size to stabilize the workforce by providing free meals to migrant laborers. (p. 620)

3. Settlers from all over the world came to the American West seeking their fortune but found that opportunity was not equally available to all. In competition for work and land, why did Anglo-American settlers usually have the upper hand? How did legal developments contribute to this circumstance? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Discussion of displacement of Indians from Western lands:* Despite promises from the American government that Indians pushed west would be unmolested, the push of western settlement made those promises and later treaties meaningless. Settlers backed by U.S. troops and the money and power of the railroads displaced Indians. Violence and, most important, the destruction of the buffalo essential to Indian life on the plains made it almost impossible for Indians to resist attempts to concentrate them on reservations. (pp. 593–603)

- *Discussion of the Mexican presence in the region:* The United States' annexation of Western lands formerly held by Spain and Mexico weakened the power of Hispanics in the region by reducing their proportion of the population and by undermining the legal standing of their claims to land. Persistent discrimination further diminished Hispanics' access to land and jobs in the West. (pp. 609–610)

- *Discussion of African Americans in the West:* African Americans faced discrimination and whites' determination to make the West white. Despite these challenges, some African Americans who managed to scrape together the resources formed small settlements in the West. Many also worked as cowboys. (pp. 609, 615)

- *Discussion of Chinese in the West:* Chinese immigrants worked as miners and agricultural laborers in the West. They faced brutal treatment at the hands of employers and other laborers anxious to lessen competition. The law denied them citizenship, and by extension, any legal remedy. Opponents of Chinese presence in the United States pursued even stronger legal support through the Chinese Exclusion Act, which barred Chinese migration. (pp. 610–611)

### Documenting the American Promise: Young Women Homesteaders and the Promise of the West (pp. 616–617)

1. What sorts of hardships did the young women homesteaders encounter in the Dakotas? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Loneliness*: Only Lucy Goldthorpe mentions loneliness specifically, but it was a more general problem for homesteaders in the West.

- *Hard winters*: Bess Cobb and Lucy Goldthorpe both write about the importance of preparing for long cold winters. Goldthorpe, in particular, spells out the difficulties of life in an unwinterized shack.

- *Lack of material goods*: Most of the documents emphasize how small a quantity of material possessions they had available in their daily lives and how important it was for them to conserve the objects they did have.

2. How does their youth affect how they reacted to hardship? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Sense of adventure*: All of these women write with great excitement about what they are doing even though they are also writing about the difficulties. They seem to regard activities such as shack-building, planting, and so on as new, interesting, and exhilarating, even though they are also difficult.

- *Optimism*: These documents all demonstrate a sense of youthful optimism. None of the documents indicate that their authors are jaded or worn down by the difficulties of their lives. They all imply that they are confident that their lives will only get easier and better.

- *Willingness to learn new things*: Each of the documents emphasizes that the author is undergoing many experiences for the first time and, in the process, learning many new skills. All of them seem to find this newness exciting and interesting, whereas older people might have been more likely to write about how the challenges were frightening, stressful, or exhausting.

3. What did the young women find particularly appealing about their experiences as homesteaders? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Autonomy*: Though loneliness was a negative factor for some of them, all of the authors of these documents seem to relish their success at making independent decisions and undertaking all the activities necessary to take care of themselves.

- *Sense of accomplishment and pride*: All of the documents reveal that their authors are proud of the things they have been able to do, including building and winterizing houses, planting crops, making clothes, throwing parties, and finding innovative ways of dealing with deprivation.

- *Community life*: Several of the documents demonstrate the importance of community on the frontier. Document 2 mentions a neighboring family who returned to their claim, bringing fresh vegetables for the author. Document 3 emphasizes the importance of socializing and entertainment in the lives of young single women in the Dakotas.

4. What do they wish to convey about their experiences? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Challenges*: The difficulties of frontier life are mentioned in all of these documents, revealing that the authors regarded such challenges as fundamental aspects of their lives.

- *Fun and adventure*: Though they focus on difficulties, each of these documents also emphasizes the positive aspects of frontier life—the adventure, the pride that comes with success, the exhilaration of learning how to do something completely new.

- *Similarities between “civilization” and the West*: Each of the documents makes some effort to compare homestead life to life in previously settled areas of the United States and they all emphasize that the two were not completely different. For example, document 1 shows that the author and her neighbors still comb their hair, change their clothes, and cook for guests; document 3 discusses the author’s participation in a literary society, debates, and dances.

5. How did homesteading benefit women who chose not to remain on the land? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Economic rewards*: In document 4 the writer suggests that her homesteading experience brought her enough money to pay for her college education.

- *Ability to meet other challenges*: The author of document 4 was successful as a homesteader and perhaps that gave her the confidence to go to college, graduate, and pursue another career later in her life.

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Slaughtered for the Hide (p. 596)

**Reading the Image:** What virtues and stereotypes of the West does this cover extol? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Virtues*: This illustration extols the virtues of the workingman. This trader takes on the unpleasant work of skinning the buffalo in an outfit that seems as much like that of a farmer or a laborer as that of a cowboy. The suggestion is that this man, with the skin raised almost in triumph, represents the success of the average American workingman.

- *Stereotypes*: The stereotypes promoted in this illustration include man’s conquest of nature in the West. Again, the man is holding up his arm in triumph over the buffalo. Even as the vastness and storminess

of the background suggests the danger of the natural environment of the West, the trader's success reaffirms American power to control the environment.

**Connections:** How might the notion of "civilization" have differed according to the Native American perspective? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Native perspective:* The cover of this issue of Harper's Weekly does not merely illustrate how the buffalo provided another source of wealth for the white men moving west, but it also represents yet another way in which westward expansion destroyed Native American culture. Buffalo, in particular, for many of the Plains tribes was the center of life, providing food, fuel, shelter, and clothing and when the buffalo disappeared, tribes had no alternative than to settle on government appointed reservations. To the natives, the American appropriation of their lands and the systematic obliteration of the buffalo would have represented the antithesis of their own civilization—an unjust, violent conquest with no regard for the consequences of their actions on its human and animal victims.

### Buffalo Bill Poster (p. 621)

**Reading the Image:** What did the phrase "as Presented by" in the banner "Custer's Last Stand, as presented by Buffalo Bill's Wild West," suggest to the audience? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *The West in performance vs. reality:* Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show, like the life of the man himself, was an interesting melding of fact and fantasy. "As presented" suggests that the action produced on the stage was Cody's true-to-life reenactment of the historical event. The banner suggests that members of the audience were about to witness the "authentic" final moments in the life of George Armstrong Custer, rather than "the story of" or "play about" the events. The addition of real-life Indians to the line-up of Cody's Wild West Show magnifies the sense of authenticity for the audience.

**Connections:** What were viewers supposed to understand about Custer from this poster? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Characterization of Custer:* The viewer of this poster is forced to recognize Custer's courage and bravado in the face of immense danger. A powerful sense of bravery and authority emanate from the gallant colonel. Standing, arms lowered so his chest is bared to his attackers, Custer is the ideal image of the defiant commanding officer. Outnumbered, Custer is not seeking retreat but rather serving as a courageous example to his men. Pictured here, the symbol of

American manhood in the contest for control of the West, Custer inspires awe and respect.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 17.1 The Loss of Indian Lands, 1850–1890 (p. 594)

**Reading the Map:** Where was the largest reservation located in 1890? Which states on this map show no reservations in 1890? Compare this map to Map 17.3, Federal Land Grants to Railroads and the Development of the West, 1850–1900 (p. 614). Where do the contours of Indian lands ceded from 1850 to 1890 parallel the placement of the railroads? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Indian reservations:* In 1890, present-day Oklahoma was the site of the single largest Indian reservation in the United States, but present-day Arizona, South Dakota, and Montana also had sizable reservations. Although some states only had small, scattered reservations, by 1890 only Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri had no reservations.

- *Indian lands and railroad development:* In a direct comparison with Map 17.3, it is clear that railroad companies maintained a vested interest in Native American lands and that western states were generous in granting their newly acquired lands to the railroads. Indian land ceded to the United States in parts of North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, and Washington lent themselves to the development of the Northern Pacific Railroad, while Indian lands ceded in New Mexico and Arizona led to the development of the Texas & Pacific Railroad. Nonetheless, despite the fact that the contour of railroad lines makes it clear that Indian lands ceded to the United States from 1850 to 1890 definitely facilitated the engineering of railroads, reservation land seemingly was respected, and railroads ran adjacent to reservation land rather than through it.

**Connections:** Why did the federal government force Native Americans onto reservations? What developments prompted these changes? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Federal government's policy on reservations:* The policy of restricting Native Americans to reservations was an alternative to exterminating a population deemed an uncivilized and hostile barrier to western expansion of the nation.

- *Reasons for forcing Native Americans to the reservations:* The expansion of eastern corporations and white settlers into Indian Territory prompted conflict between Native Americans and the federal government. The Sioux, Cheyenne, Apache, Comanche, Nez Perce, and other tribes resisted invasions of their lands and violently attacked settlers and soldiers alike. A period of open warfare, marked by fierce and bloody battles on the Great Plains between the U.S. army and Indian nations, was finally resolved only after deliberate slaughter of the buffalo and other habitat destruction deprived Indian warriors of necessary shelter and supplies.

### Map 17.3 Federal Land Grants to Railroads and the Development of the West, 1850–1900 (p. 614)

**Reading the Map:** Which mining cities and towns were located directly on a railroad line? Which towns were located at the junction of more than one line or railroad branch? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Location of cities and towns:* Almost all of the cities included on this map were located directly on a railroad line. The remaining cities were located on cattle drives that directly linked to a station. El Paso, Albuquerque, St. Paul, Ogden, Sacramento, and Kansas City are just a few of the cities that were located at the junction of one or more railroad branches.

**Connections:** In what ways did the growth of the railroad affect the population of the West? What western goods and products did the railroads help bring east and to ports for shipping around the world? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Impact of the railroads on the western population:* The advent of the railroad affected the population of the West in various ways. Most significantly, the construction of the railroad and the growth of industry that came with it provided abundant opportunities for both settlers already established in the West as well as for Easterners who were looking for the opportunity to make it rich. The railroad also changed the scope of the population in the West; while cowboys and ranchers previously populated western lands, the introduction of the railroad and the industries that came with it also brought immigrant workers and businessmen to western cities and towns.

- *Western goods for trade:* Railroads enabled the easy transportation of raw materials such as coal, timber, and ore from the western territories to the east, as well as to international ports. Cattle was also transported east by the railroads; no longer having to depend on cross-country cattle drives, transportation occurred much quicker and more efficiently.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in “Additional Resources for Chapter 17.”*

### LECTURE 1

#### *The West*

In this lecture, you can dispel common myths about the American West. Contrary to popular legend, the American West was home to more than just heroic cowboys and savage (but noble) Indians. Indeed, the West experienced an influx of immigrants, as did the rest of the nation, in the late nineteenth century. This lecture should first suggest the variety of ethnic groups that settled the West. Europeans, Asians, Canadians, Latin Americans, and African Americans all helped to populate the land from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. Here, you can impress on your students that these newly arrived inhabitants of the West were no more immune to the resentment and hostility of native-born Americans than were the immigrants who poured into American cities. Violence often erupted between groups competing for land and resources, but the most deadly clashes occurred between whites and Native Americans, who had been living on the land since before the “age of discovery.” Point out that, although the U.S. government had guaranteed the protection of Indians who had inhabited the western territories, the California gold rush, land fever, and border wars severely tested the government’s willingness to protect Native Americans. Settlers continually encroached on their sacred ancestral grounds, and Indians resisted, touching off a series of wars on the plains that lasted from 1861 until 1890. Here, you might direct students to Map 17.1, “The Loss of Indian Lands, 1850–1890” (p. 594).

Finally, explain to students that the U.S. government simultaneously engaged in wars with Indians and began a process of Americanizing them, destroying Indian culture in the process. The 1887 Dawes Act, for example, broke up reservations and gave each Indian an allotment of land, thereby introducing the foreign concept of individual landownership while having the added benefit (for the United States) of reducing Indian lands from 138 million acres to 48 million acres. With the defeat of the Sioux in 1890 at Wounded Knee, the period of Indian wars ended. And although the Indian population would eventually recover somewhat from the massacres sustained in the nineteenth century, many cultures received a crushing blow.

## LECTURE 2

### *The Mining West*

Begin this lecture by noting at the outset that the West did not stand apart from the rest of the nation during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Frame this lecture by highlighting the ways in which the development of the mining industry mirrored the process of industrialization back East. Draw your students' attention to the feature *The Promise of Technology: "Hydraulic Mining"* (pp. 604–605), for example, to look at the ways in which industrialization transformed mining. Note the process by which miners became wage laborers. Use the discussion of territorial governments to highlight similarities between Gilded Age politics in the East and West. Finally, look at the development of Virginia City and San Francisco to discuss urbanization in the West.

## LECTURE 3

### *Homesteaders and Farmers in Rural America*

This lecture highlights themes of westward migration. Start by conveying the sheer expansiveness of the land settled and the vast number of people who migrated west. Encouraged by the Homestead Act of 1862 and aided by the new railroads, Americans settled more territory in the last three decades of the century than they had settled in the previous history of the country. You will want to describe the daily life of the settlers. Once west of the Mississippi River, many settlers faced hardship, deprivation, and loneliness. Beset by violent acts of nature, surrounded by an unforgiving landscape, confronted with unfriendly national economic policies, chronically in debt, and culturally isolated, farmers rarely found "God's country," which they so actively sought. Suggest that people who did not own land and had no hope of landownership—tenants, sharecroppers, and migrants—were at a greater disadvantage than other settlers. Be sure to explain the crop lien system, a vicious cycle in which many poor farmers were trapped. The dispossessed, mired in a system of debt, dependency, and exploitation, nevertheless became a growing part of the American workforce by the century's end.

You can end the lecture by describing how farm life changed rapidly in the last decades of the century. Farmers increasingly adopted new technologies, transforming farming from a way of life into a business venture. Use Henry Miller and Charles Lux to suggest to your students the ways in which agriculture and industrialism mixed in the West. Agricultural specialization, ties to world markets, and mechanization allowed American farmers to increase their output

greatly. Still, even as farm production soared, industrial output outstripped it, compelling many farmers to leave the fields and head to the factories.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. Migration during the Late Nineteenth Century Consisted Primarily of Europeans Crossing to the Northeastern Shores of the United States

The image of immigration that many students hold is the popular one of central or southeastern Europeans traveling in steerage with their meager belongings, passing through Ellis Island, settling on the Lower East Side of New York City, and perhaps later emigrating to the Wild West. While this represents one common pattern, it is important to convey the varied character of the mass movement of populations that took place during the mid- to late nineteenth century. Make the point that those "on the move" were Native Americans, Asians, and Hispanic peoples, as well as Europeans, who were journeying both to and within America, and in all different directions, from the country to the city, from Latin America to El Norte, from Canada to New England, from China to California, and so on.

### 2. The U.S. Army Was Solely Responsible for the Destruction of Native American Culture

Some students might assume that the U.S. army alone wiped out Native American culture in the West during the late nineteenth century. Use this opportunity to talk about the ways in which the eastern demand for buffalo hides and the coming of the transcontinental railroad conspired with the army to alter Native American culture. Begin by impressing upon your students the importance of the buffalo to many Native American cultures. It served as a source of fuel, food, and shelter and played a central role in religious and cultural rituals. Then, draw your students' attention to Map 17.3, "Federal Land Grants to Railroads and the Development of the West, 1850–1900" (p. 614), which depicts the growth of the railroad industry during the late nineteenth century. Point out to your students the land granted to the railroads by the U.S. government, and remind them that the railroads were the big winners in the land grab. The impact of the railroads' presence in the West was profound. The textbook mentions that railroad officials used buffalo as a target for sport and as a source of cheap meat for their workers. Buffalo hunters hired by the railroads decimated herds. Emphasize the textbook's point that although the army took credit for subduing the Indians, the U.S. soldiers clearly had help from powerful allies.

### 3. Only Native Americans Suffered from Discrimination and Prejudice in the West

Begin to dispel this misconception by drawing your students' attention to the passage on page 609: "One historian has noted, not entirely facetiously, that there were at least eight oppressed 'races' in the West—Indians, Latinos, Chinese, Japanese, blacks, Mormons, strikers, and radicals." Take this opportunity to remind students that the West was a polyglot place that witnessed a great influx of immigrants during the late nineteenth century. Native-born Americans who lived in the West were no more immune to the cultural forces that spawned racism and anti-immigrant sentiment than were their counterparts back East. If time permits, discuss the hostile reception that different ethnic groups received in the West in the late nineteenth century.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

PBS Video offers a number of good documentaries on the American West. "Ghost Dance," from the series *The West*, depicts the Oklahoma land rush, the influx of immigrants into western mining communities, and Native American resistance to white encroachment on tribal land. Two other episodes from that series also work well in the classroom: "Fight No More Forever," which details the lives of those who stood in the way of America's westward expansion (Sitting Bull of the Lakota, Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce, and Brigham Young of the Mormons), and "Geography of Hope," which covers the efforts of Congress and the reformers to "Americanize" Indians. "Geronimo and the Apache Resistance" and "Last Stand at Little Big Horn" offer more detailed discussions of Native American resistance. When discussing the section of the textbook entitled "The West of the Imagination," consider showing "Wilderness and the West," part of PBS's *American Vision* series.

### Class Discussion Starters

Have your students consider possible courses for the American West had the South won the Civil War. Would the North have had the resources to station troops in the American West? Would the North have pursued its expansionist policies in the trans-Mississippi West? What would the implications of Confederate victory have been for the Southwest?

### Historical Debates

Have students debate the implications of African Americans serving as soldiers under white officers to

fight Native Americans in the West. Have students consider why African Americans might have wanted to fight in the U.S. army. Remind them of the tradition of African American service, dating back to the American Revolution, and have them think about how African Americans used their participation in the army to prove their patriotism, loyalty, and fitness for inclusion in the polity. Have students debate the viability of this strategy.

## Additional Resources for Chapter 17

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 17 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 17.1: The Loss of Indian Lands, 1850–1890 (p. 594)
- Map 17.2: Western Mining, 1848–1890 (p. 606)
- Map 17.3: Federal Land Grants to Railroads and the Development of the West, 1850–1900 (p. 614)
- Lakota Vest (p. 601)
- Buffalo Bill Poster (p. 621)

#### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 18 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 17.1: The Loss of Indian Lands, 1850–1890 (p. 594)
- Map 17.2: Western Mining, 1848–1890 (p. 606)
- Map 17.3: Federal Land Grants to Railroads and the Development of the West, 1850–1900 (p. 614)
- Figure 17.1: Changes in Rural and Urban Populations (p. 618)
- Slaughtered for the Hide (p. 596)
- Railroad Locomotive (p. 613)
- Buffalo Bill Poster (p. 621)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor's Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

## Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for using the Bedford Series in History and Culture volume *Our Hearts Fell to the Ground: Plains Indian Views of How the West Was Lost*, by Colin G. Calloway, in the U.S. history survey.

## For Students

### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 17 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- Pun Chi Appeals to Congress on Behalf of Chinese Immigrants in California: *A Remonstrance from the Chinese in California*, ca. 1870
- Swedish Immigrants on the Kansas Prairie: *Ida Lindgren, Letters*, 1870–1874
- Texas Rangers on the Mexican Border: *N. A. Jennings, A Texas Ranger*, 1875
- In-mut-too-yah-lat-lat Describes White Encroachment: *Chief Joseph, Speech to a White Audience*, 1879

- A Plea to “Citizenize” Indians: Richard Pratt, “Kill the Indian . . . and save the man,” 1892

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 18:

### Map Activities

- Map 17.1: The Loss of Indian Lands, 1850–1890 (p. 594)
- Map 17.3: Federal Land Grants to Railroads and the Development of the West, 1850–1900 (p. 614)

### Visual Activities

- Slaughtered for the Hide (p. 596)
- Buffalo Bill Poster (p. 621)

### Reading Historical Documents Activity

- Young Women Homesteaders and the Promise of the West (pp. 616–617)

**CHAPTER**  
**18**

# Business and Politics in the Gilded Age

## 1870–1895

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### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. In what ways were old industries transformed in the late nineteenth century, and what new industries were born? What role did the expansion of the railroad industry, the rise of Andrew Carnegie and the steel industry, John D. Rockefeller and the oil industry, and new inventions, including electricity and the telephone, play?
2. What factors engendered the move from competition among American businesses to corporate consolidation? What role did J. P. Morgan and finance capitalism play in this consolidation? How did the theories of social Darwinism and the Gospel of Wealth encourage it and how did the Supreme Court affirm laissez-faire economics?
3. Describe the political culture of the late nineteenth century. What bound citizens to political parties, and what compelled people to participate in American politics? What role did race and gender play in political culture?
4. What issues and personalities drove presidential and party politics at the national level during the Gilded Age? Why did the Republican Party divide into factions, and what did those factions represent? What was the spoils system, and what efforts did reformers make to clean up politics? What role did scandal play in the election of 1884?
5. What economic issues defined the Gilded Age, and how did those issues lead to party realignment in the 1890s? What controversies surrounded the tariff and the politics of protection? What was the government's shifting policy on trust and railroad

regulation? What was the fight for free silver, and how did that fight lead to political realignment?

### Annotated Chapter Outline

- I. **Old Industries Transformed, New Industries Born**
  - A. Railroads, America's First Big Business
    1. In the decades following the Civil War, the United States built the greatest railroad network in the world; by 1900, the United States boasted over 193,000 miles of railroad track, more than all of Europe and Russia combined.
    2. The career of speculator Jay Gould illustrates the development of the U.S. railroad industry; although he cared little for railroads or their operation, Gould became a master of corporate expansion through stock transactions and an architect of the vast railway systems that developed in the 1880s.
    3. Railroads became the country's first big business and federal and state governments encouraged their growth by offering generous cash subsidies and land grants.
    4. Lack of planning soon led to overbuilding of the railways and increased competition between owners.
    5. Because railroad owners lost money from this competition, they attempted to set

- up arrangements, or “pools,” setting rates and dividing territory among themselves, but these informal agreements invariably failed because men like James Gould refused to honor them.
6. The stock market began to play a key role in the American economy as capital could now be represented by stocks and not just by tangibles such as land or machinery.
  7. Discomfort with the financial markets’ emphasis on paper profits rather than tangible wealth colored the public’s reaction to men like Gould, whose speculation ruined many competitors’ businesses.
  8. The public’s opinion of Gould as “the most hated man in America” illustrated the barometer of attitudes toward big business in general.
- B. Andrew Carnegie, Steel, and Vertical Integration
1. Railroad building soon led to the development of the steel industry and the leader in the transition from iron to steel was Andrew Carnegie.
  2. Carnegie turned away from speculation, striking out on his own to build the biggest steel industry in the world.
  3. Carnegie built the most up-to-date Bessemer steel plant in the outskirts of Pittsburgh, where it had easy access to two railroad lines and the Monongahela River, a natural highway up to Pittsburgh and the Ohio River and the coal fields farther north.
  4. To guarantee the lowest costs and the maximum output, Carnegie pioneered a system of business organization called vertical integration, which allowed him to control every aspect of the steel business.
  5. Carnegie cut costs to boost productivity, but his strategy came at a great price.
  6. His workers achieved the output Carnegie demanded by enduring long hours, low wages, and dangerous working conditions.
  7. By 1900, Carnegie Steel had expanded to include several plants and stood as the best-known manufacturer in the nation.
- C. John D. Rockefeller, Standard Oil, and the Trust
1. The amount of capital needed to buy or build an oil refinery in the 1860s and 1870s remained relatively low, prompting rigorous competition among many small refineries.
  2. John D. Rockefeller, who came to control nine-tenths of the oil-refining business, founded the Standard Oil Company in 1870.
  3. Rockefeller demanded secret rebates from the railroads in exchange for his steady business, enabling him to undercut his competitors.
  4. In 1882, Rockefeller pioneered a new form of corporate structure—the trust.
  5. The trust allowed Standard Oil trustees to hold stock in various refinery companies “in trust” and to coordinate policy between the refineries, which gave Rockefeller a monopoly of the oil-refining business and eventually paved the way for the establishment of trusts in other industries.
  6. When the government threatened to outlaw the trust as a violation of free trade, Standard Oil changed its tactics and reorganized as a holding company, which combined competing companies under one central administration.
  7. By 1890, Standard Oil ruled more than 90 percent of the oil business.
  8. Journalist Ida B. Tarbell exposed Rockefeller’s unsavory business practices in a series of articles that appeared in McClure’s Magazine from 1902 to 1905, contributing to the American people’s unfavorable opinion of Rockefeller.
- D. Mass Marketing, Advertising, and Consumer Culture
1. The railroad made possible a national market for consumer goods; manufacturers integrated mass production with mass distribution to achieve large-scale consumer businesses, which became vital industries.
  2. Gustavus Swift built a vertically integrated meatpacking business in Chicago that stimulated cattle ranching in the West.
  3. John Henry Heinz applied these methods to processed food; Quaker Oats, Campbell Soup, and others followed, producing consumer goods for the national market.
  4. The rise of consumer culture made work life difficult for ordinary workers but helped them as consumers.
  5. Advertising played a vital role in stimulating a new consumer culture by enticing people to buy things they did not need.

- E. New Inventions: The Telephone and Electricity
  - 1. The second half of the nineteenth century was an age of invention.
  - 2. Alexander Graham Bell developed the telephone, and soon Americans were communicating locally and across the country with long-distance telephone service.
  - 3. Inventor Thomas Alva Edison embodied the old-fashioned virtues of Yankee ingenuity and rugged individualism that Americans most admired and pioneered the use of electricity as an energy source.
  - 4. While Americans thrilled to the new changes wrought by inventors, the day of the inventor quietly yielded to the heyday of the corporation.

## II. From Competition to Consolidation

- A. J. P. Morgan and Finance Capitalism
  - 1. At the turn of the twentieth century, John Pierpont Morgan, the preeminent finance capitalist, dominated American banking and exerted an influence so powerful that his critics charged he controlled a vast “money trust.”
  - 2. Morgan acted as a power broker in the reorganization of the railroads and the creation of industrial giants such as General Electric and U.S. Steel.
  - 3. His efforts to consolidate the railroad industry exacted a heavy toll; his overcapitalization of railroads saddled them with enormous debt, and the management style of the Morgan directors stressed short-term profit rather than long-term innovation and growth.
  - 4. In 1898, Morgan turned to the steel industry, directly challenging Andrew Carnegie.
  - 5. Morgan’s acquisition of Carnegie Steel signaled the passing of one age and the coming of another: Carnegie represented the old entrepreneurial order, Morgan the new corporate world.
  - 6. Morgan, even more than Carnegie or Rockefeller, left his stamp on the twentieth century and formed the model for corporate consolidation that economists and social scientists soon justified using a new social theory known as social Darwinism.
- B. Social Darwinism and the Gospel of Wealth
  - 1. Drawing on the work of the naturalist Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner developed

a theory called social Darwinism, concluding that progress comes about as a result of relentless competition in which the strong survive and the weak die out.

- 2. Social Darwinist theory, which glorified the acquisition of great wealth, held that any efforts by the rich to aid the poor would interfere with the laws of nature and slow evolution; in an age when the average worker earned \$500 a year, social Darwinism justified economic inequality.
- 3. Andrew Carnegie softened some of the harshest features of social Darwinism in an essay titled “The Gospel of Wealth,” in which he preached philanthropy and urged the rich to “live unostentatious lives” and “administer surplus wealth for the good of the people.”
- 4. Social Darwinism nicely suited an age in which the gross inequalities accompanying industrialization seemed to cry out for action; it buttressed the status quo and reassured white Americans that all was as it should be.

## C. Laissez-Faire and the Supreme Court

- 1. Social Darwinism, with its emphasis on the free play of competition and survival of the fittest, encouraged the economic theory of laissez-faire, which held that the government should not meddle in economic affairs, except to protect private property.
- 2. A conservative Supreme Court supported laissez-faire and used its power to protect business interests; during the 1880s and 1890s, the Court increasingly reinterpreted the Fourteenth Amendment and defined corporations as “persons” in order to protect business from taxation, regulation, labor organizations, and antitrust legislation.

## III. Politics and Culture

### A. Political Participation and Party Loyalty

- 1. Politics in the Gilded Age was shaped by the spoils system; political parties in power doled out government jobs on the federal, state, and local levels to loyal supporters rather than the most qualified candidates.
- 2. Political affiliation provided a powerful sense of group identity for voters who were proud of their loyalty to the Democrats or the Republicans.
- 3. Politics also provided entertainment and spectacle for voters and nonvoters,

- particularly those in rural areas, in an age before mass recreation and amusement.
4. Religion and ethnicity also played a significant role in politics.
- B. Sectionalism and the New South
1. Voters in the old Confederate South remained loyal Democrats in the years after Reconstruction, voting for Democratic candidates in every presidential election for the next seventy years; however, this was not true of politics at the state and local levels.
  2. Devastated by the war, the South's economy foundered while the North experienced an unprecedented industrial boom, prompting a group of influential Southerners to call for a New South modeled on the industrial North.
  3. Many Southerners, men and women, black and white, joined the national migration from farm to city, leaving the old plantations to molder and decay.
  4. In 1877 the Redeemers came to power and invited northern industrial development; railroads opened up the region for industrial development.
  5. Southerners took pride in their iron and steel industry, which grew up in the area surrounding Birmingham, Alabama, but as long as control of southern industry remained in the hands of northern investors, it could not pose a legitimate threat to northern industry.
  6. In practical terms, the industrialized New South proved an illusion; much of the South remained agricultural, still dominating the tobacco industry, and caught in the grip of the insidious crop lien system.
- C. Gender, Race, and Politics
1. Gender began to influence politics more strongly throughout the nineteenth century, proving especially important in the New South, where cross-racial alliances, such as the Readjusters, rested on the belief that universal political rights could be extended to black males in the public sphere without eliminating racial barriers in the private sphere.
  2. Democrats fought against cross-racial alliances, charging that black male political power threatened "white womanhood."
  3. This notion reached its most vicious form in the practices of lynching—the killing and mutilation of black men by white mobs.
4. By 1892, Ida B. Wells launched an antilynching movement; Wells described lynching as a problem of race and gender and insisted that the myth of black attacks on white southern women masked the reality that mob violence had more to do with economics and the shifting social structure of the South than with rape.
  5. Wells's strong stance immediately met with reprisal, but she continued to hammer home her message in the United States and abroad and spurred the creation of the National Association of Colored Women in 1896.
  6. Lynching did not end in Wells's lifetime, nor did antilynching legislation gain passage in Congress; but her forceful voice brought the issue to national prominence.
- D. Women's Activism
1. In 1869, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, along with Susan B. Anthony, formed the National Woman Suffrage Association, the first independent women's rights organization in the United States.
  2. Despite their inability to vote or hold public office, women found ways to act politically.
  3. Women's clubs proliferated between the 1860s and 1890s and devoted themselves to civic usefulness.
  4. Many reform-minded women became involved in the temperance movement, forming the Woman's Crusade, and turned to political action to end the sale of alcohol.
  5. The Woman's Crusade dramatically brought the issue of temperance back into the national spotlight and led to the formation of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1874.
  6. Despite the political power women exerted, politics, particularly presidential politics, remained an exclusively male prerogative.
- IV. Presidential Politics**
- A. Corruption and Party Strife
1. The political corruption and party factionalism that characterized the administration of Ulysses S. Grant continued to trouble the nation in the 1880s.
  2. A small but determined group of reformers, concerned that powerful business interests often contrived to

- control state legislatures and, through them, U.S. senators, championed a new ethics that would preclude politicians from getting rich from public office.
3. President Rutherford B. Hayes, whose disputed election victory in 1876 signaled the end of Reconstruction in the South, tried to steer a middle course between reformers and spoilsman.
  4. Party bosses dominated national politics: Roscoe Conkling headed the “Stalwarts,” a faction that ridiculed civil service reform and tried to get the Republican Party to run Grant for president in 1880; James G. Blaine led the “Half-Breeds”; and the “Mugwumps,” consisting primarily of reform-minded Republicans, constituted a third faction.
  5. Hayes managed to alienate all factions in his party and decided not to seek reelection in 1880.
  6. The Republicans nominated a dark-horse candidate, James A. Garfield, and a Stalwart, Chester A. Arthur, to be his running mate.
- B. Garfield’s Assassination and Civil Service Reform
1. Garfield, like Hayes, faced the difficult task of remaining independent while pacifying the party bosses and placating the reformers.
  2. After less than four months in office, Garfield was assassinated by Charles Guiteau, a disgruntled office seeker who claimed to be motivated by political partisanship.
  3. The press almost universally condemned Republican factionalism, attacks on the spoils system increased, and the public soon joined the chorus demanding reform.
  4. Reform came with the passage of the Pendleton Civil Service Act in 1883.
- C. Reform and Scandal: The Campaign of 1884
1. James G. Blaine assumed leadership of the Republican Party after Garfield’s assassination and captured the presidential nomination in 1884.
  2. Reform-minded Republicans who considered Blaine the personification of political corruption bolted from the party and embraced the Democrats’ candidate, Grover Cleveland, the reform governor of New York.
  3. Despite the hopes and efforts of the Mugwumps, the 1884 contest degenerated into scandal and mudslinging after a Buffalo newspaper accused Cleveland of fathering an illegitimate child with a local widow.
4. Blaine tried to capitalize on this scandal, staging a national tour to drum up support but after a campaign misstep by Blaine, Cleveland’s chances were revived.
  5. Blaine was unable to recover from the negative publicity generated by a comment that linked the Democratic Party with drink, with rebellion against the Union, and with Catholicism.
  6. Blaine, an Irish American, had been counting on Catholic voters to desert the Democratic Party and vote Republican.
  7. Cleveland won the election, and Cleveland and the Democrats won back the White House after twenty-five years of Republican rule.
- V. **Economic Issues and Party Realignment**
- A. The Tariff and the Politics of Protection
1. In the 1880s, the tariff became a potent political issue; the high tariff generated a huge surplus that sat in the U.S. Treasury’s vaults, depriving the nation of money that might otherwise have been invested to create jobs and roads.
  2. Many Americans—including southern and midwestern farmers, advocates of free trade, and political moderates—agitated for tariff reform; other Americans, including industrialists and workers, opposed lowering the tariff.
  3. The Republican Party seized on the tariff issue to forge a new national coalition, encouraging an alliance of industrialists, labor, and western producers who benefited from the tariff in an effort to defeat the solidly Democratic South.
  4. The tactic worked, and Republican Benjamin Harrison was elected president in 1888.
  5. Back in power, the Republicans passed the highest tariff in the nation’s history, but the strategy backfired; angry voters swept Republicans out of Congress in the election of 1890, and in 1892, Harrison lost to Grover Cleveland, whose call for tariff revision had lost him the election in 1888.
  6. The debate over the tariff masked deep divisions in American society between workers and farmers on one side and bankers and corporate giants on the other.

- B. Railroads, Trusts, and the Federal Government
1. Many Americans agreed on the need for federal regulation of the railroads and federal legislation against the trusts; midwestern farmers spearheaded the states' efforts to regulate the railroads.
  2. The Supreme Court proved hostile to state efforts to regulate the railroads, prompting Congress to pass the Interstate Commerce Act (1887), which created the nation's first federal regulatory agency, the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC).
  3. Concern over the growing power of the trusts led Congress to pass the Sherman Antitrust Act in 1890, which outlawed pools and trusts, ruling that businesses could no longer enter into agreements to restrict competition.
  4. The Supreme Court gutted this act, severely restricting its scope.
  5. Both the ICC and the Sherman Antitrust Act testified to a growing concern about corporate abuses of power and to a growing willingness to use federal measures to intervene on behalf of the public interest.
- C. The Fight for Free Silver
1. Tariff reform and regulation of the trusts gained many backers, but the issues surrounding silver stirred passions like no other issue of the day.
  2. On one side stood those who believed that gold constituted the only honest money; on the other side stood a coalition of western silver barons and poor farmers from the West and South who hoped that increasing the money supply with silver dollars, thus causing inflation, would give them some relief by enabling them to pay off their debts with cheaper dollars.
  3. In 1873, Congress voted to stop buying and minting silver, passing a law that silver advocates called the "crime of '73."
  4. In 1878 and again in 1890, Congress took steps to appease advocates of silver by passing legislation that required the government to buy silver and issue silver certificates.
  5. Unfortunately for debtors, this legislation did little to promote the inflation that farmers desired and they continued to call for the free and unlimited coinage of silver.
  6. Despite his party's support for it, Democratic President Grover Cleveland
- repeal of the 1890 Silver Purchase Act in 1893 dangerously divided the country.
- D. Panic and Depression
1. In 1893, President Cleveland had scarcely begun his second term in office when the nation fell into a deep economic depression.
  2. In an effort to prevent the United States from falling into bankruptcy, J. P. Morgan suggested a plan whereby a group of bankers would purchase gold abroad and supply it to the Treasury.
  3. The press claimed incorrectly that both the president and Morgan reaped tremendous financial benefits from this transaction.
  4. Cleveland's action managed to salvage the gold standard but did not save the country from hardship as the depression continued.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 18, the *Questions for Analysis* and *Debate* following the feature *Documenting the American Promise*, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 18.

## Review Questions

1. How did John D. Rockefeller gain control of 90 percent of the oil-refining business by 1890? (pp. 634–636) *Answer would ideally include:*
  - *Background on oil industry:* The importance of oil for lighting, new discoveries of oil in Pennsylvania, and low startup costs made the oil industry an extremely competitive industry in the nineteenth century. (p. 634)
  - *Incorporation:* Rockefeller organized his large Cleveland oil refinery as a corporation, which helped him limit liability and maximize profit. (pp. 634–635)
  - *Size and leverage:* Rockefeller used the size of his corporation, Standard Oil, to bargain surreptitiously for reduced railroad rates, which in turn enabled him to undercut competition. From this position, he was able to force competitors to shut down, or sell out and become part of Standard Oil. (p. 635)
  - *Trusts and Holding Companies:* To strengthen the legal footing of his secret dealings, Rockefeller used

trustees and stock swaps to coordinate between companies, effectively giving him a monopoly over oil refinement. When the legal standing of this arrangement came under fire, he reorganized his refineries under a holding company, which made them technically one company. A central administration could coordinate their actions without risking being held in violation of antitrust laws. (pp. 635–636)

- *Management:* By controlling an entire sector of the economy, Rockefeller was able to maximize efficiency. He expanded outward from his control of refineries to seek control of transportation, marketing, and sources of crude oil. (p. 636)

2. Why did the ideas of social Darwinism appeal to many Americans in the late nineteenth century? (pp. 644–645) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Explanation of social Darwinism:* Herbert Spencer and Charles Sumner crudely applied Charles Darwin's work on evolution to enunciate a social theory known as social Darwinism. It held that only fierce competition could produce progress. Applying the principle of "survival of the fittest" to society, they argued that intervening to assist the poor violated laws of nature and would only impede progress. (pp. 644–645)

- *Economic context of the Gilded Age:* By the late nineteenth century industrialism was in full swing. Some Americans, like Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, amassed enormous fortunes while the majority of workers endured low wages and dangerous conditions. Social Darwinism accounted for these inequalities in a way that comforted the rich and excused the nation from intervention. (p. 645)

3. How did race and gender influence politics? (pp. 650–651) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on politics and citizenship as white and male:* From its beginnings, American citizenship and its prerogatives were defined as male. With the advent of universal white male suffrage in the early nineteenth century, gender eclipsed class as the defining feature of citizenship. The concept of separate spheres dictated women's exclusion from traditional electoral politics. (p. 650)

- *Race, gender and politics in the South:* In the New South the extension of voting rights to black men led Democrats to argue that black political power and sexual power went hand-in-hand. This led most whites to embrace Democratic politics in order to restrict black political power in the name of protecting white womanhood. The retreat of the federal government from the South after Reconstruction led to a vast increase in lynching as a way to thwart black men's access to political and economic power. (p. 650)

- *Women's activism:* Despite their exclusion from electoral politics, women organized political activism

that pointed to women's moral authority as wives and mothers to justify their participation in the public sphere. Ida B. Wells launched the antilynching movement and articulated lynching as a problem of race and gender by demonstrating the ways southern patriarchy used control over women to circumscribe the liberty of black men. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony formed the National Woman Suffrage Association. Women organized women's clubs that devoted themselves to civic usefulness and brought problems such as child labor, exploitation of workers, and pure food and drugs into the national political spotlight. Women temperance activists formed the Women's Crusade and the Women's Christian Temperance Union to argue for prohibition and, later, for other political causes. (pp. 650–651)

4. How did the question of civil service reform contribute to divisions within the Republican Party? (pp. 653–654) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Importance of the spoils system:* The nineteenth century party system revolved around patronage at all levels of politics. This meant that reformers faced staunch resistance in trying to replace it with a civil service system. (p. 653)

- *Power of party bosses:* The system of patronage had made party bosses powerful. When they faced the prospect of civil service reform, they, along with other "Stalwarts," mobilized to resist, creating competing factions in the Republican Party. (pp. 653–654)

5. Why were Americans split on the question of the tariff and currency? (pp. 656–660) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on the tariff and currency issue:* Early protective tariffs were intended to promote American industry by raising the price of imported goods. By the 1860s, the tariff had become a tool for raising federal revenues, and for industrialists with political influence to insulate themselves from competition. By the 1880s, the inflated tariff had become a stumbling block in the American economy. On one side of the currency issue stood those who believed that gold was the only form of honest money. As gold became more expensive and farmers' debts increased, the call for a cheaper currency in the form of the paper dollar or silver, split the country. (pp. 656–659)

- *Proponents and opponents of the tariff:* The northern industrialists whose profits had grown under the protective cover of the tariff resisted its reduction. Western producers of raw goods also valued the protection of the tariff. Many workers also perceived the tariff as shielding their wages, and were unwilling to weaken it. Americans, particularly farmers, paid the costs of the tariff in high prices, but did not enjoy its

benefits when they sold goods abroad. They called for a reduction in the tariff. (pp. 656–657)

- *Proponents and opponents of the silver issue:* The issue of currency also split the nation; westerners wanted the country to buy and mint silver dollars, hoping to raise the value of the metal, while farmers from both the West and the South hoped that minting the silver would cause inflation and enable them to pay their debts with a cheaper currency. Creditors, mostly from the East, did not want to be paid with a devalued dollar and thus supported the gold standard rather than silver dollar. (pp. 658–659)

- *Political response to the tariff:* Parties saw in the tariff an issue that might galvanize voters across regions. But, as the elections of the 1880s demonstrated, even Americans supportive of a tariff did not support its exploitation as a limitless source of pork for politicians to dole out. (p. 657)

- *Political response to the silver issue:* During this period the Greenback Labor Party emerged briefly in support of free silver and paper money. The Depression of 1873 further added to the frenzy surrounding the issue of free silver. Republicans in Congress voted to stop minting silver, making eastern bankers and investors very happy, but infuriating silver supporters who referred to the act as the “crime of ‘73.” Congress later passed the Sherman Silver Purchase Act that required the government to purchase and mint silver, but enacted strict regulations under which to do so. (pp. 659–660)

features of the business and avoid sharing the profits with any outside businesses. Carnegie’s steel supplied the skeleton of the new structures rising in American cities. At the same time, his success benefited his workers in only limited ways. (pp. 633–634)

- *Trusts and holding companies:* John D. Rockefeller pioneered the trust, a legal mechanism for controlling a sector of industry laterally. He achieved great wealth through his management and control of the industry, to the detriment of his competitors. (pp. 635–636)

- *Expansion of the railroad:* The expansion of networks of railroads across the country facilitated the transportation of goods across the country, helping establish a national market and the expansion of business. It also promoted the growth of supporting industries like steel. They also became the object of the speculation and cutthroat competition characteristic of the late nineteenth century. Federal efforts to promote the railroads included large land-giveaways to the industry, which raised the price of land for settlers heading west. The power concentrated in the railroads troubled many Americans. (pp. 629–632)

2. By the 1870s, several new concerns had displaced slavery as the defining question of American politics. What were these new issues, and how did they shape new regional, economic, and racial alliances and rivalries? In your answer, consider the part political parties played in this process. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Tariff:* The bloated tariff of the 1880s became the object of political wrangling in the Gilded Age. It pitted a coalition of those who benefited from the tariff—northern industrialists, western producers of raw goods, industrial workers—against those who suffered from its effects, particularly farmers. The Republicans recognized in the issue a means of creating a new national coalition. (pp. 656–657)

- *Trusts:* Americans’ concern about the concentration of power in the hands of industrial concerns, particularly the powerful railroads, contributed to organized opposition by voters. Farmers supported the Grange and in some states managed to achieve some regulation of the railroads. Their pressure contributed to Congress’s creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) and passage of the Sherman Antitrust Act (pp. 657–658)

- *Reform and ethnic tensions:* Americans divided on social policy matters ranging from civil service reform, temperance, and Sabbath observance. Tensions over such matters, and in the larger sphere, between the Republican and Democratic parties, often followed fractures along ethnic and religious lines, with elite Protestant Republicans opposing immigrant Democrats. (pp. 648–649)

## Making Connections

1. Late nineteenth century industrialization depended on developments in technology and business strategy. What were some of the key innovations in both arenas? How did they facilitate the maturation of American industry? How did railroads contribute to the growth of American industry? In your answer, discuss the drawbacks and benefits of these developments. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Technology:* Americans marveled at the creation of the telephone, which, like the railroad, aided communications across the nation. Edison’s innovation changed how Americans lived, although unevenly: The cities quickly electrified, while the country remained in the dark. (p. 640)

- *Vertical integration:* Controlling all aspects of business, from the extraction of raw materials to the sale of the final product, was called vertical integration. Andrew Carnegie pioneered this business strategy and managed a staggeringly profitable business. Vertical integration enabled Carnegie to control all

- *Free silver:* Dispute over whether gold alone should be the basis of American currency energized and divided Americans. Farmers from the South and the West were allied in their call for the minting of silver money as a way of expanding currency. They hoped it would create inflation and enable them to pay off their debts incurred during the hard times of the 1870s and 1880s with cheaper dollars. Advocates of the gold standard, including creditors, wished to avoid such inflation. (pp. 658–659)

3. Energetic political activity characterized Gilded Age America, both within formal party politics and beyond. How did the activism of women who were denied the vote contribute to the era's electoral politics? In your answer, be sure to cite specific examples of political action. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Gender and political privileges:* Politics, and particularly suffrage, constituted an arena of distinctly masculine activity in the United States. The extension of suffrage to all men underlined the gendered character of nineteenth century politics. This feature of American political culture facilitated interracial alliances, such as the Readjusters in Virginia. Still, such alliances remained vulnerable to disruption on racial lines. (p. 650)

- *Women's political action:* Even though women were denied the vote, they participated in politics. For example, women by the thousands marched against taverns and other purveyors of alcohol. Women helped put temperance on the legislative agenda of many politicians. (pp. 650–651)

- *Antilynching activism:* Ida B. Wells, an African American woman, protested the lynching of black men in the South through her publications and personal appearances, despite threats of violence. She brought the problem into new prominence. (p. 650)

4. The U.S. Congress and Supreme Court facilitated the concentration of power in the hands of private business concerns during the Gilded Age. Citing specific policies and court decisions, discuss how government helped augment the power of big business in the late nineteenth century. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Congressional support for railroads:* The Congress gave away huge swathes of land in the West to the railroads to facilitate their growth. The railroads in turn expanded their profits by selling land to homesteaders. (pp. 629–630)

- *Supreme Court decisions:* The court bolstered the power of corporations by defining them as people. With this understanding, the court interpreted labor unions, income tax, and state attempts to regulate railroad rates as unconstitutional under the Fourteenth

Amendment. This decision strengthened the legal position of corporations, and sapped the states' regulatory power. In *Wabash v. Illinois* the Court again found that states did not have power to regulate railroads because their tracks crossed state lines, further weakening regulation. In *United States v. E. C. Knight Company*, the Court weakened antitrust legislation by distinguishing manufacturing from trade, freeing many businesses from regulation. (pp. 646–647, 657–658)

- *Political corruption:* Corporations sought, and got, preferential legislative attention through bribery. (pp. 653–654)

### Documenting the American Promise: Rockefeller and His Critics (pp. 638–639)

1. Henry Demarest Lloyd and Ida Tarbell agree that Rockefeller gained control of the oil industry through illegal methods. What was his primary weapon, and how did it operate? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Explanation of rebate:* Rockefeller's primary weapon was the secret rebate. In this arrangement Rockefeller would promise Standard Oil's steady business to a railroad as long as the railroad would refund him some percentage of his shipping fares.

- *Benefits of rebate to Standard Oil:* Rockefeller then used this extra money to undercut competing oil refineries' prices and drive them out of business. This allowed him to build a monopoly in the oil refining industry.

2. Compare Lloyd's style to that of Tarbell. Which is the more effective and why? Was either one of these journalists an impartial observer? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Style:* Lloyd's writing makes liberal use of alliteration and metaphor and is somewhat bombastic and oratorial. Tarbell's style employs a straightforward narrative that compares a ruthless Rockefeller to the more virtuous and moral owners of smaller refining businesses.

- *Effectiveness:* Tarbell's storytelling would seem to be the more effective style. Writing and publishing her critique of Rockefeller and Standard Oil in installments in a popular magazine and framing it as a struggle between good and evil was probably an excellent strategy for building a readership hooked on suspense and for molding public opinion.

- *Assessment of impartiality:* As the daughter of an oilman who was driven out of business by Rockefeller, Tarbell is hardly an impartial critic. Nevertheless, her story is a compelling and persuasive one. The text reveals less about Lloyd's background and his impartiality is harder to judge.

3. Rockefeller never responded to his critics. Do you think Rockefeller's silence was a good strategy? Why or why not? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Advantages of Rockefeller's silence:* It is perhaps true, as Rockefeller himself suggested, that if he responded to Tarball he would draw greater attention to her criticism of him. Ignoring her, however, did not make Tarball and her story disappear and she was quite successful at publicizing his illegitimate business practices and turning public opinion against him. Perhaps if he had spoken up and defended himself, perhaps by pointing out his religion, charity, and modest habits, he could have countered Tarball's effectiveness.

- *Disadvantages of Rockefeller's silence:* Deciding not to respond to critics such as Lloyd and Tarball Rockefeller essentially allowed them to define him and his business practices. Criticisms of Rockefeller did not seem to affect the success of Standard Oil, but by not speaking up Rockefeller did nothing to prevent becoming "the most hated man in America."

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### "What a Funny Little Government" (p. 635)

**Reading the Image:** According to Horace Taylor, what kind of relationship did John D. Rockefeller have with the federal government? What benefits does he accrue from it? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Rockefeller's relationship with the government:* Taylor's cartoon indicates his belief that Rockefeller (and by extension other large trusts) was firmly in control of the federal government. It is smaller than he is—he has to use a magnifying glass to really see the White House—and it clearly is under his control. The coins coming out of the bottom of the White House demonstrate that he is using the presidency as a source of personal revenue. The Capitol is a highly productive oil refinery, with a field of oil barrels surrounding it, an image that Taylor employs to indicate the extent to which legislators have been corrupted by money interests into making the government a tool for large business. Rockefeller has clearly manipulated the government to serve his own financial ends.

**Connections:** How much influence did industrialists such as Rockefeller exert over the national government in the late nineteenth century? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Influence:* Many Americans felt that the government succumbed to business interests in the late

nineteenth century, and to some extent they were correct. National senators were elected by state legislators, who frequently were corrupt; Henry Demarest Lloyd contended that Standard Oil literally owned Pennsylvania's state government. The national senators often closely and quite openly were tied to big business. Nelson Aldrich, a senator from Rhode Island, was linked by marriage to the Rockefellers and did not object to the label "the senator from Standard Oil." Attempts to control big business through legislation like the 1890 Sherman Antitrust Act generally were unsuccessful because the measures left such enormous loopholes.

### Heinz Company Advertisement (p. 637)

**Reading the Image:** How accurately do you think the ad portrays the Heinz plant? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Accuracy:* It seems unlikely that the actual Heinz plant would be so nicely appointed as to resemble a family's dining room. Additionally, in most factories supervisory roles were held by men, and there are no male employees pictured in the larger image here. Finally, the absence of any evidence of women of eastern or southern European ethnicities seems unlikely in an unskilled work force of this period.

**Connections:** How did ads like this one work to create demand for a product? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Creating demand:* Advertisements such as the Heinz trading card helped to create the demand for new products by appealing to the middle-class Victorian values of their potential customers. The characters in this image are hard-working, respectable, and clean. While the advertising industry had not yet begun to use the social sciences to gauge the demands and desires of its audience, the makers of this card clearly believed that promoting the Heinz Company as part of this domestic culture would make consumers more likely to purchase their products. Perhaps the reasoning behind this logic was to make women feel more comfortable purchasing goods that, in the past, they would have made themselves. Portraying the Heinz products as such was meant reassure female consumers (who dominated the market at this time) that the foods they were feeding their families were just as wholesome as if they were made at home.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 18.1 Railroad Expansion, 1870–1890 (p. 630)

**Reading the Map:** Where were most of the railroad lines located in 1870? What cities were the major railroad centers? What was the end point of the only western route? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Railroad lines and U.S. cities:* In 1870, most railroad lines were concentrated in the eastern half of the nation, particularly the northeastern, upper Midwestern, and southern states. The western and southwestern states virtually had no rail service: California had a single line cutting through the middle of the state, and Texas had limited track in the eastern portion of the state, while North Dakota, South Dakota, Oregon, Washington, Montana, Colorado, Arizona, Oklahoma, and New Mexico had no railroad service at all. The major railroad centers were Chicago, Omaha, Cleveland, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Atlanta, Nashville, and Memphis.
- *Western railroad route:* In 1870, there was a single transcontinental route that started in Omaha and ended in San Francisco, although by 1890, there were several western terminuses, including Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

**Connections:** Why were so many rails laid between 1870 and 1890? How did the railroads affect the nation's economy? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Reasons for expanding the rails:* Rails were laid largely because there was money to be made in railroad construction; the railroads were built primarily by speculators such as Jay Gould, who were much less concerned about the logical growth of lines than their own immediate profits. As a result, the railroads tended to expand and consolidate, leading to monopolistic control over large geographic areas.
- *Railroads and the economy:* Economically, railroads helped to create national markets in the late nineteenth century by making it possible for businesses to transport their goods to much larger circles of consumers. Railroads also spurred the development of the steel industry when it became evident that steel rails were more durable than iron ones.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in "Additional Resources for Chapter 18."*

### LECTURE 1

#### *New Industries, New Management*

This lecture discusses how American industry expanded at a phenomenal rate in the decades following the Civil War. Start by suggesting to students that a

number of factors—among them abundant sources of raw materials and energy, a seemingly endless supply of cheap labor, Americans' ingenuity, and growth of the railroads—contributed to this expansion. Then, point out that new industries—steel, oil refining, electric power, and the telephone and telegraph—required new forms of management and organization. Here, you will want to mention that entrepreneurs such as Jay Gould, Andrew Carnegie, and John D. Rockefeller sought security for their newly formed corporations. No longer satisfied with the traditional guarantees afforded to corporations, these men devised new methods of organization in order to shore up their power and dominance in their respective industries. Both informal agreements such as pools and the more formal arrangements of trusts and holding companies allowed them to gobble up their competition and institute certain forms of central control.

Be sure to explain that these tycoons received support from J. P. Morgan, a leading financier of the late nineteenth century, and from the Supreme Court, which in a series of cases strengthened the movement toward corporate consolidation by striking down any federal or state regulation of industry. Have students discuss the attacks levied against Standard Oil by Henry Demarest Lloyd and Ida M. Tarbell, excerpted in the feature *Documenting the American Promise: "Rockefeller and His Critics"* (pp. 638–639). Finally, you will want to mention that both social Darwinism, promoted by Yale professor William Graham Sumner, and Andrew Carnegie's "The Gospel of Wealth" served to bolster corporate consolidation, prevent regulation, and justify the concentration of wealth in the hands of America's elite.

### LECTURE 2

#### *Party Politics in the Late Nineteenth Century*

In this lecture, convey to students that party politics held a fascination for most Americans in the decades following the Civil War. Remind your students that if the presidents themselves seemed dull, the hoopla that surrounded their elections to the White House captivated the electorate. Allegations of scandal and corruption pervaded politics, but voter participation during this period was at an all-time high. Students should understand that most Americans had grown resigned to the degree to which their politicians were involved in scandal and graft, and certainly the corruption and party factionalism that characterized the Grant administration continued in the following decades. Discuss the allegations of scandal that tainted the presidential administrations of the late nineteenth century. Suggest that although President Rutherford B. Hayes continued to use the spoils system in handing out government posts, rewarding members of the

Republican Party, the party bosses were never satisfied with Hayes's dispensation of federal perks and made it impossible for Hayes to seek reelection in 1880.

Note that the assassination of President James A. Garfield in 1881 by a deranged man claiming affiliation with a rival Republican faction dramatically demonstrated the need for an overhaul of the civil service system. The Pendleton Civil Service Act, signed into law by President Chester A. Arthur in 1883, provided such a reform. Draw students' attention to the photo on page 654 showing prospective police officers taking a civil service exam, and have students discuss the strengths and weaknesses of reform. Remind students that the Democrats were no more immune from the taint of scandal than were their rivals. Highlight the election of 1884, during which the Democratic presidential candidate Grover Cleveland had to own up to the fact that he had sired an illegitimate child, although, as the textbook notes, the paternity of the child was never proved. Cleveland's opponent, James G. Blaine, had been associated with shady bond dealings, however. In the end, Blaine's association with a mudslinging preacher who linked the Democratic Party to alcoholism, the pope, and secession irreparably damaged his bid for the presidency.

Be sure to note that although electoral politics was a prerogative reserved for white men, both white women and African Americans were clearly involved in American political life. To highlight this point, cover Ida B. Wells's antilynching campaign, and note its explicitly political agenda. Note the ways in which Wells's campaign undermined southern white demagogues' efforts to stay in power by linking African American political rights with black sexuality and a threat to white southern womanhood. Be sure your students understand the ways in which Wells set out to dismantle this "threadbare lie." You will also want to cover the women's club movement, the suffrage movement, and the temperance movement.

## LECTURE 3

### *Free Silver versus the Gold Bugs*

This lecture demonstrates that the most divisive political issue of the second half of the nineteenth century involved the nation's currency. Start by pointing out that, at first, the debate centered on paper currency. Remind students that in order to fund the Civil War, the federal government had printed greenbacks, which were not backed by hard money (gold and silver) and therefore contributed to inflation. Here, you will need to explain the rationale of both those who supported and those who opposed the expansion of the money supply. Supporters of cheap money (debtors from the West and South) formed the Greenback Labor Party in

the 1870s, arguing that the nation needed an expanding monetary system to keep pace with the nation's growing population and commercial expansion. Creditors, mostly from the Northeast, opposed an expanding monetary system because it would allow debtors to pay back their loans with devalued currency. In 1879, the federal government supported the creditors by tying the nation's currency to the gold reserves, which made money tighter. Although the Greenback Labor Party's coalition fell apart after the election of 1880, the issue of currency reform remained on the forefront of national politics.

At this point, underscore that free silver, not greenbacks, became the rallying cry of those who advocated an expanding monetary system. Take your students back to chapter 17 and remind them that the silver bonanza in western mines in the 1860s and 1870s led to a flood of silver on the market, which drove down the price of silver relative to gold. Debtors (and those in the mining industry) thus saw silver as the answer to a tightening money supply. In 1873, however, a lame-duck Republican Congress struck a blow to silver advocates by demonetizing the metal, thereby limiting even further the money in circulation. A Democratic Congress sought to appease silver advocates by passing the Bland-Allison Act in 1878, which required the government to buy silver and issue silver certificates, and the Sherman Silver Purchase Act in 1890, which increased the amount of silver the government had to buy. Neither of these two acts eased the economic plight of debtors, who soon demanded the "free and unlimited coinage of silver." President Grover Cleveland, a gold-bug Democrat who solidly backed the gold standard, refused to yield on the issue and, even more egregious to some, forced the Congress to repeal the Sherman Silver Purchase Act in 1893. End your lecture with the observation that the currency debate would assume even greater volatility in the 1890s as agrarian discontent, labor unrest, and unemployment all increased dramatically.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. Agrarian Discontent

Many students have a tough time understanding the rise in agrarian discontent during the late nineteenth century that gave rise to the Grange movement and culminated in the People's Party. Because of overproduction, the growth of new farms under cultivation, and increasing competition from the world market, American farmers had been suffering from a decline in commodity prices since the end of the Civil War. Moreover, railroads and middlemen who handled

produce often cheated farmers by charging high transportation and storage rates while offering rebates to high-volume industrial traffickers like John D. Rockefeller. High tariff rates also placed the American farmer at a disadvantage because they protected manufactured goods (pricing them out of reach for the average farmer) but failed to protect agricultural products. Finally, farmers were chronically in debt either because of high mortgages or the crop lien system, and their debt increased with falling commodity prices. Frustrated with Congress, which refused to listen to their demands for currency reform, farmers began organizing, recognizing that only demonstrations of power and solidarity would bring about social and economic change.

## 2. The Gilded Age Presidents Were All Party Tools Who Didn't Think or Act Independently

Many students may be familiar with the factionalism and corruption that characterized politics in the late nineteenth century. They may therefore fail to appreciate the efforts made by some politicians to act independently. The assassination of James A. Garfield catapulted Chester A. Arthur, an entrenched member of the Stalwart faction, to the presidency. Almost immediately, he distanced himself from Roscoe Conkling's gang by prosecuting his old cronies for receiving kickbacks on contracts for postal routes. He later vetoed a pork-barrel measure that surely would have benefited many Republicans in Congress. He also vetoed the Chinese Exclusion Act because he believed it violated the Burlingame Treaty of 1868. Finally, Arthur aligned himself with the reform minority by signing the Pendleton Civil Service Act in 1883 in an effort to end cronyism in national politics and by appointing a commission to study tariff rates. His actions as president so angered leaders of the Republican Party that they refused to nominate him in the 1884 election, choosing instead the more predictable, and entrenched, James G. Blaine of Maine.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

The rise of Andrew Carnegie and the development of the modern steel industry are detailed in the PBS documentary *The Richest Man in the World: Andrew Carnegie*. Segments from *The Telephone, Edison's Miracle of Light*, and *The Iron Road*, all by PBS, are also useful in the classroom. To supplement the material in the textbook, consider showing *Mr. Sears' Catalogue*, which details the growth of the mail-order business in late-nineteenth-century America, and "The Gilded Age," part of the *American Vision* series, which looks at artistic movements in Gilded Age America.

## Class Discussion Starters

Have your class consider the possible course of American development if the railroad had not been invented. Although the question is a bit hackneyed, it should get students thinking about the importance of the railroad to the modern American infrastructure. Could industry have developed the way it did without railroads to move people, goods, and information quickly, cheaply (at least for the leading industrialists), and efficiently? What other industries grew alongside the railroad industry?

## Historical Debates

You might end your lecture on nineteenth-century politics by asking students to compare the late-nineteenth-century political scene with that of today. Why was voter turnout so much higher then, and why is our electorate seemingly so much more apathetic today? How do the scandals of the late nineteenth century compare with those of the late twentieth century? What role did "private morality," then and today, play in electoral politics? What role should it play? Ask students what has changed and what has remained the same.

## Reading Primary Sources

Using the *Documenting the American Promise* feature "Rockefeller and His Critics" (pp. 638–639), have students note the ways in which Henry Demarest Lloyd and Ida M. Tarbell both suggested that John D. Rockefeller and Standard Oil posed a threat to American democracy. What kinds of evidence do these two authors marshal to shore up their cases? What kinds of examples do they cite to convey the danger that Rockefeller and his company represented? Then, have students discuss whether the authors made their cases convincingly. If they find that any one of the authors failed in his or her attempt, have students articulate where the argument fell apart, and why.

## Additional Resources for Chapter 18

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 18 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 18.1: Railroad Expansion, 1870–1900 (p. 630)
- Map 18.2: The Election of 1884 (p. 656)

- Global Comparison: Railroad Track Mileage, 1890 (p. 631)
- “What a Funny Little Government” (p. 635)
- Hayes Campaign Lantern, 1876 (p. 649)

### Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 18 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 18.1: Railroad Expansion, 1870–1900 (p. 630)
- Map 18.2: The Election of 1884 (p. 656)
- Global Comparison: Railroad Track Mileage, 1890 (p. 631)
- Figure 18.1: Iron and Steel Production, 1870–1900 (p. 633)
- Figure 18.2: Voter Turnout, 1868–1900 and 1968–2000 (p. 648)
- Andrew Carnegie (p. 634)
- “What a Funny Little Government” (p. 635)
- Heinz Company Advertisement (p. 637)
- Hayes Campaign Lantern, 1876 (p. 649)
- “Woman’s Holy War” (p. 652)
- “Another Voice for Cleveland” (p. 655)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 18 include:

- *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892–1900*, by Jacqueline Jones Royster
- “*Looking Backward: 2000–1887*” by Edward Bellamy, edited with an introduction by Daniel H. Borus

- *Thomas Edison and Modern America: A Brief History with Documents*, by Theresa M. Collins and Lisa Gitelman

## For Students

### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 18 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- Jay Gould on Capital and Labor: *Testimony before the U.S. Senate*, 1883
- William Graham Sumner on Social Obligations: *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other*, 1883
- Henry Demarest Lloyd Attacks Monopolies: *Wealth against Commonwealth*, 1894
- Andrew Carnegie Explains the Gospel of Wealth: *Wealth*, 1889
- Henry George Explains Why Poverty is a Crime: *An Analysis of the Crime of Poverty*, 1885

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map, visual, and document activities are available for chapter 18:

### Map Activity

- Map 18.1: Railroad Expansion, 1870–1890 (p. 630)

### Visual Activities

- “What a Funny Little Government” (p. 635)
- Heinz Company Advertisement (p. 637)

### Reading Historical Documents Activity

- Rockefeller and His Critics (pp. 638–639)

# The City and Its Workers

## 1870–1900

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### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. What factors led to rapid urbanization during the late nineteenth century? What role did immigration and industrialization's demand for cheap labor play? How did native-born whites respond to the city's proliferation of immigrants and African Americans? In what ways did the social geography of the city change during the late nineteenth century?
2. Describe briefly America's diverse workers and the kinds of work in which they were engaged. What were the effects of mechanization on American industry? What was the family economy, and what role did women and children play in it? How did the managerial class develop and transform American labor?
3. Why did workers in the late nineteenth century organize? What were working conditions like, and how did management respond to labor's demands? What influence did the Great Strike of 1877 have on American labor? How did the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor form, and what different strategies and philosophies did they embrace? Why did the middle class fear the radicalization of American labor?
4. What was "domesticity"? What did it mean to both working-class and middle-class women? What kinds of amusements existed for city dwellers in the late nineteenth century, and why did city dwellers not enjoy the benefits of these amusements equally?
5. What kinds of governments developed to run America's cities, and how did they operate? Explain Americans' ambivalence about the city, and explain why Chicago's White City best exemplifies that ambivalence.

### Annotated Chapter Outline

#### I. The Rise of the City

- A. The Urban Explosion, a Global Migration
  1. In the waning decades of the nineteenth century the movement from rural areas to urban industrial centers attracted millions of immigrants to American shores.
  2. Capitalist development in the late 1800s shattered traditional patterns of economic activity in the rural periphery, and as old patterns broke down, rural areas exported, along with raw materials, new recruits for the industrial labor force.
  3. Beginning in the 1870s, railroad expansion and low steamship fares gave the world's people newfound mobility, enabling industrialists to draw on the global population for cheap labor.
  4. European immigration came in two distinct waves: before 1880, the majority of immigrants came from northern and western Europe; after 1880, the majority came from southern and eastern Europe.
  5. The new wave of immigration resulted from a number of factors, including an economic depression in southern Italy, the persecution of Jews in eastern Europe, a general desire to avoid conscription into the Russian army, and America's need for cheap labor.
  6. Would-be immigrants eager for information about the United States relied on letters, advertisements, and word of

- mouth—sources that were not always dependable or truthful.
7. Most new immigrants remained in cities, but not all newcomers came to stay—many young men worked for a year or a season and then returned to their homelands.
  8. Women most often came to the U.S. as wives, mothers, and daughters and not as single-wage laborers.
  9. Jews, escaping pogroms in eastern Europe, usually came with their families and came to stay.
- B. Racism and the Cry for Immigration Restriction
1. Ethnic diversity and racism played a role in dividing skilled workers, usually members of older immigrant groups from northern or western Europe, from the unskilled, those from southern and eastern Europe.
  2. Throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, members of the educated elite as well as workers viewed ethnic and even religious differences as racial characteristics.
  3. Many African Americans migrated to the cities of the North, where they hoped to escape Jim Crow laws and pursue economic opportunities.
  4. On the West Coast, the Asian population grew until the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act slowed Chinese immigration to a trickle.
  5. On the East Coast the volume of new immigrants from Europe that began in the 1880s proved to be unprecedented.
  6. Many Americans saw new immigrants as uneducated, backward, and uncouth, and blue-blooded Yankees such as Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts formed an unlikely alliance with organized labor to press for immigration restriction.
- C. The Social Geography of the City
1. During the Gilded Age, cities experienced both demographic and technological changes that greatly altered the urban social geography.
  2. The development of the electric streetcar in the 1880s led to urban congestion and suburban sprawl.
  3. Social segregation emerged in cities as those who could afford to move to the urban periphery while the city's poor, unable to afford even a few cents for streetcar fare, crowded into the inner city
- or lived near the factories where they worked.
4. Jacob Riis documented in his book *How the Other Half Lives* the poverty, crowding, dirt, and disease that constituted the daily reality of New York City's immigrant poor.
  5. Riis's middle-class readers bristled at his revelations about the poor, but also worried about the excesses of the wealthy.
  6. The excesses of the Gilded Age's newly minted millionaires became especially alarming when coupled with disdain for the general welfare of ordinary people.
  7. The fear that America had become a plutocracy gained credibility from the fact that the wealthiest one percent of the population owned more than half of the real and personal property in the country.
- II. At Work in Industrial America**
- A. America's Diverse Workers
1. Common laborers, who stood at the bottom of the country's economic ladder and generally came from the most recent immigrant groups, formed the backbone of the American labor force.
  2. At the opposite end of the labor hierarchy stood skilled craftsmen; but even for skilled workers much industry and manufacturing in the nineteenth century remained seasonal—few workers could count on year-round pay.
  3. Mechanization transformed textile mills and the garment industry, where most workers were young unmarried women who worked long, hard hours.
  4. Discriminated against in the marketplace, where they earned less than men, and largely ignored by the labor unions, women generally worked for only eight to ten years, before they married.
- B. The Family Economy: Women and Children
1. Many working-class families, whether native-born or immigrant, lived in or near poverty; their economic survival depended on the contributions of all family members, regardless of sex or age.
  2. Child labor increased decade by decade and the percentage of children under fifteen engaged in paid labor did not drop until after World War I.
  3. In the late nineteenth century, the number of women workers also rose sharply, most commonly shifting slowly from domestic service to factory work and then to office work, but varying considerably according to race and ethnicity.

**C. Managers and White Collars**

1. Business expansion and consolidation led to a managerial revolution, creating a new class of managers, the majority of whom were high school-educated white men.
2. Until late in the century, when engineering schools began to supply recruits, skilled workers were able to move from the shop floor to positions of considerable responsibility.

**D. "Typewriters" and Sales Clerks**

1. As businesses became larger and more far-flung, the need for more elaborate and exact records in addition to the greater volume of correspondence led to the hiring of more office workers, creating opportunities for secretarial work for literate white women.
2. Called "typewriters," women workers were seen as indistinguishable from the machines they operated, but far from viewing their jobs as dehumanizing, women typewriters took pride in their work and relished the economic independence it afforded them.
3. As the new consumer culture came to dominate American urban life in the late nineteenth century, department stores offered another employment opportunity for women in the cities.
4. Saleswomen were subject to harsh and arbitrary discipline, yet salesclerks counted themselves as a cut above factory workers.

**III. Workers Organize****A. The Great Railroad Strike of 1877**

1. At the same time as announcing a 10 percent wage reduction in the summer of 1877, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad declared a 10 percent dividend to its stockholders, causing brakemen in West Virginia, whose wages had already fallen from \$70 to \$30 a month, to go on strike.
2. This action touched off the Great Railroad Strike of 1877, a nationwide uprising that spread rapidly across the country.
3. As the strike spread, violence erupted leading to property damage, many injuries, and twenty deaths.
4. Within eight days, governors in nine states, acting at the behest of the railroad owners and managers, defined the strike as an "insurrection," calling for federal troops.
5. The troops opened rail traffic, protected scab crews, and maintained peace, which ultimately ended the strike.

6. Although the Great Railroad Strike was spontaneous and unorganized, it frightened the authorities and upper classes like nothing before in U.S. labor history, increasing feelings of hostility towards labor organizations.

7. The strike served as an alarm bell to workers, who now recognized that they held little power as individuals and flocked to join unions.

**B. The Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor**

1. The Knights of Labor, the first mass organization of America's working class, proved the chief beneficiary of labor's newfound consciousness.
2. In 1878, the organization launched an ambitious campaign to organize workers regardless of skill, sex, race, or nationality and became the dominant force in labor during the 1880s.
3. They successfully recruited teachers, waitresses, housewives and domestics, making women twenty percent of their membership; they also organized over 94,000 black workers.
4. The Knights of Labor advocated a workers' democracy that embraced public ownership of the railroads, an income tax, equal pay for women workers, and the abolition of child labor.
5. The Knights of Labor did have rivals, including the American Federation of Labor, headed by Samuel Gompers.
6. Gompers's plan was to organize skilled workers and to use strikes to gain immediate objectives such as higher pay and better working conditions.

**C. Haymarket and the Specter of Labor Radicalism**

1. While the AFL and the Knights of Labor competed for members, radical socialists and anarchists believed that reform was futile and called for social revolution.
2. Since the 1840s, labor had sought to end the twelve-hour workday, which was standard in industry and manufacturing.
3. Supporters of the movement set May 1, 1886, as the date for a nationwide general strike in support of the eight-hour day.
4. All factions of the nascent labor movement were represented in Chicago on May Day for what was billed the largest demonstration to date.
5. Management at the McCormick reaper works brought in strikebreakers and

- marched the “scabs” to work under the protection of Chicago police and security guards supplied by the Pinkerton Detective Agency.
6. During the rally, 45,000 workers paraded peacefully down Michigan Avenue in support of the eight-hour day.
  7. Trouble came two days later when strikers attacked scabs outside the McCormick works and police opened fire, killing or wounding six men.
  8. Radicals organized a rally for May 4 in Haymarket Square to protest the police action.
  9. When the police ordered the crowd to disperse, someone threw a bomb into the police ranks and after the melee ended, seven policemen and an unknown number of others lay dead and injured.
  10. News of the Haymarket “riot” provoked a nationwide convulsion of fear, followed by blind rage directed at anarchists, labor unions, strikers, immigrants, and the working class in general.
  11. Eight men, none of them directly connected to the bomb throwing, stood trial and were found guilty.
  12. The bomb blast at Haymarket had lasting repercussions, including delivering a deathblow both to the eight-hour day movement and to the Knights of Labor.
  13. With the labor movement under attack, many skilled workers turned to the American Federation of Labor, but the nation’s unskilled workers remained untouched by the AFL’s brand of trade unionism.

#### IV. At Home and at Play

##### A. Domesticity and “Domestics”

1. The separation of the workplace from the home marked the shift to industrial society and redefined the home as a haven presided over by a wife and mother who made the household her separate sphere.
2. The cult of domesticity and the elaboration of the middle-class home gave rise to the live-in servant in the North, replacing the hired girl of the previous century. (The South continued to rely on black female labor.)
3. Servants resented the long workday and lack of privacy.
4. Domestic service became the occupation of last resort for women, but domestics were a boon for the women of the white

middle class, freeing them from household drudgery and giving them more time to spend with their children or to pursue club work or reform activism.

5. In the decades after the Civil War, the typical middle-class dwelling became more embellished architecturally and its interiors more cluttered and ownership of a home marked the gap between the working poor and the middle class.

##### B. Mill Towns and Company Towns

1. Mill towns became a feature of the industrial landscape in the nineteenth century.
2. Some towns grew haphazardly around factories; others were planned and built by a company to house its workers, meant to assimilate them into patterns of industrial work, and prevent unionization.
3. Planned factory communities provided better living conditions than typical workers’ slums, but gave companies a powerful hold over the lives of its workers, including sometimes their social and religious lives.
4. Control by mill owners was most extreme in company towns in the South where companies paid workers with company currency and required them to patronize company-controlled stores and attend its schools and churches.

##### C. Cheap Amusements

1. Growing class divisions became evident in patterns of leisure as well as in work and home life.
2. The poor and working class relaxed, when they had the time to, in the cities’ new dance halls, music houses, ballparks, and amusement arcades, all of which were familiar parts of the urban landscape by the 1890s.
3. Saloons played a central role in workers’ lives, often serving informally as political headquarters, employment agencies, and union halls.
4. For many immigrants, social life revolved around family weddings, baptisms, birthdays, and bar mitzvahs.
5. The growing anonymity of urban industrial society provided young people with new venues in which to meet one another and posed a challenge to traditional rituals of courtship.
6. If they wished to participate in commercial amusements, young women needed to

learn to negotiate the blurry line between respectability and promiscuity; dance halls became a favorite target for reformers who feared that the halls would lure girls into prostitution.

7. For men, baseball became a national pastime in the 1870s.
8. The increasing commercialization of entertainment in the late nineteenth century is best seen at Coney Island, the site of some of the largest and most elaborate amusement parks in the country.

## V. City Growth and City Government

### A. Building Cities of Stone and Steel

1. Structural steel made possible enormous advances in building and skyscrapers and bridges began to dominate the imagination and the urban landscape.
2. The “Chicago School,” a group of talented architects and engineers, gave form to the modern skyscraper, forever changing the cityscape.
3. Alongside the skyscrapers rose new residential apartments for the rich and middle class.
4. The flush toilets, bathtubs, and lavatories in the new apartments would not have been possible without major improvements in city sewers and water mains.
5. Across the United States, municipal governments undertook public works on a scale never before seen, paving streets, building sewers and water mains, running trolley tracks, and digging underground subway lines.
6. Cities became more beautiful with the creation of urban public parks to complement the new buildings that quickly filled city lots.
7. American cities created comprehensive free public school systems and public libraries.
8. The poor did not share equally in the advantages of city life.
9. At the turn of the twentieth century, a central paradox emerged: The enduring monuments of America’s cities stood as the undeniable achievements of the same system of municipal government that reformers dismissed as boss ridden, criminal, and corrupt.

### B. City Government and the “Bosses”

1. The physical growth of the cities required the expansion of public services and the creation of entirely new facilities.

2. The professional politician—the colorful big-city boss—became a phenomenon of urban growth.
3. These city bosses presided over political machines—political parties organized at the grassroots level—that existed to win elections and reward its supporters with jobs on the city payroll and services in their neighborhoods.
4. More than 80 percent of the nation’s thirty largest cities experienced some form of boss rule in the decades around the turn of the twentieth century.
5. Urban reformers and proponents of good government challenged machine rule and sometimes succeeded in electing reform mayors, but reformers rarely managed to stay in office for long.
6. Through the skillful orchestration of rewards, an astute political operator could exert powerful leverage and line up support for this party from a broad range of constituents, from the urban poor to wealthy industrialists.
7. In 1902, journalist Lincoln Steffens wrote a series of articles exposing city corruption and pointed out that the business class also benefited from bossism.
8. Compromise and accommodation characterized big-city government by the turn of the twentieth century, but the cities’ reputation for corruption left an indelible mark on the consciousness of the American public.

### C. White City or City of Sin?

1. Americans in the late nineteenth century were ambivalent about the city: They liked its culture and sophistication but feared it as a locus of sin.
2. The White City, built on Chicago’s fairgrounds in 1893, graphically represents America’s divided view of the city.
3. Its very name celebrated harmony, uniformity, and pristine beauty not seen in Chicago, with its stockyards, slums, and bustling terminals.
4. In 1893, the fair closed its doors in the midst of the worst economic depression the nation had yet seen.
5. During the winter of 1894, Chicago’s unemployed and homeless took over the fairgrounds, vandalized the buildings, and frightened the city’s comfortable citizens out of their wits.

6. In July 1894, in a clash between federal troops and striking railway workers, incendiaries set fire and burned the fairgrounds to the ground.
7. In the end, the White City remained what it had always been: a dreamscape.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 19, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 19.

## Review Questions

1. Why did American cities experience explosive growth in the late nineteenth century? (pp. 667–670) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Global migration:* Migrants from agricultural regions all over the world flooded into industrial cities, many of which were in the United States. (p. 667)
- *Eased transportation:* The expansion of railroads and declining costs of steamship travel put immigration in reach for more people. (p. 668)
- *Difficult conditions abroad:* Tough economic and political conditions at home encouraged many European immigrants to hazard immigration. (pp. 669–670)

2. How did business expansion and consolidation change workers' occupations in the late nineteenth century? (pp. 678–683) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Diminution of importance of skilled workers:* Mechanization contributed to decreased job security for skilled artisans. (p. 678)
- *Rise of sweatshops and piecework:* Mechanization also contributed to the parcelling out of work to sweatshops. Women and children came into the wage workforce, often for extremely low wage in such facilities. (p. 679)
- *Seasonal work and vulnerability:* Most factory work was seasonal, which along with the volatility of the national economy of the nineteenth century, left workers financially vulnerable. (p. 678)
- *Emergence of white-collar work:* Expansion and consolidation produced significant changes in management. Some displaced skilled workers moved into new managerial positions. (pp. 680–681)

- *Expansion of secretarial work:* Changes in businesses also contributed to the need for typists and salesclerks. (pp. 681–682)

- *Consumption and employment:* Stores that emerged to serve the growing American appetite for consumption created new work opportunities for salesclerks. (pp. 682–683)

3. Why did the fortunes of the Knights of Labor rise in the late 1870s and decline in the 1890s? (pp. 683–688) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Great Railroad Strike of 1877:* Railroad workers across the country organized to protest a decrease in wages, following on the heels of a significant economic depression. The strike was spontaneous and disorganized, but it attracted strong opposition from government and industrialists. At the same time, it raised workers' interest in unions. (pp. 683–685)

- *Rise of the Knights of Labor:* The Knights began as a secret organization, but expanded dramatically after the railroad strike and tried to join workers of all skill levels, races, and ethnicities. (pp. 685–686)

- *Haymarket Riot:* When a workers' demonstration at Haymarket descended into violence, workers rather than the police, came in for the sharpest censure. Nationally, the broad ambitions of the Knights of Labor lost support. (pp. 686–688)

4. How did urban industrialism shape the world of leisure? (pp. 688–691) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Industrialization and the separation of work and home:* This separation contributed to the middle-class ideal of domesticity, in which women presided over the management of household affairs removed from the commercial concerns. Domestic servants hired by the privileged further freed middle-class women for other pursuits. (pp. 688–689)

- *Company towns' limits on leisure:* Company towns like those at the Amoskeag mill and Ludlow mines sought to shape many aspects of workers' lives. In Ludlow, Rockefeller hired paid spies to hang out at local saloons and report on the doings of their patrons. Southern company towns controlled the social lives of workers through company-owned churches, schools, and stores. (pp. 689–690)

- *Working-class leisure:* Dance halls, baseball, and commercialized entertainment like that available at Coney Island provided leisure activity for the workers, particularly young people, who had flooded into the cities for work. (pp. 690–691)

5. How did municipal governments respond to the challenges of urban expansion? (pp. 676, 693–694) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Patterns of early growth:* Nineteenth-century cities largely grew according to the dictates of commerce,

private concerns, and local politics. The concentration of population and its haphazard organization presented administrative challenges. (p. 676)

- *Sewage and water:* Unmanaged water supply and waste disposal presented serious disease hazards. City engineers responded by establishing municipal sewage systems and devising ways to bring clean water to the urban population. (p. 693)

- *Urban transportation:* City engineers also developed roads, systems of mass transit like subways, along with lighted streets to facilitate safe movement within cities. (p. 693)

- *Services:* Cities also established comprehensive school systems, libraries, and parks, which eased urban living for many. (p. 694)

## Making Connections

1. Americans expressed both wonder and concern at the nation's mushrooming cities. Why did cities provoke such divergent responses? In your answer, discuss the dramatic demographic, environmental, and political developments associated with urbanization. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Demographic changes in American cities:* Industrialization drew migrants from the American countryside and immigrants from all over the world. Despite the hardships of industrial work and urban life, the prospects of relatively high earnings appealed to many. Elite old-stock Americans and skilled workers were both distressed at the crush of new European immigration; the former feared they would damage the nation and the latter feared that they would lower wages and increase competition. They sought legislation to limit new immigration. (pp. 672–673, 676)

- *Urban environment:* The cities that grew haphazardly with economic expansion presented opportunities and dangers. Transportation improvements enabled elite urbanites to enjoy safe and healthy suburbs, while most workers remained inside cities in poor, crowded, and unhealthy tenements. Cities were also home to amazing feats of engineering such as the Brooklyn Bridge and modern comforts such as indoor plumbing. (pp. 676–677, 691–693)

- *Political developments:* In some instances, municipal governments effectively improved cities by building sewage systems, improving transportation, creating free public schools, and so on. Public works also provided opportunities for corruption and graft, alongside the dispersal of work and services. Party machines developed to control the distribution of payback and to ensure bosses' control of urban politics. The graft was very costly to cities and their citizens. (pp. 693–697)

2. Why did patterns of immigration to the United States in the late nineteenth century change? How did Americans respond to immigrants? Who arrived late in the century? In your answer, consider how industrial capitalism, nationally and globally, contributed to these developments. (pp. 668–676) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Industrialization and world regions:* By the 1870s industrialization had become firmly entrenched in parts of Europe and the United States. Surrounding this region was a large agricultural domain that supplied the industrial region with workers and raw goods. (p. 667)

- *Improved transportation:* Expanded railroads and cheaper steamship travel made it more feasible for migrants from agricultural regions of the world to reach the industrial core, including the United States. Steamship companies actively sought migrants to fill their ships advertising the United States as a land of ease. (pp. 668–670)

- *Shifts in European immigration:* After 1880, European immigrants increasingly came from further east and south. Pressures in immigrants' home countries—financial hardship in southern Italy, persecution of Jews in Eastern Europe, conscription in Russia—contributed to the new immigration patterns. (pp. 669–670)

- *Elite response to immigration:* Although industrialists benefited from the steady supply of workers provided by immigration, some elites opposed the rush of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. They sought immigration restrictions and literacy requirements to close the gates to new immigrants. (pp. 672–673, 676)

- *Working-class response to immigration:* Skilled workers, often with ties to northern and western Europe, criticized newcomers. In a familiar pattern, more recent arrivals seemed uncivilized and were often derided by those who had come in an earlier wave of immigration. Furthermore, new immigrants represented competition for work. (p. 672)

3. How did urban industrialization affect Americans' lives outside of work? Describe the impact late nineteenth-century economic developments had on home life and leisure. In your answer, consider how class, race, gender, and ethnicity contributed to diverse urban experiences. (pp. 671–676, 690–694) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Immigrants with and without families:* Immigrants who came to the United States in pursuit of work opportunities had different expectations and experiences of life in the city. For example, many young Italian immigrants came as single young men and stayed for a limited time. Others, such as Eastern European

Jews, mostly came as whole families and attempted to build a life in the United States. (pp. 671–672)

- *Tenement life*: The poor remained confined to the inside of cities, like the tenements of New York, where crowded, unhealthy conditions often prevailed. These parts of the city also often did not benefit from the urban improvements of parks and sewage systems. (p. 676)

- *Easy urban living*: Americans with greater financial resources found much to admire in urban living. Some used the cities' public transport between green suburban homes and business centers in town. The benefits of comfortable apartments and good plumbing were also more available to the affluent. (p. 676)

- *Leisure in the city*: The cities' parks and libraries, though open to all, were more accessible to better-off residents. Working-class urbanites often sought amusement at increasingly commercialized entertainments such as Coney Island. (pp. 690–691, 693–694)

4. When workers began to embrace organization in the late 1870s, what did they hope to accomplish? Were they successful? Why or why not? In your answer, discuss both general conditions and specific events that shaped these developments. (pp. 678–688)  
*Answer would ideally include:*

- *Late nineteenth-century working conditions*: Increasing capital investment in machinery by industrialists and an expanding pool of laborers meant that conditions for many American workers were declining at this time. Increased mechanization meant that much work was becoming less skilled, increasing workers' dissatisfaction. (pp. 678–679)

- *Goals of the Knights of Labor*: The Knights called for reforms including public ownership of the railroads, an income tax, equal pay for women workers, and the abolition of child labor. They welcomed all workers into their ranks, regardless of race, skills, or ethnicity. (pp. 685–686)

- *Goals of the American Federation of Labor*: Samuel Gompers led this group to organize skilled workers to use strikes in pursuit of objectives such as better working conditions and higher pay. (p. 686)

- *Radical socialists and anarchists*: These workers' groups argued that reform would produce little benefit and called for revolution. Despite this orientation, they organized a nationwide strike on May 1, 1886, to demand the eight-hour day. (p. 686)

- *Haymarket Riot*: Leaders from all major workers' groups attended the rally at Haymarket, although they disagreed about strategies and goals. The event became disastrous when a peaceful demonstration dissolved into violence, for which workers' received most of the blame. The nation responded to reports of the riot with great fear. Support for organized labor declined. The grand ambitions of the radicals and the

Knights went unrealized. The more limited organization and demands of the AFL, however, continued to draw support. (pp. 686–687)

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### The Vanderbilt Costume Ball (p. 677)

**Reading the Image:** In what ways does the visual image represent what Thorstein Veblen called conspicuous consumption? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Conspicuous consumption*: The sheer wealth represented by the ornamentation of the dress, from the silk satin fabric to the diamond and gilt metallic burlion trim, is illustrative of a new and lavish form of consumption. But it is the triumphant pose, including the raised right hand holding a bulb of light, that makes the consumption so conspicuous. Alice Vanderbilt does not hesitate to show her wealth and display her elite status. Instead, she revels in it, celebrating an age of new inventions and new industry and the fact that she has reaped its material benefits.

**Connections:** What does the image of Alice Vanderbilt imply about life in the nation's cities in the last nineteenth century? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *City life in the nineteenth century*: The triumphant image of Vanderbilt accurately reflects the new wealth created in the context of late-nineteenth-century urban America. But it does not accurately reflect life in those cities for most of the people who lived and worked there. While the newly enriched profited from the tremendous technological and industrial developments of the era, new waves of disadvantaged immigrant workers populated the nation's cities and toiled in its new industries. As Jacob Riis revealed in his important book *How the Other Half Lived*, the nation's cities were filled with poverty, dirt, and disease. Although the image of Vanderbilt suggests the outer glow of the era, beneath that shiny veneer lurked growing conflict between the industrialists who profited most from the new economy and the workers who bore the greatest burdens of it for the least rewards.

### "The Chicago Riot" (p. 687)

**Reading the Image:** What does the cover suggest about the views of the author of the pamphlet? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Author's views:* While it is difficult to know whether the cover expresses the views of the author or the views that the author believed would sell copies of the book, the cover promotes a very one-sided version of the Haymarket events that condemns the strikers and supports the police. The very title "The Chicago Riot" suggests violence spurred by the strikers, when in fact no one knows who threw the bomb that began the violence. The cover focuses solely on the bomb and the explosion, ignoring the other factors that brought about the violence, including the mistreatment of workers by their employers and the excessive violence of the Chicago police force. The red flag, a symbol of the socialist movement, further places the blame for the violence on the radical elements of the labor movement.

**Connections:** In what ways does this pamphlet reflect the public climate following the Haymarket bombing? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Public Climate:* The hysteria promoted by this pamphlet accurately reflected the mood of much of the public in the aftermath of the bombing. The public's unfamiliarity with the demands of the labor movement and the radical political movements of socialism and anarchism turned to fear and anger in the aftermath of the events at Haymarket Square. This anger was spurred by middle-class America's anxiety about the rapid changes caused by urbanization, industrialization, and immigration during this period, and by the fact that the labor unions seemed to encapsulate all of these concerns within a single, easily targeted movement.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 19.1 Economic Regions of the World, 1890s (p. 668)

**Reading the Map:** What types of economic regions were contained in the United States in this period? Which held most of the industrial core—the Northern or Southern Hemisphere? Which hemisphere held the most of the agricultural rural domain? Which held the greatest portion of the third region? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Economic regions in the U.S.:* In the 1890s, the United States contained an industrial core as well as an agricultural rural domain. The industrial core at

this period could be found in the Northern Hemisphere, in both the United States and western Europe. The Northern Hemisphere also held most of the agricultural rural domain. The third geographic region was found in both the Southern and Northern Hemispheres—Central and South America, Africa, the Middle East, India, and the southern portions of Asia.

**Connections:** Which of these three areas provided the bulk of immigrant workers to the United States? What major changes prompted the global migration at the end of the nineteenth century? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Origin of Immigrants:* The bulk of immigrant workers to the United States came from Europe. The first wave of immigrants, before 1880, hailed from northern and western Europe, while the second wave, after 1880, came from southern and eastern Europe.

- Reasons for emigration to the United States:* Many sought to escape economic depression, religious persecution, or the totalitarian governments in their native lands. They dreamed of the freedom and economic prosperity that living in the United States would grant them. With advances in transportation technology and declining fares, immigrants came to the United States in droves, ultimately benefiting from the industrial growth of the late nineteenth century; willing to work for low wages, they served as the backbone of the workforce in many modern industries.

### Map 19.2 The Impact of Immigration, to 1910 (p. 669)

**Reading the Map:** Which states had high percentages of immigrants? Which cities attracted the most immigrants? Which cities the fewest? *Answer would ideally include:*

- High percentages of immigrants in cities and states:* States along the coast or near the country's borders had the highest numbers of immigrants. In the Northeast, New York, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island had large numbers of immigrants, as did the parts of Maine and New Hampshire near the Canadian border; the midwestern states of North Dakota, Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin had high immigration, as did areas of the Southwest along the border with Mexico. Immigrants were drawn to large industrial centers and port cities, including New York, San Francisco, Minneapolis, Chicago, Buffalo, Newark, and Boston. They also went to mining and extractive-industry centers such as Butte, Montana, and Denver, Colorado.

- Low percentages of immigrants:* The cities of the southern states had low levels of immigration. There were few immigrants throughout the lower parts of

the South, even in major cities such as Atlanta and Nashville.

**Connections:** Why did most immigrants gravitate toward the cities? Why do you think the South drew such a low percentage of immigrants? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Reasons for immigration to cities:* Immigrants were drawn to cities for a variety of reasons. Some stayed in cities because they could not afford to buy land for farming, but many of them were seeking the industrial jobs that were concentrated in urban areas. The relative prosperity of northern cities and industries explained why so many immigrants chose to avoid the South.

- *Reasons for low rates of immigration to the South:* The South remained an economic colony of the North throughout the late nineteenth century; it did not become industrially competitive. As a result, wages were low and working conditions wretched, neither of which made the region attractive to immigrants who were trying to get ahead.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in “Additional Resources for Chapter 19.”*

### LECTURE 1

#### *American Workers*

This lecture introduces students to the lives of the working class in the late nineteenth century. As the textbook demonstrates, new patterns of immigration profoundly affected the workplace. Ethnic diversity and racial prejudice often pitted skilled workers (who mainly came from northern Europe) against the unskilled (many from southern and eastern Europe). The increased mechanization of the workplace served to displace skilled workers in favor of lower-paid, unskilled workers, worsening tensions. Racial prejudice, at its most blatant in the treatment of African Americans and Asians, fostered the social construct of “whiteness,” which allowed northern Europeans to view eastern and southern Europeans as racially inferior. Poverty, however, was a common experience for many working-class families, regardless of national origin.

Discuss the ramifications of the economic panics of 1873 and 1893, and make the general point that the inability of the male wage-earner to support his family led women and children to take low-paying and sometimes hazardous jobs in order to boost family

income. Next, explain that although many workers experienced poverty, working conditions varied considerably. Draw students’ attention to the photographs of workers scattered throughout the chapter. These images—along with the chapter’s vignettes on the lives of the common laborer, the skilled worker, the factory operative, the sweatshop garment worker, and the secretary—speak to the diversity of workers and workplaces.

End this lecture with a discussion of how rapid industrialization and corporate consolidation promoted the growth of a new managerial class—a cadre of workers who stood between the owners of a corporation and workers on the shop floor. This new class was often engaged in sales, clerical, or service-related work, and bespoke a transition from manufacturing to service industries. The new managerial class drew its ranks primarily from the white middle class. It was possible for a skilled worker to rise to the position of technical executive in the years before professional engineering and business schools trained such workers. As businesses became larger, the greater volume of correspondence and the need for more elaborate and exact records led to the hiring of more office workers. You should mention that office managers frequently turned to women to fill clerical positions not only because women generally worked for lower wages than did men but also because they tended to be better educated than the men available to fill these positions. Women also found white-collar employment in department stores, the new consumer palaces designed to lend magic and glamour to everyday items. Although women who worked in department stores often considered themselves superior to women who worked in factories, their working conditions and paychecks frequently did not warrant such feelings. They were subjected to gender segregation, low wages, and arbitrary discipline from male floorwalkers.

### LECTURE 2

#### *The Labor Movement*

This lecture focuses on how workers sought, by collective action, to counteract their loss of control in the workplace and the growing anonymity of corporate capitalism. Begin by mentioning that although workers had organized in craft unions for decades, the labor movement of the late nineteenth century had a different tenor as workers acted to better their conditions through politics and reform movements and increasingly through labor unions. Next, move on to the Great Railroad Strike of 1877, when workers on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad walked off their jobs to protest a cut in wages that occurred simultaneously with an increase in dividends paid to shareholders.

Using Map 19.3, “The Great Railroad Strike of 1877” (p. 684), you can show how the strike spread across the country and explain that it affected numerous industries. The unorganized and spontaneous strike suffered from a lack of leadership and was eventually put down by the federal government, but it served as a stimulus to labor organizing.

Turn your attention to the Knights of Labor, which became the dominant voice of labor during the 1880s. The Knights, under the leadership of Terence V. Powderly, preached the “universal brotherhood” of all laborers—from master craftsmen to unskilled workers. The Knights promoted large-scale reform measures such as public ownership of the railroads and an income tax. Discuss one of the Knights’ chief rivals, the American Federation of Labor, founded by Samuel Gompers. Unlike the Knights, the AFL was an organization of skilled craft unions. Gompers scoffed at the broad reform goals of the Knights of Labor and promoted instead short-term, concrete economic goals.

Discuss next the setback labor unionism faced in the wake of the Haymarket affair. After a bomb was thrown into the ranks of police who had come to Chicago’s Haymarket Square to disperse the remnants of a peaceful band of anarchists, public opinion came to associate unionism with radicalism. Here, you might direct students’ attention to the image of the pamphlet “The Chicago Riot” on page 687, which offered a decidedly one-sided account of the Haymarket affair. In response, Gompers refocused the labor movement, using strikes and boycotts judiciously so as not to alienate popular support. You might want to end this lecture by discussing the ways in which American workers sought to act on their vision of the promise of America. Ask students to consider what workers believed capital, management, and the government owed to them.

## LECTURE 3

### *The Rise of the City*

Although much of the nation remained heavily rural in the last decades of the nineteenth century, American cities nonetheless experienced tremendous growth. Urban population tripled in the last three decades of the century, from 10 million in 1870 to 30 million in 1900. First, you can cover the groups that populated the new American cities. Immigrants (primarily from southern and eastern Europe) and migrants from America’s rural areas accounted for this population explosion. Native-born Americans often resented the new arrivals, segregating them in urban ghettos to an unprecedented degree. You can suggest to your students that more than the social geography of the city changed. Immigration and

industrialization altered the physical geography as well, with skyscrapers, streetcars, public libraries, suspension bridges, and city parks dotting the new urban landscape. The streetcar allowed the urban middle class, which once lived in close proximity to the working masses, to escape the immigrant poor by relocating to the newly developing suburbs.

You will also need to discuss the exigencies of urbanization. The new cities required new services—public sanitation, public utilities, electric streetlights—and overseeing many of these new services was a new breed of politician, the city boss. Though usually minor elected officials, city bosses often wielded more power than mayors and other high-ranking politicians. Through bribery and graft, city bosses rewarded their supporters with favors such as jobs on the city payroll and lucrative franchises for subways and streetcars. Counter the image of the all-powerful city boss, however, with the other players on the political field. Negotiating with the bosses were the reform politicians, who though less flamboyant than their more famous counterparts nonetheless played an important function in the political life of the American city. The burgeoning city thus accommodated many voices, from the immigrant to the native, from the wealthy to the indigent, from the corrupt to the well intentioned. End your lecture on the complexities and varied experiences of urban life in the late nineteenth century with a discussion of the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition (pp. 698–699) and America’s divided mind about the city.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. Radicalism and American Workers

In light of the Haymarket affair, students may wonder to what degree American workers, especially those involved in unions, were influenced by radical philosophies. In the United States, as in Britain and continental Europe, a number of social critics focused on the nature of work in modern society. Whatever differences may have separated these thinkers (and there were many), the critics did agree that capitalism debased work by depriving the working class of control over the means of production and by reducing economic activities to their commercial value. To rid society of what they considered the ills of capitalism, radicals advocated giving workers ownership of the means of production—tools, factories, mines, and machines. Radicals did differ on how the capitalist system should be abolished. Some socialists optimistically believed that a socialist party in a democracy could win a majority and legislate capitalism out of

existence. Others, such as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), were not quite so sanguine. These radicals argued that only violence could abolish capitalism. Eugene V. Debs, leader of the American Railway Union, helped organize the Socialist Party of America, which had a modicum of success in the early twentieth century. Socialists, however, were constantly under attack from conservatives, who were quick to associate all reformers with pernicious revolutionaries and anarchists, thus discrediting the movement. And because the ownership of private property was a cherished part of the American dream and a carefully guarded principle of American jurisprudence, socialists could make little headway in America, even among the workers.

### 2. "Eight Hours for What We Will"

While students usually know that workers fought for improved working conditions and better pay, they are sometimes unaware that one of the major goals of the labor movement in the late nineteenth century was the eight-hour workday. One of the main reasons workers agitated for a shorter workday was that they desired more time to pursue leisure activities. Because free time is something most of us in the early twenty-first century take for granted, students may be surprised to learn that workers in the late nineteenth century had to fight for this right. The last two lines of the anthem reprinted on page 687 captures the spirit of the eight-hour movement: "Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will!" Ironically, students who may be familiar with our current society's glorification of working long hours, as celebrated in corporate culture or in popular television dramas that focus on the workplace, may not realize that their notion of "long hours" rests on the assumption that eight hours is the length of a normal workday.

Introduce cultural history by discussing what working people did with their time off. Great pleasure palaces, such as Coney Island, Euclid Beach, Paragon Park, and Ponce de León Park, as well as dance halls and baseball fields, dotted the American urban landscape, all designed to offer the American worker respite from the drudgery of the workplace. Refer your students to the Coney Island beach scene on page 691 to give them a sense for what kinds of entertainment were available. American entrepreneurs had commodified leisure activities, capturing the desires of their willing, paying customers.

### 3. The "Melting Pot" of America Has Always Welcomed New Arrivals

Students may be surprised to discover the levels of prejudice and hostility that native-born Americans (wary of religious and cultural differences) exhibited toward the new immigrants who arrived in the United States at the turn of the century. One of the most

successful nativist groups, the American Protective Association, advocated the restriction of immigration, stringent naturalization requirements, barriers to the employment of aliens or Catholics, and the teaching of the "American" language in public schools. You can make the point that not only did such paranoid fringe groups as the APA promote restrictive policies, but also many of America's leading citizens were in the vanguard of those urging limits on immigration. In 1891, for example, Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge advocated a literacy test for immigrants, which would have barred illiterates from entering to the United States. Although presidents Cleveland, Taft, and Wilson vetoed bills with this particular restriction, Congress overrode Wilson's last veto in 1917. Congress handed nativists other victories, usually without contest. In 1882, Congress responded to strong anti-Chinese sentiment by closing the United States to Chinese laborers for ten years. In that same year, Congress prohibited the immigration of people with criminal records or signs of mental instability. Responding to the demands of organized labor, Congress barred contract workers in 1885. People with communicable diseases and polygamists were barred in 1891; in 1903, Congress excluded prostitutes, anarchists, and epileptics; and in 1907, the mentally retarded were prohibited from immigrating to the United States.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

A number of fine documentaries on the rise of the city are effective in the classroom. Ken Burns's film *The Brooklyn Bridge* complements a lecture well. You might also want to consider showing *Chicago: City of the Century* or an episode of Ric Burns's *New York City: A Documentary*, all distributed by PBS. To convey the conditions under which railroad workers labored, consider showing *The Iron Road*, produced and distributed by PBS Video. The first episode of Ken Burns's series *Baseball* chronicles the rise of the sport along with the rise of the city. The PBS video *Coney Island* offers students a look at cheap amusements and the commodification of entertainment in the late nineteenth century. You might also consider showing *Journey to America*, also distributed by PBS Video, which documents the wave of "new immigrants" who came to America during the late nineteenth century.

### Classroom Discussion Starters

Set up a mock negotiation session between owners, managers, and union workers. Have workers demand an eight-hour workday, higher wages, or improved

working conditions. Provide managers and owners with details on their own profits and the costs of implementing the workers' demands. At what point do the negotiations break down?

### **Historical Debates**

Remind students of the origins of the Great Railroad Strike of 1877, and then ask them whether they think management owes workers or investors for the health and growth of various industries. Did the managers of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad have a primary responsibility to restore workers' wages or to reward investors with greater dividends? Ask students what they would have done if they had been the railroad's directors, and why.

## **Additional Resources for Chapter 19**

### **For Instructors**

#### **Transparencies**

The following maps and images for chapter 19 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 19.1: Economic Regions of the World, 1890s (p. 668)
- Map 19.2: The Impact of Immigration, to 1910 (p. 669)
- Map 19.3: The Great Railroad Strike of 1877 (p. 684)
- Global Comparison: European Emigration, 1870–1890 (p. 670)
- Russian Immigrant Family (p. 667)
- Knife and Scissors Sharpener Pushcart (p. 672)

### **Instructor's Resource CD-ROM**

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 19 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 19.1: Economic Regions of the World, 1890s (p. 668)
- Map 19.2: The Impact of Immigration, to 1910 (p. 669)
- Map 19.3: The Great Railroad Strike of 1877 (p. 684)
- Figure 19.1: European Immigration, 1870–1910 (p. 671)

- Figure 19.2: Women and Work, 1870–1890 (p. 680)
- Global Comparison: European Immigration, 1870–1890 (p. 670)
- "The Chicago Riot" (p. 687)
- Beach Scene at Coney Island (p. 691)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor's Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### **Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise***

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 19 include:

- *Thomas Edison and Modern America: An Introduction with Documents*, by Theresa M. Collins and Lisa Gitelman
- *The McGuffey Readers: Selections from the 1879 Edition*, edited with an introduction by Elliott J. Gorn
- "Looking Backward: 2000–1887" by Edward Bellamy, edited with an introduction by Daniel H. Borus
- "How the Other Half Lives" by Jacob A. Riis, edited with an introduction by David Leviatin
- "A Traveler from Altruria" by William Dean Howells, edited with an introduction by David W. Levy
- "Plunkitt of Tammany Hall" by William J. Riordan, edited with an introduction by Terrence J. McDonald

### **For Students**

#### **Reading the American Past**

The following documents are available in chapter 19 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- A Textile Worker Explains the Labor Market: *Thomas O'Donnell, Testimony before a U.S. Senate Committee, 1885*
- Domestic Servants on Household Work: *Interviews with Journalist Helen Campbell, 1880s*
- A Romanian Jew Immigrates to America: *Michael Gold, Jews without Money, 1890s*
- Labor Contractors and Italian Immigrants: *S. Merlin, Italian Immigrants and Their Enslavement, 1893*

- George Washington Plunkitt Explains Politics:  
*William L. Riordon, Plunkitt of Tammany Hall*,  
1905

**Online Study Guide at**  
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The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 19:

**Map Activities**

- Map 19.1: Economic Regions of the World, 1890s (p. 668)
- Map 19.2: The Impact of Immigration, to 1910 (p. 669)

**Visual Activities**

- The Vanderbilt Costume Ball, 1884 (p. 677)
- “The Chicago Riot” (p. 687)

**CHAPTER**  
**20**

# Dissent, Depression, and War

1890–1900

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## Chapter Learning Objectives

1. What economic and social ills plagued American farmers and laborers at the turn of the century? What were the Farmers' Alliances, and what were their goals? What was the Populist movement? Who were its leaders? What were their specific calls to action?
2. Describe the labor wars of the 1890s. What caused workers at the Homestead steel plant to go on strike, and what were the results? What prompted miners at Cripple Creek to protest, and how did they succeed? What role did Eugene V. Debs play in the Pullman strike of 1894, and what were the results?
3. In what types of reform did American women engage during the last decade of the nineteenth century? What were the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the National American Woman Suffrage Association?
4. What was the political climate during the depression of 1893? What was Coxey's Army and what were its goals? What was the People's Party? What was its platform? What successes did it enjoy in securing its agenda? What were the defining issues of the election of 1896? What was the atmosphere surrounding the election?
5. What motivated American expansionism in the late nineteenth century? What factors contributed to the emergence of the United States as a world power? What issues surrounded the debate about American imperialism?

## Annotated Chapter Outline

- I. **The Farmers' Revolt**
  - A. The Farmers' Alliance
    1. Farmers faced a series of economic challenges during the late nineteenth century and as a result supported the Grange and Greenback Labor Party during the 1870s.
    2. Falling prices, rising railroad rates, and an insufficient currency and credit system dominated by eastern interests forced farmers to come together into regional alliances starting in Texas, Arkansas, and rural Louisiana.
    3. As the alliance movement grew, the farmer groups consolidated into two regional alliances with more than 200,000 members: the Northwestern Farmers' Alliance and the more radical Southern Farmers' Alliance.
    4. In an effort to reach African American farmers, the Southern Farmers' Alliance worked with the Colored Farmers' Alliance, attempting to forge a common cause.
    5. The Farmers' Alliance reached out to workers as well as to farmers, supporting the Great Southwestern Strike against the Texas and Pacific Railroad and the Knights of Labor.

6. The political culture of the Alliance encouraged the inclusion of women and children, using the family as its defining symbol, and women rallied to the Alliance banner along with their menfolk.
  7. Alliance meetings combined socializing and political education and used secular preaching to reach out to illiterate participants.
  8. At the heart of the Alliance movement stood a series of farmers' cooperatives that sought to negotiate better prices for their crops.
  9. These cooperatives met with stiff opposition from merchants, bankers, wholesalers, and manufacturers, who made it impossible for them to get credit.
  10. As the cooperative movement died, the Farmers' Alliance moved toward direct political action and demanded railroad regulation, laws against land speculation, and currency and credit reform.
- B. The Populist Movement
1. By 1892, advocates of a third party movement had convinced members of the Farmers' Alliance to form the People's Party, thereby launching the Populist movement.
  2. The Populists mounted a stinging critique of industrial society and devised the idea of a subtreasury, a plan that would allow farmers to store nonperishable crops in government storehouses until market prices rose.
  3. For the western farmer, Populists promised land reform and championed a plan to reclaim excessive lands granted to railroads or sold to foreign investors.
  4. Currency was the third major focus of the Populist movement; farmers in all sections, hoping to make credit easier to obtain, endorsed platform planks calling for free silver and greenbacks.
  5. The Populist platform omitted the moral reforms championed by the Farmers' Alliance, calling issues like prohibition and women's suffrage too divisive.
  6. More than just a response to hard times, Populism presented an alternative vision of American economic democracy.
- II. The Labor Wars
- A. The Homestead Lockout
1. In 1892, steelworkers in Pennsylvania squared off against Andrew Carnegie in a decisive struggle over the right to organize the Homestead steel mills.
  2. Carnegie, once a champion of workers' right to unionize, stood poised to do battle with the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers in order to protect his profits and control the industry.
  3. In 1892, the Amalgamated was denied renewal of its contract at Carnegie's Homestead mill.
  4. Eager to avoid a direct confrontation, Carnegie sailed to Scotland and left Henry Clay Frick, a tough antilabor man, in charge of the Homestead plant.
  5. Frick erected a fifteen-foot fence around the plant and hired 316 mercenaries from the Pinkerton Detective Agency to defend what workers dubbed "Fort Frick."
  6. On June 28, Frick locked the workers out of the mills; they immediately rallied to the support of the union and blocked the Pinkertons from entering the plant.
  7. With more than a dozen Pinkertons and some thirty workers killed or wounded in the scuffle, the Pinkertons retreated to their barges.
  8. The workers and their families continued to harass the Pinkertons on the barges, and when they finally surrendered and came ashore, they were met with verbal and physical violence.
  9. The battle of "Fort Frick" ended in a dubious victory for the workers; at first, public opinion favored the workers but the workers' actions struck at the heart of the capitalist system, pitting workers' right to their jobs against the rights of private property and, yielding to pressure from Frick, the governor of Pennsylvania called out the National Guard to protect Carnegie's mills.
  10. In a misguided effort to ignite a general uprising, Alexander Berkman, a Russian immigrant and anarchist, attempted to assassinate Frick, causing public opinion to turn against the workers.
  11. After four and a half months, the workers capitulated and returned to work to find their wages slashed, their workday lengthened, and 500 jobs eliminated.
  12. After Homestead, Carnegie's profits tripled but it would take another forty-five years before steelworkers, unskilled as well as skilled, successfully unionized.
- B. The Cripple Creek Miners' Strike of 1894
1. In the spring of 1893, less than a year after the Homestead lockout, a stock market

- crash on Wall Street touched off a bitter depression.
2. In the West, silver mines fell on hard times, and many miners looking for work left for the gold fields of Cripple Creek, Colorado.
  3. When conservative mine owners moved to lengthen the workday from eight to ten hours, the newly formed Western Federation of Miners (WFM) protested.
  4. While some mine owners settled with the union, others refused, provoking a strike in 1894.
  5. The striking miners received help from many quarters, including local businesses and grocers and many local officials, including the governor, sympathized with the strikers.
  6. The county sheriff called for troops to put down the strike, but Populist governor Davis H. Waite refused, instead serving as arbitrator in the dispute, showing the pivotal power of the state in the nation's labor wars.
  7. The mine owners eventually capitulated, agreeing to an eight-hour workday, but the settlement did not end the conflict and a decade later, mine owners, this time with support from state troops, took back control of the mines, defeating the WFM and blacklisting all its members.
- C. Eugene V. Debs and the Pullman Strike
1. By 1894, the economic depression had swelled the ranks of the unemployed to 3 million.
  2. Workers were particularly demoralized in the company town of Pullman on the outskirts of Chicago, where workers were forced to pay high rents and lived under the constant threat of eviction.
  3. The depression brought hard times to Pullman, as workers saw their wages slashed five times in 1893, with cuts totaling at least 28 percent, while their rent remained constant.
  4. At the heart of the labor problems at Pullman lay not only economic inequity but also the company's attempt to control the work process, substituting piecework for day wages and undermining skilled craftworkers.
  5. Pullman workers rebelled, flocking to the ranks of the American Railway Union (ARU), led by the charismatic Eugene V. Debs.
6. George Pullman responded to his workers' grievances by firing three union leaders the day after they led a delegation to protest wage cuts, leading 90 percent of Pullman's thirty-three hundred workers to strike.
  7. The Pullman strikers appealed to the ARU for help and the conflict quickly escalated.
  8. ARU membership voted to boycott Pullman cars, and switchmen in other states refused to handle any train carrying Pullman cars, prompting the General Managers Association (GMA) to recruit strikebreakers and fire protesting switchmen.
  9. The boycott/strike spread to more than fifteen railroads and affected twenty-seven states and territories and remained surprisingly peaceful.
  10. However, management distorted and misrepresented the strike, sending out press releases describing the violence supposedly engaged in by the strikers.
  11. In Washington, D.C., Attorney General Richard B. Olney, a lawyer with strong ties to the railroad, convinced President Grover Cleveland that federal troops should intervene to protect the U.S. mails, even though the governor of Illinois, who saw a peaceful boycott, refused to call out troops.
  12. Two conservative Chicago judges issued an injunction that prohibited Debs from speaking in public and made the boycott a crime punishable by jail sentence for contempt of court.
  13. The strategy worked; Cleveland called out the army, Debs was jailed, and in the resulting violence, the strike was broken.
  14. The events at Pullman demonstrated that workers had little recourse when the government wielded its power in defense of industrialists' property rights.
- III. Women's Activism
- A. Frances Willard and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union
1. Although still unable to vote in the late nineteenth century, women were far from apolitical; the WCTU demonstrated the breadth of women's political activity in the late nineteenth century.
  2. Frances Willard radically changed the direction of the WCTU, moving it away from religiously oriented programs to a campaign that stressed alcoholism as a

- disease rather than a sin and poverty as a cause rather than a result of drink.
3. In a shrewd political tactic, Willard capitalized on the cult of domesticity to move women into public life and gain power to ameliorate social problems.
  4. Using the concept of “home protection,” Willard worked to create a broad reform coalition in the 1890s, embracing the Knights of Labor, the People’s Party, and the Prohibition Party.
  5. The WCTU, which had over 200,000 members in the 1890s, gave women valuable experience in political action.
- B. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and the Movement for Woman Suffrage
1. Unlike the WCTU, the organized movement for woman suffrage remained small and relatively weak in the late nineteenth century.
  2. Stanton and Anthony launched the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) in 1869, demanding the vote for women.
  3. A more conservative group, the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), formed the same year, believed that women should vote in local but not national elections.
  4. By 1890, the split had healed, and the newly united National American Woman Suffrage Association launched campaigns at the state level to gain the vote for women.
  5. Although it would take another two decades for all women to gain the vote with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, the unification of the two woman suffrage groups in 1890 signaled a new era in women’s fight for the vote.

#### IV. Depression Politics

##### A. Coxey’s Army

1. In the spring of 1894, masses of unemployed Americans marched to Washington, D.C., to call attention to their economic plight and to urge Congress to enact a public works program to end unemployment.
2. Jacob S. Coxey from Massillon, Ohio, led the most publicized contingent; Coxey’s “army” started in Ohio with one hundred men, swelling as it marched east through the Allegheny Mountains.
3. On May 1, Coxey’s army arrived in Washington and defiantly marched onto

- the Capitol grounds where they were met by police using nightsticks.
4. Mass demonstrations of the unemployed frightened comfortable Americans, who saw the specter of insurrection and rebellion everywhere in 1894.
  5. Coxey was jailed for his efforts, and by August, the leaderless, tattered armies of the unemployed dissolved.
  6. Though unsuccessful in forcing federal relief legislation, Coxey’s army called into question the underlying values of the new industrial order and demonstrated how ordinary citizens turned to means outside the regular party system to influence politics in the 1890s.
- B. The People’s Party and the Election of 1896
1. Even before the depression of 1893 gave added impetus to their cause, the Populists had railed against the status quo.
  2. Populists’ fiery rhetoric frightened many who saw in the People’s Party a call not to reform but to revolution.
  3. Nonetheless, the People’s Party captured more than a million votes in the presidential election of 1892, a respectable showing for a new party.
  4. Sectional and racial animosities threatened party unity, especially Populists’ willingness to form common cause with black farmers, which made them hated in the white South.
  5. As the presidential election of 1896 approached, the depression intensified cries for reform not only from the Populists, but throughout the electorate.
  6. When the Republicans nominated Ohio governor William McKinley on a platform pledging the preservation of the gold standard, western advocates of free silver representing miners and farmers walked out of the convention.
  7. Open rebellion also split the Democratic Party as vast segments in the West and South repudiated President Grover Cleveland because of his support for gold.
  8. The spirit of revolt animated the Democratic National Convention as William Jennings Bryan whipped the crowds into a frenzy with his passionate call for free silver.
  9. The People’s Party met a week later, and many western Populists urged the party to ally with the Democrats and endorse Bryan.

10. The Democrats' vice presidential candidate, Arthur M. Sewall, a railroad director and bank president, posed significant obstacles to Populists who advocated fusion with the Democrats.
  11. Populism's regional constituencies remained as divided about tactics as they were united in their call for change.
  12. To deal with the issue of fusion, the People's Party convention selected the vice presidential candidate, Tom Watson of Georgia, before selecting the presidential candidate.
  13. The nomination of Watson undercut opposition to Bryan's candidacy, and the fusionists triumphed when the People's Party convention nominated Bryan for president.
  14. Republican William McKinley, backed by wealthy industrialists and party boss Mark Hanna, squared off against the underfunded but energetic and eloquent William Jennings Bryan in the fiercely fought and highly emotional presidential election of 1896.
  15. As election day approached, the silver states of the Rocky Mountains lined up for Bryan, while the Northeast stood solidly for McKinley.
  16. Much of the South, with the exception of the border states, abandoned the Populists and returned to the Democratic fold, leaving the Midwest to hang in the balance.
  17. Midwestern farmers, less receptive to the call for free silver, and Eastern workers, who would not gain many benefits from the inflation that free silver would bring, did not rally behind Bryan, costing him crucial votes.
  18. In an election marked by unprecedented voter turnout, McKinley won twenty-three states to Bryan's twenty-two.
  19. The biggest losers in the election of 1896 turned out to be the Populists; the People's Party was crushed, and with it died the agrarian revolt, but Populism nevertheless set the domestic political agenda for the United States in the next decades, highlighting issues such as banking and currency reform, electoral reform, and an enlarged role for the federal government in the economy.
- V. The United States and the World**
- A. Markets and Missionaries
1. The depression of the 1890s provided a powerful impetus to American commercial expansion, as American businesses looked abroad for profits.
  2. However compelling the economic arguments about overseas markets proved, business interests alone did not account for the new expansionism that seized the nation in the 1890s.
  3. American missionaries were intent on spreading the gospel of Christianity to the "heathen," increased missionary activity and Western enterprise touched off a series of antiforeign uprisings in China that culminated in the Boxer uprising of 1900.
  4. As the Boxers terrorized missionaries and Christian converts throughout northern China, some 800 Americans and Europeans sought refuge in the foreign legation buildings in Beijing.
  5. In August 1900, 2,500 U.S. troops joined an international force sent to rescue foreigners besieged in Beijing.
  6. After routing the Boxers, the troops looted the Forbidden City, home of the imperial court, forcing the Dowager Empress to flee.
  7. In the aftermath of the Boxer uprising, missionaries voiced no concern at the paradox of bringing Christianity to China at gunpoint.
- B. The Monroe Doctrine and the Open Door Policy
1. The emergence of the United States as a world power pitted the nation against the colonial powers, particularly Germany and Japan, which posed a threat to the twin pillars of American's expansionist foreign policy: the Monroe Doctrine and Open Door policy.
  2. American diplomacy worked to buttress the Monroe Doctrine's assertion of American hegemony in the Western Hemisphere.
  3. Americans risked war with Great Britain over America's role in a conflict between Venezuela and British Guiana and in Central America, American business triumphed in a bloodless takeover that saw French and British interests routed by behemoths such as the United Fruit Company of Boston.
  4. While warning the European powers to stay out of the Western Hemisphere, the United States was competing with the colonial powers for trade in the Eastern Hemisphere, and risking war with

Germany to maintain dominance over the harbor at Pago Pago in the Samoan Islands.

5. The biggest prize in Asia remained the China market and in 1899–1900, Secretary of State John Hay wrote a series of notes to Britain, Germany, Russia, France, Japan, and Italy, calling for an “open door” policy that would ensure access to all and maintain Chinese sovereignty.
6. By insisting on the Open Door policy, the United States managed to secure access to Chinese markets, expanding its economic power while avoiding the problems of maintaining a far-flung colonial empire on the mainland of Asia.

## VI. War and Empire

### A. “A Splendid Little War”

1. At the close of a decade marred by bitter depression, social unrest, and political upheaval, the Spanish-American War offered Americans a chance to wave the flag and march in unison.
2. The Spanish-American War began with moral outrage over the treatment of Cuban revolutionaries, who had launched a fight for independence against the Spanish colonial regime in 1895.
3. As the Cuban rebellion dragged on, pressure for U.S. intervention mounted.
4. American interests in Cuba were considerable: American business had more than \$50 million invested in Cuban sugar, and American trade with Cuba, a brisk \$100 million a year before the rebellion, had dropped to near zero.
5. To expansionists such as Theodore Roosevelt, more than Cuban independence was at stake, because war with Spain opened up the prospect of expansion into Asia as well—Spain controlled not only Cuba and Puerto Rico but also Guam and the Philippine Islands.
6. President McKinley slowly moved toward intervention, and in a show of American force, he dispatched the armored cruiser *Maine* to Cuba.
7. A mysterious blast destroyed the ship, killing 267 crew members and prompting cries for war back home.
8. Congress declared war in April, and five days after McKinley signed the war resolution, the U.S. navy, under Commodore George Dewey, destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay.

9. The war in Cuba ended almost as quickly as it began and made Theodore Roosevelt a bona fide war hero, bringing him to the attention of prominent independent Republicans.

- B. The Debate over American Imperialism
  1. After a few brief campaigns in Cuba and Puerto Rico brought the Spanish-American war to an end, the American people found themselves in possession of an empire stretching halfway around the globe, including Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines.
  2. Cuba, though freed from Spanish rule, had not gained full autonomy.
  3. The formal Treaty of Paris that ended the war with Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States along with Spain’s former colonies in Puerto Rico and Guam.
  4. Filipino revolutionaries bitterly fought American troops, engaging the United States in a nasty guerrilla war that lasted seven years.
  5. At home, a vocal minority, mostly Democrats and former Populists, resisted the U.S. foray into empire, judging it unwise, immoral, and unconstitutional.
  6. The anti-imperialists were soon drowned out by cries for empire, justified by social Darwinism and missionary zeal.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 20, the *Questions for Analysis* and *Debate* following the feature *Documenting the American Promise*, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 20.

## Review Questions

1. Why did American farmers organize alliances in the late nineteenth century? (pp. 707–709)  
*Answer would ideally include:*

- *Economic hardship:* Prices for agricultural products such as cotton and wheat had significantly dropped while consumer prices continued to rise. (p. 707)

- *Railroads and banks:* The banking and railroad systems had policies that were adverse to small producers, such as favoring the gold standard and offering rebates to large or long-distance shippers. (p. 707)

- *Formation of alliances:* Beginning in Texas in the 1880s as the situation of farmers grew more dire, farmers began to organize into local alliances to help each other. These local groups consolidated into two regional alliances, the Northwestern Farmers' Alliance and the Southern Alliance, which also sought common cause with the Colored Farmers' Alliance. (pp. 707–709)

2. Why did the strikes of the 1890s fail to produce permanent gains for workers? (pp. 714–719)  
*Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on the strikes:* The Homestead Lockout of 1892: Andrew Carnegie locked out the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers at Homestead and used the Pinkerton Detective Agency to protect the mills and strikebreakers. This decision produced a violent clash in which union members temporarily prevailed, but were ultimately removed through government intervention. (pp. 714–716)

*Cripple Creek Miners' Strike of 1894:* Miners struck in response to an attempt to lengthen their working day following a depression. The miners enjoyed the support of the governor, who refused to put down the strike, helping the miners win an eight-hour day. (pp. 716–717)

*Pullman Strike:* Pullman's railroad workers, suffering radically reduced wages and erosion of skilled work, flocked to the American Railway Union. Pullman responded by firing the leaders, leading to a large-scale strike, ultimately extending beyond Pullman's workers. The General Managers Association united and mobilized the support of the federal government to quash the strike. (pp. 717–719)

- *Loss of popular support:* Alexander Berkman's attempt on Henry Frick's life during the Homestead Lockout reinforced the association between anarchism and unionism, perceived in the Haymarket riot. This perception diminished popular support for striking unionists. (p. 716; see also chapter 19)

- *State intervention:* Business owners' appeals to the government for assistance in breaking a strike usually met with success. The pattern of state or federal intervention on behalf of industrialists undermined unions' ability to use strikes as an effective negotiating tool. (p. 719)

3. How did women's temperance activism contribute to the cause of woman suffrage? (pp. 720–721)  
*Answer would ideally include:*

- *Temperance:* Many women supported the temperance movement as a way to change their

vulnerability to drinking and its effects on the home. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union explicitly characterized the problem as one for all women. (pp. 720–721)

- *Frances Willard and the changing mission of the WCTU:* Willard built on women's sense of personal investment in the cause of temperance and encouraged them to think of intemperance as a medical and systemic problem rather than a moral one. This position established a framework for women's activism in other arenas, such as labor and education. Drawing on the cult of domesticity, Willard argued that women needed the vote to protect their homes. (pp. 720–721)

4. Why was the People's Party unable to translate national support into victory in the 1896 election? (pp. 722–727) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Context favorable to their success:* The Depression beginning in 1893 had left large numbers of Americans suffering extreme poverty and dislocation well beyond local assistance capabilities. Mass demonstrations, such as Coxey's Army, registered the extent of the hardship, provoking government crackdowns and the alarm of comfortable Americans. These circumstances strengthened the Populists' appeal. (pp. 722–724)

- *Press opposition:* The press derided the Populists as overly radical and dangerous, heightening the sense that the nation was in peril. (p. 723)

- *Sectional tensions:* The death of Leonidas L. Polk, president of the Southern Farmers' Alliance, and the attempt to replace him as leader with Union general James B. Weaver met with considerable southern opposition, underscoring the regional tensions within the party. (p. 724)

- *Democratic fusion:* Economic hardship had energized the free silver movement. The Democratic Party adopted this cause, and William Jennings Bryan, their candidate, spoke stirringly about its importance. Many populists pursued fusion with the Democratic Party to advance their cause, despite differences. The Populist Party emerged from the 1896 election crushed; they had received few votes, and the Democratic candidate many Populists had supported lost dramatically. (pp. 725–726)

5. Why did the United States largely abandon its isolationist foreign policy in the 1890s? (pp. 727–733) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on isolationism:* Since the nation's founding, American foreign policy had been organized around a commitment to remaining outside European affairs and keeping Europe out of its own. (p. 727)

- *Manifest Destiny:* The work of fulfilling "manifest destiny" through continental expansion had

largely kept the United States out of European late-nineteenth-century empire building. (p. 727)

- *Commercial expansion:* Economic depression at home and expanding production capacity in the 1890s led some American businessmen to look abroad for new markets. Business interests expected, and often received, the support of the United States in their international ventures, sometimes including the annexation of distant lands. Concern about access to Chinese markets led to the United States' successful advocacy for an "Open Door" policy in China to ensure universal access to Chinese markets and to protect Chinese sovereignty. (pp. 727, 732–733)

• *Christian zeal:* American Christians sent missionaries abroad in hopes of cultivating converts, despite open opposition in many countries where they pursued their work. The United States government often came to their aid, for example in China in 1900. (pp. 728–729)

• *Monroe Doctrine in the late nineteenth century:* The United States responded to European imperialism in the Western Hemisphere through diplomacy and the threat of violence to assert its primacy in the region. The government was closely allied with business interests to achieve hegemony in Latin America and the Caribbean. (pp. 729, 732)

6. Why did the United States declare war on Spain in 1898? (pp. 733–734) *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Proximate cause:* Brutal treatment of Cuban revolutionaries by Spain and extensive media coverage fueled American outrage and prompted calls for American intervention. In February 1898, President McKinley dispatched the battleship *Maine* to Cuba as a show of force. Although the events were unclear, the press intimated that Spain was responsible, enraging Americans. Congress responded by declaring war on Spain in April. (pp. 733–734)

• *American Business interests:* Although Americans had significant business interests in Cuba, the business community was divided on the wisdom of intervention and risking a war with Spain. Others, like Theodore Roosevelt, looked at intervention as necessary to future economic growth through access to Asian markets. (p. 734)

specific reforms that working Americans pursued and the strategies they employed. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Overview:* Industrialization had facilitated unprecedented levels of production in the United States, but it had also produced dramatic inequalities and economic dislocation for an enormous number of workers and their families. The scope of the problems Americans faced outstripped older, local systems for managing hardship. The scale of industrialization also contributed to the growth of unions and accustomed Americans to making collective demands.

- *Populists:* Beginning in the 1880s, American farmers formed cooperatives to help them compete with the creditors, railroads, banks, and so on, who had contributed to their impoverishment and the loss of their farms. These financial entities were too powerful and effectively denied the collectives credit. Farmers increasingly realized that their problems required a political solution. Neither Democrats nor Republicans had come to the aid of the farmers, who consequently formed a third party to represent their interests. The Populist Party critiqued contemporary monetary policy and banking systems as serving the interests of the moneyed few. They demanded economic democracy and proposed numerous reforms that depended on government action to help advance their cause. (pp. 709–711)

- *Temperance:* Temperance was another remarkably vigorous social movement that in the late nineteenth century expanded its understanding of the web of causality behind the particular ill it had targeted. WCTU leader Frances Willard asserted that women's interests could only be fully protected if women had the vote. (pp. 720–721)

- *Labor:* Although unionized workers expected their importance to industrial capitalism to be the primary basis of their bargaining power, they also recognized the pivotal part governmental opposition or support could play in their negotiations. In the late nineteenth century, government almost always intervened on the side of private property. For example, the intervention of the state militia undercut the relative success of the Homestead workers. Other government actions, such as limiting Eugene V. Debs's right to speak for the Pullman strikers, also helped stack the deck against the cause of labor. (pp. 714–719)

- *Unemployment:* The deep and prolonged depression of 1893 left almost half the nation's workforce unemployed. Some joined together under the leadership of Jacob S. Coxey to demand that Congress enact a public work program to end unemployment. (pp. 722–724)

2. In the 1890s, workers mounted labor protests and strikes. What circumstances gave rise to these

## Making Connections

1. In the late nineteenth century, Americans clashed over the disparity of power brought about by industrial capitalism. Why did many working Americans look to the government to help advance their vision of economic justice? In your answer, discuss

actions? How did they differ from earlier strikes, such as the Great Railroad Strike of 1877? In your answer, discuss specific actions, being sure to consider how local and national circumstances contributed to their ultimate resolution. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Workers' hardship:* Workers' conditions declined in the late nineteenth century in part as a result of increased capital investment in machinery and an expanding pool of available laborers. The volatility of the industrial economy also left workers extremely vulnerable to unemployment and poverty. (See chapter 19)

- *Disputed right to organize:* Labor actions of the late nineteenth century often concerned disputes over specific work conditions, such as length of days, compensation, and so on. They also arose out of disputes between workers and employers over the right to organize and effectively promote unions. (p. 714)

- *Organization of strikes:* Unlike the spontaneous and disorganized Great Railroad Strike of 1877, effective organization and solidarity distinguished the strikes of the 1890s. (p. 718; see also chapter 19)

- *Course of specific actions:* Large union membership and effective organization led to effective actions and temporary gains, as in the Homestead Lockout and Pullman Strike. Long-term success in achieving union demands depended on the freedom to organize, a right abridged by the courts during the Pullman Strike. The intervention of government was generally on the side of private property, with rare exceptions such as the Cripple Creek Miners' Strike, where local officials and the governor supported the strikers. These patterns constrained unions' bargaining power. (pp. 714–719)

3. How did women's activism in the late nineteenth century help advance the cause of woman suffrage? How did women activists in the late nineteenth century differ from their predecessors? In your answer, discuss specific gains made in the late nineteenth century as well as shifts in reformers' strategies. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Overview of shifts in women's activism:* In the mid-nineteenth century, a small number of women's rights activists had directly pursued suffrage and constitutional amendment as the best way of gaining new rights. In the late nineteenth century, many women became active to combat specific problems, such as alcohol, that they perceived as threatening to their homes and families. These pursuits contributed to new and broader calls for suffrage reform. (pp. 720–722)

- *WCTU and social reform:* Women from across class and ethnic lines joined the WCTU to combat drunkenness. As women organized to deal with

issues that touched their homes and families, they moved into politics. Frances Willard led the WCTU into a broader approach to social reform. Work with the WCTU gave women the tools and experience of political action, even without the vote. (pp. 720–721)

- *Domesticity and suffrage:* Willard recognized that the identification of women with domestic life could be linked to the need for woman suffrage. She, with the WCTU and other women's organizations, argued that women needed the vote to protect their homes. Suffragists won the vote in a few states such as Colorado and Idaho in the 1890s, but all women would not gain the vote until 1920. (pp. 720–722)

4. How did the conquest of Native Americans in the West foreshadow U.S. expansion abroad? In what ways did assumptions of racial superiority evident in U.S. Indian policy affect the treatment of Cubans and Filipinos? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Manifest Destiny:* During this period, the same tenets of Manifest Destiny that first applied to Westward expansion in the United States came to encompass the entirety of the Western Hemisphere. Expansionism had always been popular in the United States, causing thousands to move West seeking opportunity for a better life. This push westward inevitably uprooted the cultures of the Native Americans who had been settled on the land for hundreds of years. In the late nineteenth century, this same drive for land and opportunity, began to affect the cultures of Hawaii, Asia, and the Caribbean Islands. (p. 727)

- *Missionary zeal:* American missionaries traveled abroad to convert non-Christians, much in the same way missionaries traveled west to civilize the "heathen" Indians. Like business interests, missionaries expected the United States to support them in their endeavors, and even defend them against hostile actions by governments whose citizens they attempted to convert. For example, the United States sent troops to China to rescue missionaries caught up in the violence of the Boxer Rebellion. (pp. 728–729)

- *Racial Superiority:* Following the Spanish-American War, Cubans failed to gain complete autonomy. U.S. officials declared the Cubans unfit for self-government, dictating the Cuban constitution and later passing the Platt Amendment, which allowed them to interfere in political and economic issues in Cuba. (pp. 735, 738)

### **Documenting the American Promise: Populist Voices of Protest (pp. 712–713)**

1. According to Mary Elizabeth Lease, what accounted for the high rate of foreclosures on Kansas farms? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Inflation of prices of most goods and services:* Lease suggests that the prices for most goods and services—including land, transportation, farm implements, and so on—have inflated between 1865 and 1890 so that farmers are having to spend much more to survive.

- Falling farm prices:* Lease also pointed out that farm prices dropped considerably between 1865 and 1890, requiring farmers to spend more money in order to increase their yields, even as their crops became less and less valuable.

2. When Ignatius Donnelley spoke of “a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws,” what current event was he referring to? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Explanation of “hireling army”:* The hireling army referred to the Pinkerton Detective Agency, which was used by some corporations as a private security agency.

- Homestead strike:* Donnelley was referring to the Homestead Steel Strike in which the Pinkerton detectives were set against striking workers in order to protect the mills and the strikebreakers.

3. Kansas governor Lorenzo Lewelling said, “If it be true that the poor have no right to the property of the rich let it also be declared that the rich have no right to the property of the poor.” What did he mean by “property of the poor”? What did he want the state to do? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Explanation of “property of the poor”:* Lewelling was referring to the labor of the poor as well as to their homes and food and other necessities of human life.

- Lewelling’s views on the proper role of the state:* Lewelling was demanding that the state should operate for the benefit of the people, to protect them and insure their basic needs are met, and not for the benefit of corporations and their owners. He wanted the state to do what was right for regular individuals, not to demand that they do things that undermined their rights and well-being.

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Homestead Workers Attack the Pinkertons (p. 715)

**Reading the Image:** How does the illustration portray the crowd? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Crowd portrayal:* The cover illustration offers a largely negative perspective of the crowd. The most

prominent figures in the crowd are a young boy pointing a gun at the “Pinks,” and a woman in an apron threateningly waving a stick or some other potential weapon at the agents. The implication of this illustration seems to be that the workers have radicalized not only their approach to their work but also their entire culture by allowing children and women to participate in the violent actions against their employers. The seemingly unending mass of workers also suggests a mob ready to explode with violence against its opponents.

**Connections:** Public opinion turned against the workers over the course of the lockout. Can you tell whose side the magazine was on? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Magazine’s bias:* The cover illustration of this issue clearly suggests that the magazine was backing the Homestead management rather than the workers. However, it is likely that in an effort to sell more copies, the magazine opted to side with the general public opinion. The workers appear as an unruly and uncontrollable mob, whereas the Pinkertons, dressed respectfully, and seeking only to protect themselves from the crowd, covering their faces or falling to the ground, clearly emerge as the victims in this depiction.

## The Open Door (p. 732)

**Reading the Image:** How does the cartoon portray the U.S. role in international diplomacy? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Diplomatic role of the United States:* According to this cartoon, the United States is poised to take its place as a great diplomatic power as well as a commercial influence. The United States literally is at the center of the image and figuratively central to the practice of all future international diplomacy. The cartoonist envisions a United States that accomplishes its foreign policy goals by peaceful measures rather than war; neither the other major players nor the Chinese are distressed or unhappy about the Open Door, which has been achieved through diplomacy and not force. The United States will serve as a wise negotiator, bringing together nations through consensus to the mutual benefit of all and without any apparent thought of personal gain.

**Connections:** In what ways does this image misrepresent the reality of American and European involvement in China and the Open Door policy? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Misrepresentations:* The cartoon does not acknowledge that the Open Door policy, which was promulgated by Secretary of State John Hay in 1899 and 1900, was not supported wholeheartedly by the European powers, which had accepted it largely as

the result of Hay's skillful maneuvering. It also neglects to demonstrate the extent to which the United States benefited from the Open Door policy, a measure allowing it to take advantage of business opportunities in an area it had coveted since the 1840s without wasting money on expensive imperial schemes. More important, the cartoon fails to reflect the mixed reactions of the Chinese to Western intervention. In 1900, the antiforeign Boxer uprising already had broken out in parts of China; it was aimed at Western missionaries and the symbols of Western imperialism, including railroads and telegraph lines. Yet there is no indication of that unhappiness in the China this cartoon depicts.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 20.3 The Spanish-American War, 1898 (p. 735)

**Reading the Map:** Which countries held imperial control over countries and territories immediately surrounding the Philippine Islands and Cuba? Which imperial power provided the launching point for the U.S. fleet before Dewey captured Manila? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Imperial control of the Philippines and Cuba:* The French, British, and Japanese maintained control of territories surrounding the Philippines, and the British held control over the countries—the Bahamas and Jamaica—surrounding Cuba.

- *U.S. launching point into the Philippines:* The British colony of Hong Kong was the launching point for Dewey's invasion of Manila.

**Connections:** What role did American newspapers play in the start of the war? How did the results of the war with Spain serve American aims in both Asia and the Western Hemisphere? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Newspapers:* Following the sinking of the *Maine* in Havana harbor, American newspapers fanned the flames of war with inflammatory stories and visual images. Papers blamed the Spanish government for the sinking, and soon Congress declared war on Spain.

- *Results of the War:* The war concluded with Cuban independence and an American naval base at Guantánamo Bay. Spain was also forced to cede Puerto Rico to the United States in the Caribbean and the Philippines and Guam in the Pacific. The naval base in Cuba and access to Puerto Rico helped secure

U.S. military and commercial dominance in the Western Hemisphere. Although the United States would be locked in a heated military battle over the fate of the Philippines for several years, the Philippine Islands and Guam ultimately provided the United States with access to markets in Asia and the greater Pacific, especially the much-valued Chinese market.

### Map 20.4 U.S. Overseas Expansion through 1900 (p. 739)

**Reading the Map:** Does the map indicate that more territory was acquired by purchase or by war, occupation, or unilateral decision? How many purchases of land outside the continental United States did the government make? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Methods of land acquisition:* In terms of strict geographic area, most of the territory that was either officially part of or controlled by the United States was acquired by means of purchase. Alaska, the single largest American possession and the only U.S. land purchase shown on the map, was bought in 1867. In contrast, the much smaller American holdings in the Pacific, including Guam, the Philippines, and American Samoa, along with Puerto Rico in the Caribbean, were under U.S. control by means of war, occupation, or unilateral decision.

- *Land purchased outside of the U.S.:* The only land outside of the continental United States that was purchased was Alaska. All other land was acquired through war, occupation, or agreements.

**Connections:** What foreign policy developments occurred in the 1890s? How did American political leaders react to them? Where was U.S. expansion headed, and why? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Foreign policy in the late nineteenth century:* In the 1890s, the United States maintained a somewhat contradictory balance between the Monroe Doctrine, which demanded that Europe stay out of the Western Hemisphere, and the Open Door policy, which required that all nations enjoy equal trade access to a nominally sovereign China. Overall, the United States became more interested in foreign policy and overseas adventures, a movement that began when the country intervened more and more in South America and culminated with the Spanish-American War of 1898. President McKinley was slow to intervene in Cuba, but the move was supported by business interests and a morally outraged American public spurred on by newspaper publishers. Much American expansion was undertaken in the name of improved trade, particularly when the depression of the 1890s weakened domestic markets. For instance, the decision to keep the Philippines after the Spanish-American War

largely was the result of its strategic location near China, a major potential commercial market, rather than a result of the administration's foreign policy.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in “Additional Resources for Chapter 20.”*

### LECTURE 1

#### *Agrarian and Working-Class Discontent*

This lecture conveys the degree to which Americans flocked to organizations to create new political alliances to work for change. You will first want to discuss the American farmers who were agitating for reform in the 1880s and 1890s. Beset by a variety of economic woes, farmers organized in farmers' alliances throughout the South and Midwest. Draw your students' attention to the first Farmers' Alliance flag on page 708 in order to demonstrate one of the many ways in which the various regional alliances brought their message to American farmers. Cover the issues that galvanized the Farmers' Alliance, such as credit merchants, railroads, trusts, and the money power. Also, point out that the Alliance considered farmers to be members of the working class and that, in order to broaden its base and capture the support of the American labor movement, the Southern Farmers' Alliance supported the Knights of Labor, calling on its members to boycott Jay Gould's railroad. By the late 1880s, the Farmers' Alliance had become increasingly politicized. Farmers tried to establish cooperatives in order to enhance their buying and selling power, but they foundered after encountering stiff opposition from bankers and merchants. Note, however, that the farmers gained experience in political agitation and subsequently drafted a platform of demands that included railroad regulation, currency reform, and laws against land speculation. Discuss the ways in which the alliance movement gave rise to the Populist movement and the People's Party. Call attention to the Populists' demands, illustrated by the convention ribbon on page 725.

Moving on, cover the ways in which American workers continued to agitate for better working conditions, better pay, and shorter workdays. Two of the most violent disputes between labor and capitalists—first the Homestead lockout and strike of 1892, then the Pullman strike of 1894—raised fundamental questions about the rights of workers and the sanctity of private property. Be sure to draw your students' attention to the illustration on page 715 of the Homestead

strikers attacking the Pinkerton men. Contrast the fate of labor in the Homestead lockout and Pullman boycott with the fate of the miners at Cripple Creek. Ask students to consider the importance of the political disposition of the local officials at Cripple Creek. Have them think about the role of electoral politics and social change. End your lecture with a discussion of depression-era politics. Use the story of Coxey's army to suggest the desperation felt by the nation's poor and unemployed. Cover the election of 1896, the divisive issue of free silver, the debate over fusion, and the demise of the Populist movement. You may wish to end your lecture by having students reflect on the ways in which both farmers and labor leaders demanded that America live up to its promise. The Populist platform will be especially useful on this score.

### LECTURE 2

#### *Women and Reform*

Women participated in reform movements in the late nineteenth century in unprecedented numbers. Although barred from the franchise in most states, American women nevertheless sought to create new political alliances and effect change through new reform organizations. Your lecture should cover the two main reform movements in which women participated: temperance and suffrage.

Begin with one of the most successful of the women reformers, Frances Willard. In 1881, she became president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), a grassroots organization formed in 1874, and dramatically altered the course of the temperance movement in the United States. Willard urged WCTU members to agitate for social action to eliminate drunkenness instead of relying on prayer. She greatly expanded the activities of the WCTU, involving her organization in nontemperance issues such as woman suffrage and improving work conditions.

Woman suffrage was a major reform issue at this time, although not as prominent as temperance. (Be sure to bring Frances Willard's demand for the "home protection ballot" into your discussion of the suffrage movement.) In 1890, the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), which launched campaigns at the state level to gain the vote for women. (Have students look at the campaign flyer advocating woman suffrage in the state of Nebraska on page 721.) Ask students to what entity the Constitution grants the right to determine the qualifications of voters, and then have students comment on the effectiveness and limitations of the suffragists' strategy.

You may wish to end your lecture by having students discuss the ways in which these women reformers called on America to live up to its promises. Have students review the last sentence of the Reconstruction Amendments, for example, and ask them how those who demanded woman suffrage legislation sought to force Congress to fulfill its obligations.

## LECTURE 3

### *The Quest for Empire*

This lecture stresses that the nation entered the twentieth century after a war for expansion, questioning the direction in which it was headed. Although the United States had remained largely aloof from the scramble for overseas colonies in the late nineteenth century, its leaders were acutely aware of the profits to be reaped from global expansion. U.S. foreign policy rested on the twin pillars of the Monroe Doctrine, asserting unfettered U.S. control of the Western Hemisphere, and the Open Door policy in Asia, which granted the United States access to markets in that region. (You might ask students to examine and analyze the “The Open Door” cartoon on page 732.) The desire for new markets for U.S. products influenced U.S. policy abroad, as did missionary zeal, patriotism, and jingoism.

Next, describe to your students the events of the Spanish-American War and the rise of the United States as a world power after its defeat of Spain in the “splendid little war.” Map 20.3, “The Spanish-American War, 1898” (p. 735), allows you to explain the Spanish-American War in some detail. Americans were initially outraged at the brutality with which the Spanish colonial government treated Cubans who had been fighting for their independence since 1895, and Americans’ moral indignation grew as journalists sensationalized the plight of the Cuban revolutionaries. The sinking of the *Maine* in Havana harbor intensified Americans’ antipathy toward the Spanish. Make it clear that financial interests also motivated the United States to enter the fray. American business had millions of dollars invested in Cuban sugar plantations. Skirmishes between the Cuban revolutionaries and the Spanish nearly halted trade, and that was bad for U.S. business.

Also note that the United States wanted easier access to Asian markets, and a defeated Spain was likely to yield control of not only Puerto Rico but also Guam and the Philippine Islands. With U.S. aid, the Cubans finally secured their independence from Spain, but the Platt Amendment to the peace treaty gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuba whenever it pleased. Thus, a war begun by the United States for humanitarian interests resulted in greater U.S. imperialism. Be sure to make the point that not all

Americans were caught up in the late nineteenth-century lust for empire. Mention Mark Twain and William Jennings Bryan’s denunciation of the war, and have students discuss the role of principled protest during a time of U.S. involvement in overseas adventures.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. The Money Supply

Students frequently have a hard time understanding the motivations behind the demands for free silver in the 1890s. Remind them that the 1896 election hinged on this issue. Begin by explaining the chronic indebtedness experienced by many farmers. Note the prevalence of sharecropping and tenancy in the South and the high costs of migrating to the West. Also note the drop in farm commodity prices during the second half of the nineteenth century, and ask students to consider the effect of falling prices on farmers’ ability to repay their debts. Then, have them speculate as to why those in debt would favor a loose money supply (and why creditors would favor a constricted money supply). You might need to point out that a looser money supply has an inflationary effect on prices. Your students might leap to the conclusion that inflation is a telltale sign of an unhealthy economy. Remind them, however, that farmers owe a fixed amount no matter what the money is worth. Inflation signals that the money is worth less than when debtors borrow it. Creditors benefit from a tight money supply because the money is worth more than when they loaned it out. If your students seem to be struggling with this point, ask them if they took out student loans to go to college. Then, ask why they might want the money they repay the creditor to be worth less than the money they borrowed. Exaggerate the case. Have them imagine the crediting agency as one individual who can do whatever he or she wishes with your students’ money. Students will owe the money regardless of its worth. Ask them if they would rather have the creditor buy a mansion with their money or a bottom-of-the-line hatchback car with no frills. Most will choose the latter.

### 2. Workers’ Protests Were Doomed to Failure

Students might think that all workers’ efforts to advance the cause of labor were doomed to failure. Certainly, the events around the Homestead lockout and the Pullman boycott/strike reinforce that idea. To emphasize the contingent nature of history, discuss miners’ efforts to secure a shorter workday at Cripple Creek, Colorado. Ask students why the miners

prevailed here and not elsewhere. Have them consider whether political power is necessary to back up the efforts of social and labor reformers. Can reformers succeed without a “friend” in political office?

### 3. Theodore Roosevelt and the Spanish-American War

Students may well be familiar with the popular image of Theodore Roosevelt leading his Rough Riders in a heroic charge up San Juan Hill, but they might not know that this image reflected the popular, romanticized version of the battle and bore little relation to the actual event. In that sense, the image itself can be seen as emblematic of the hypocrisy of a war that was billed as a campaign to “liberate” Cuba but was actually fought at the behest of bankers, businessmen, newspaper moguls, and other powerful U.S. interests.

Next, make the point that American troops were few, poorly led, and ill prepared. True, the regular standing army of about 28,000 troops was a well-disciplined and highly professional force, but more than 235,000 raw recruits had volunteered after President William McKinley asked Congress to declare war. Secretary of War Russell Alger had promised McKinley that he could get 40,000 men to Cuba within ten days after the war broke out. It took him seven weeks to get fewer than half that number of men to the island. In fact, thousands of volunteers were stranded in Tampa, Florida—without guns, uniforms, or other equipment. Many contracted diseases while eating rotten food, living in poor sanitary conditions, and waiting in the hot sun to be transported to Cuba. Remind students that the U.S. navy was in much better shape than the army. Despite our romantic image of Roosevelt on San Juan Hill, the navy proved the real key to the outcome of the war.

Spanish-American War and *Crucible of Empire: The Spanish-American War* also work well in a discussion of U.S. imperialism. All of these documentaries are distributed by PBS Video.

### Class Discussion Starters

Ask students to speculate on the possible course of American history had William Jennings Bryan won the election of 1896. Would victory have ensured that Populism remained a powerful reform impulse? What would have been the implications of a strengthened labor movement and weakened business interests? Would Jim Crow “justice” have continued in the South, or would Bryan’s victory have ushered in a movement toward African American equality?

### Historical Debates

Have students debate the merits and drawbacks of U.S. imperialism. Some students can represent business leaders, some missionaries, some humanitarian workers, some jingoistic politicians, and so on. Should the United States have been involved in overseas expansion?

### Reading Primary Sources

Have students discuss what elements of these speeches prove most compelling. What makes these pieces effective rhetoric? In what ways were these protesters able to captivate their audiences? Why might Americans in the 1890s be particularly susceptible to their messages? Which speech seemed most compelling, and why? Do the messages of these protesters still resonate today? Why, or why not?

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

*One Woman, One Vote* covers the seventy-year struggle for woman suffrage—from Seneca Falls in 1848 to the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. The segments on the formation of NAWSA also work well in a class devoted to women reformers. When discussing U.S. involvement in overseas expansion, consider using *Hawaii's Last Queen*, which details Liliuokalani’s efforts to protect the sovereignty of her island in the face of opposition from wealthy plantation owners and the U.S. government. Segments from *TR: The Story of Theodore Roosevelt* on the

## Additional Resources for Chapter 20

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 20 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 20.1: The Election of 1892 (p. 724)
- Map 20.2: The Election of 1896 (p. 726)
- Map 20.3: The Spanish-American War, 1898 (p. 735)

- Map 20.4: U.S. Overseas Expansion through 1900 (p. 739)
- Global Comparison: Share of the World Wheat Market, 1860–1890 (p. 708)
- Buffalo Banner from the 1892 Populist Convention (p. 704)
- Columbia's Easter Bonnet (p. 740)

### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 20 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 20.1: The Election of 1892 (p. 724)
- Map 20.2: The Election of 1896 (p. 726)
- Map 20.3: The Spanish-American War, 1898 (p. 735)
- Map 20.4: U.S. Overseas Expansion through 1900 (p. 739)
- Figure 20.1: Consumer Prices and Farm Income, 1865–1910 (p. 709)
- Figure 20.2: Expansion in U.S. Trade, 1870–1910 (p. 727)
- Global Comparison: Share of the World Wheat Market, 1860–1890 (p. 708)
- The First Farmer's Alliance Flag (p. 708)
- Homestead Workers Attack the Pinkertons (p. 715)
- The Battle of San Juan Hill (p. 738)
- Columbia's Easter Bonnet (p. 740)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor's Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for using the Bedford Series in History and Culture volume *A Traveler from Altruria* by William Dean Howells, edited with an introduction by David W. Levy, in the U.S. history survey.

## For Students

### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 20 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- Addressing the Crisis in Rural America: *Populist Party Platform, July 4, 1892*
- White Supremacy in Wilmington, North Carolina: *Gunner Jesse Blake, Narrative of the Wilmington "Rebellion" of 1898*
- Pinkertons Defeated at Homestead: *Pinkerton Guard Testimony, 1893*
- Conflicting Views about Labor Unions: *N. F. Thompson, Testimony before the Industrial Commission on the Relations and Conditions of Capital and Labor, 1900; Samuel Gompers, Letter to the American Federationist, 1894*
- Emilio Aguinaldo Criticizes American Imperialism in the Philippines: *Case Against the United States, 1889*

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map, visual, and document activities are available for chapter 20:

### Map Activities

- Map 20.3: The Spanish-American War, 1898 (p. 735)
- Map 20.4: U.S. Overseas Expansion through 1900 (p. 739)

### Visual Activities

- Homestead Workers Attack the Pinkertons (p. 715)
- The Open Door (p. 732)

### Reading Historical Documents Activity

- Populist Voices of Protest (pp. 712–713)

# Progressivism from the Grass Roots to the White House

1890–1916

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## Chapter Learning Objectives

1. What was grassroots progressivism, who were its proponents, and why did they target the city for reform? Why did activists form alliances with the working class and under what circumstances did those alliances prove successful?
2. What were the intellectual underpinnings of progressivism? How did reformers put the theories of reform Darwinism, pragmatism, and social engineering into action at both the local and state levels?
3. How did Theodore Roosevelt put progressivism into action as president? What was his attitude toward trusts and big business? Outline his efforts as a conservationist and as a diplomat.
4. What efforts did Taft make to stall progressive reform, and why did progressives lead an insurgent campaign during the election of 1912? What accounted for Wilson's victory in 1912?
5. How did Wilson seek to enact his "New Freedom" once in office? What reforms did he support, and what were his views on the tariff issue, banking, and trusts? Why did Wilson earn the name "the reluctant Progressive"?
6. What were the limits of progressive reform, and what organizations offered more radical visions of America's future? Why did some critics charge the movement with advocating reform "for white men only"?

## Annotated Chapter Outline

- I. **Grassroots Progressivism**
  - A. Civilizing the City
    1. Progressives tackled the problems of the city with many approaches, among which were the settlement house movement, the social gospel, and the social purity movement.
    2. The settlement house movement, begun in England, came to the United States in 1886 with the opening of the University Settlement House in New York City.
    3. Women, particularly college-educated women such as Jane Addams and Lillian Wald, formed the backbone of the settlement house movement and stood in the forefront of the progressive movement; the number of settlement houses grew from six hundred in 1891 to more than four hundred by 1911.
    4. Some churches confronted the urban social problems by enunciating a new social gospel, one that saw its mission as to reform not only the individual, but also society.
    5. Ministers also played an active role in the social purity movement, attacking vices

- such as prostitution, political corruption, and alcoholism.
6. Attacks on alcohol went hand in hand with the push for social purity and, not surprisingly, the temperance campaign heated up in the early twentieth century.
  7. An element of nativism ran through the movement for prohibition, as it did in a number of progressive reforms.
  8. Progressives' efforts to civilize the city demonstrated their willingness to take action, their belief that environment, not heredity alone, determined human behavior, and their optimism that conditions could be corrected through government action without radically altering American's economy or institutions.
- B. Progressives and the Working Class
1. Day-to-day contact with neighbors made settlement house workers particularly sympathetic to labor unions.
  2. Attempts to forge a cross-class alliance became institutionalized in 1903 with the creation of the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), which brought together women workers and middle-class "allies" in order to organize working women into unions under the auspices of the AFL.
  3. The League's most notable success came in 1909 in the "uprising of twenty thousand," a strike of women employees of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company in New York City to protest low wages, dangerous working conditions, and management's refusal to recognize the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.
  4. By the time the strike ended, the WTLU had contributed greatly to the effort; the workers had won some important demands and achieved a remarkable solidarity.
  5. Despite the demonstration of solidarity and the uprising of twenty thousand workers, the strike failed to change the dangerous conditions facing women workers.
  6. A fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company in 1911, which killed 146 workers and injured scores more, tested the bonds of cross-class alliance.
  7. Increasingly, the WTUL turned its efforts to lobbying for protective legislation—laws that would limit hours and regulate working conditions.
  8. The advocates of protective legislation won a major victory in 1908 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled, in *Muller v. Oregon*, to uphold an Oregon law that limited the hours women could work to ten a day.
  9. The National Consumers' league led by Florence Kelley fostered cross-class alliance by urging middle-class women to boycott stores and exert pressure for decent wages and working conditions for women employees.
  10. Frustrated by the reluctance of the private sector to respond to the need for reform, progressive reformers turned to government at all levels.
  11. Reform also fueled the fight for woman suffrage; the concept of municipal housekeeping encouraged women to put their talents to work in the service of society.
- II. Progressivism: Theory and Practice**
- A. Reform Darwinism and Social Engineering
1. The active, interventionist approach of the progressives directly challenged social Darwinism, with its insistence that the world operated on the principle of survival of the fittest and that human beings stood powerless in the face of natural selection.
  2. A new group of sociologists argued that evolution could advance more rapidly if men and women used their intellects to alter the environment; this new theory, dubbed "reform Darwinism," condemned laissez-faire government, insisting that the liberal state should play a more active role in solving social problems.
  3. *Efficiency* and *expertise* became the watchwords of the progressive vocabulary and, although they sought social justice, progressives believed experts should be put in charge.
  4. Frederick Winslow Taylor epitomized the movement toward scientific management, pioneering "systemized shop management," which aimed to elevate productivity and efficiency, but in the end, only succeeded in alienating the working class.
- B. Progressive Government: City and State
1. The politicians who became premier progressives were generally the followers, not the leaders, in a movement already well advanced at the grassroots level.
  2. Progressivism burst forth at every level of government in 1900, but nowhere more forcefully than in Cleveland, Ohio, where

- voters elected as mayor Thomas Lofton Johnson, who had made millions in the street railroad business.
3. During his tenure as mayor, Johnson fought for fair taxation and municipal ownership of street railways and public utilities, even as he called for greater democracy through the use of the initiative, referendum, and recall—devices that allowed the voters to have a direct say in legislative and judicial matters.
  4. In Wisconsin, Robert M. La Follette capitalized on the grassroots movement for reform to launch his political career, first as governor (1901–1905) and later as U.S. senator (1906–1925).
  5. La Follette was successful in uniting his supporters around issues that transcended old party loyalties, emphasizing true progressive reforms.
  6. West of the Rockies, progressivism arrived somewhat later and found a champion in Hiram Johnson of California, who served as governor from 1911 to 1917 and as U.S. senator from 1917 to 1945.
  7. As governor, Johnson introduced the direct primary; supported the initiative, referendum, and recall; strengthened the state's railroad commission; supported conservation; and signed an employer's liability law.

### III. Progressivism Finds a President: Theodore Roosevelt

#### A. The Square Deal

1. Theodore Roosevelt, a patrician by birth and an activist by temperament, learned politics from a local ward boss and devoted his energy to strengthening the power of the federal government and reining in big business.
2. Roosevelt believed that the most vital question facing the country was “whether or not the government has the power to control the trusts.”
3. Roosevelt used the Sherman Antitrust Act, which had been severely weakened by a conservative Supreme Court, to go after some of the nation's largest corporations, including Northern Securities Company, which held a monopoly on railroad traffic in the Northwest.
4. In 1904, Roosevelt's actions led the Supreme Court to uphold the Sherman Act and call for the dissolution of Northern Securities, putting Wall Street on notice that the president was willing to use the

- power of the government to control business.
5. Roosevelt went on to use the Sherman Act against forty-three trusts, punishing the “bad trusts,” which broke the law, and leaving the “good” ones alone.
  6. In his handling of the anthracite coal strike in 1902, Roosevelt again demonstrated his willingness to assert the moral and political authority of the presidency, this time in mediating between labor and management.
  7. When management refused to negotiate with representatives from the miners' union, the United Mine Workers, Roosevelt threatened to seize the mines and run them with federal troops.
  8. The mine owners agreed to arbitration, conceding some points to the miners but refusing in the end to grant formal recognition to the union.
  9. Taken together, Roosevelt's actions in the Northern Securities case and the coal strike marked a dramatic departure from the presidential passivity that had marked his predecessors in the Gilded Age.
  10. The phrase “Square Deal” became Roosevelt's slogan in the 1904 election campaign; he won with the largest popular majority—57.9 percent—of any candidate that had been polled to date.
- #### B. Roosevelt the Reformer
1. Roosevelt's stunning victory gave him a mandate for reform and he started with railroad reform, determined to give the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) real power to set rates and prevent discriminatory practices.
  2. Roosevelt worked skillfully behind the scenes to ensure the passage of the Hepburn Act, a bill that increased the power of the ICC.
  3. The passage of the Hepburn Act gave the ICC power to set rates subject to court review and marked the high point of Roosevelt's presidency, but by 1906, his term was starting to run out, and his influence on Congress and his party was waning.
  4. During the period of Roosevelt's reforms, a growing appetite for reform fed by the revelations of corporate and political wrongdoing and social injustice filled the papers and boosted the sales of popular periodicals.

5. Muckraking journalism, a term Roosevelt coined, had been of enormous help in securing progressive legislation, including the Pure Food and Drug Act and the Meat Inspection Act.
  6. In the waning years of his administration, Roosevelt moved farther to the left, allying with the more progressive elements of the Republican Party.
  7. In the fall of 1907, economic panic struck and business interests blamed the president; in the end, J. P. Morgan stepped in to avert disaster by propping up weak institutions with funds he switched from one bank to another in exchange for Roosevelt's word not to institute antitrust proceedings against U.S. Steel when it acquired Tennessee Coal and Iron.
  8. Roosevelt, convinced that regulation, not trust-busting, was the best way to deal with big business, never acknowledged that his regulatory politics fostered an alliance between business and government—an alliance that today is known as corporate liberalism.
- C. Roosevelt and Conservation
1. During his administration, Roosevelt sought to conserve the nation's natural resources, tripling the number of acres of land in government reserves and fighting western cattle barons, lumber kings, mining interests, and powerful leaders in Congress.
  2. During the 1890s, concern for the unchecked exploitation of natural resources led Congress to pass legislation giving the president the power to "reserve" forest land from commercial development by executive proclamation.
  3. Roosevelt did not hesitate to use that power, advocating conservation, and the managed use of natural resources.
  4. Roosevelt's conservation policies drew criticism: preservationists such as John Muir, founder of the Sierra Club, believed the wilderness needed to be protected from all commercial exploitation and clashed with Roosevelt.
  5. Progressives took issue with the Newlands Reclamation Act of 1902, which established a Reclamation Bureau within the Department of the Interior and provided federal funding for irrigation projects, encouraging large-scale farming at the expense of the small farmer.
  6. In 1907, Congress put the brakes on Roosevelt's environmental efforts by passing a law limiting his power to create forest reserves in six western states.
  7. Today, the six national parks, sixteen national monuments, and fifty-one wildlife refuges stand witness to Roosevelt's accomplishments as a conservationist.
- D. The Big Stick
1. Roosevelt's activism extended to his foreign policy, where he worked to buttress the nation's newly won place among world leaders.
  2. Roosevelt was convinced of Congress' ineptitude in foreign affairs, and relied on executive power to affect a vigorous foreign policy, sometimes stretching the powers of the presidency beyond the legal limits in his pursuit of American interests.
  3. In the Caribbean, Roosevelt jealously guarded the Monroe Doctrine's American sphere of influence and his proprietary attitude toward the Western Hemisphere became further evident in his Panama Canal dealings.
  4. In 1904, Roosevelt announced what became known as the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine: The United States would not intervene in Latin America as long as nations conducted their affairs with "decency."
  5. The Roosevelt Corollary in effect made the United States the policeman of the Western Hemisphere and served notice to the European powers to keep out.
  6. In Asia, Roosevelt inherited the Open Door policy established by Secretary of State John Hay that ensured U.S. commercial entry into China.
  7. In his relations with Europe, Roosevelt sought to establish the United States, fresh from its victory over Spain, as a rising force in world affairs.
  8. Roosevelt earned the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906 for his role in negotiating an end to the Russo-Japanese War, which had broken out when the Japanese invaded Chinese Manchuria, threatening Russia's sphere of influence in the area.
  9. To demonstrate America's naval power and to counter Japan's growing bellicosity, Roosevelt dispatched the Great White Fleet, sixteen of the navy's most up-to-date battleships, on a "goodwill" mission around the world.

10. American relations with Japan improved, and in the 1908 Root-Takahira agreement, the two nations pledged to maintain the Open Door and support the status quo in the Pacific.

#### IV. Progressivism Stalled

- A. The Troubled Presidency of William Howard Taft
  1. Once in office, William Howard Taft proved a perfect tool in the hands of Republicans who yearned for a return to the days of a less active executive.
  2. Taft's troubles began on the eve of his inaugural when he called a special session of Congress to deal with lowering the tariff.
  3. Contrary to his intentions, the Payne-Aldrich bill that emerged actually raised the tariff, benefiting big business and trusts at the expense of consumers, but as if paralyzed, Taft neither fought for changes nor vetoed the measure.
  4. Taft did not use Roosevelt's methods of bending the law to protect the nation's resources, and actually undid some of Roosevelt's work to preserve hydroelectric power sites when he learned they had been improperly designed as ranger stations.
  5. By late summer, 1910, after returning from abroad, Roosevelt had taken sides with the progressive insurgents in his party, beginning to sound more and more like a candidate.
  6. With the Republican Party divided, the Democrats swept the congressional elections of 1910 and the new Democratic majority in the House, working with progressive Republicans in the Senate, achieved a number of key reforms that included legislation to regulate mine and railroad safety, to create a Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor, and to establish an eight-hour workday for federal workers.
  7. The Congress sent to the states two significant constitutional amendments: the Sixteenth Amendment, which provided for a modest graduated income tax, and the Seventeenth Amendment, which called for the direct election of senators.
  8. Taft also had a difficult time following in Roosevelt's footsteps regarding foreign policy.
  9. Lacking Roosevelt's understanding of power politics, Taft championed "dollar

diplomacy," naively believing he could substitute "dollars for bullets."

10. In the Caribbean, he provoked anti-American feeling by attempting to force commercial treaties on Nicaragua and Honduras, and by dispatching the U.S. Marines to Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic in 1912, pursuant to the Roosevelt Corollary.
  11. In Asia, he openly avowed his intent to promote in China "active intervention to secure for . . . our capitalists opportunity for profitable investment."
  12. Taft hoped to encourage world peace through the use of a world court and arbitration but was unsuccessful in sponsoring arbitration treaties, drawing strong criticism from Roosevelt in 1910.
  13. The final breach between Taft and Roosevelt came in 1911, when Taft's attorney general filed an antitrust suit against U.S. Steel, citing Roosevelt's agreement with the Morgan interests in the 1907 acquisition of Tennessee Coal and Iron.
- B. Progressive Insurgency and the Election of 1912
    1. In February 1912, Roosevelt challenged Taft for the Republican nomination, but by that time, despite his continued popularity, he had lost control of the party machine and Taft refused to step aside.
    2. Roosevelt ran in thirteen primaries and won 278 delegates to Taft's 48, but Taft's bosses refused to seat the Roosevelt delegates at the Chicago convention.
    3. A hastily organized Progressive Party met to nominate Roosevelt.
    4. Progressive Party planks called for woman suffrage, presidential primaries, conservation of natural resources, minimum wages for women, an end to child labor, workers' compensation, social security, and a federal income tax.
    5. Despite accepting the nomination the new party was doomed, and Roosevelt knew it.
    6. The Democrats, delighted at the split in the Republican ranks, smelled victory and nominated Woodrow Wilson.
    7. Voters in 1912 chose from four candidates who claimed to be progressives—Taft, Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and the Socialist candidate, Eugene V. Debs.
    8. The real contest for the presidency was between Roosevelt and Wilson and the two political philosophies that summed

- up their campaign slogans: “The New Nationalism” and “The New Freedom.”
9. Roosevelt’s New Nationalism enunciated his belief in federal planning and regulation while Wilson’s New Freedom, based on the Democratic principles of limited government and states’ rights, promised to use antitrust legislation to get rid of big corporations and give small businesses and farmers better opportunities in the marketplace.
  10. Wilson and Roosevelt fought it out, but in the end, the Republican vote was split while the Democrats remained united and Wilson won a decisive victory in the electoral college.

## **V. Woodrow Wilson and Progressivism at High Tide**

### A. Wilson’s Reforms: Tariff, Banking, and the Trusts

1. At Wilson’s urging, Congress passed the Underwood tariff, which lowered rates by 15 percent; to compensate for lost revenue the House approved a moderate federal income tax.
2. Wilson, concerned about J.P. Morgan and Company’s control of 341 directorships in 112 corporations and control of more than \$22 billion in assets, next turned his attention to banking.
3. The Federal Reserve Act of 1913, the most significant domestic legislation of Wilson’s presidency, established a national banking system composed of twelve regional banks, privately controlled but regulated and supervised by a Federal Reserve Board appointed by the president.
4. The Federal Reserve gave the United States its first efficient banking and currency system, provided for a greater degree of government control over banking, and made currency more elastic and credit adequate for the needs of business and agriculture.
5. Wilson, flushed with success, tackled the trust issue next, supporting the Clayton Antitrust Act, which outlawed price discrimination and interlocking directorates, regulating rather than breaking up big business as he had promised to do.
6. Wilson also supported the establishment of the Federal Trade Commission, which had wide investigatory powers and the authority to prosecute corporations for “unfair trade practices” and to enforce its

judgment by issuing “cease and desist” orders.

7. By the fall of 1914, Wilson had exhausted the stock of ideas that made up the New Freedom and drew criticism from progressives for his conservative appointments.
- B. Wilson, Reluctant Progressive

  1. Progressives watched in dismay as Wilson repeatedly obstructed or obstinately refused to endorse further progressive reforms.
  2. The Republican Party, no longer split, won significant gains in the congressional elections of 1914, signaling to Democrats that voters wanted further progressive reforms.
  3. Wilson responded belatedly to this political pressure by championing reform in the months leading up to the presidential election of 1916; he appointed progressive Louis Brandeis to the Supreme Court, threw his support behind legislation to obtain rural credits for farmers, supported workers’ compensation and the Keating-Owen child-labor law, and encouraged Congress to establish an eight-hour day on the railroads.

## **VI. The Limits of Progressive Reform**

### A. Radical Alternatives

1. In 1900, the socialists broke away from the dogmatic Socialist Labor Party and founded the Socialist Party in an effort to attract a broad mass of disaffected Americans.
2. The Socialist Party chose Eugene V. Debs as its leader; Debs ran five times for president but never got more than 6 percent of the popular vote.
3. Farther to the left of the socialists stood the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), a union dedicated to organizing the most destitute segment of the workforce, the unskilled workers disdained by Samuel Gompers’s AFL.
4. The IWW unhesitatingly advocated direct action, sabotage, and the general strike—tactics designed to trigger a workers’ uprising.
5. In contrast to political radicals such as Debs and Haywood, Margaret Sanger promoted her cause, birth control, as a movement for social change.
6. Sanger and her followers saw birth control not only as a sexual and medical reform, but also as a means to alter social and

- political power relationships and to alleviate human misery.
7. Birth control became linked with freedom of speech when Margaret Sanger's feminist journal, *The Woman Rebel*, was confiscated by the post office for violating social purity laws, and Sanger faced arrest, forcing her to flee to Europe.
  8. When charges were dropped under public pressure, Sanger returned to the United States and turned to direct action, opening the nation's first birth control clinic in Brooklyn, New York.
  9. Although the birth control movement would become less radical after World War I, in its infancy, it was part of a radical vision for reforming the world that made common cause with the socialists and the IWW in challenging the limits of progressive reform.
- B. Progressivism for White Men Only
1. The day before President Woodrow Wilson's inauguration in March 1913, more than five thousand demonstrators marched in Washington to demand the vote for women.
  2. The march served as a reminder that the political gains of progressivism were not spread equally in the population.
  3. Alice Paul launched an effort to lobby for a federal amendment to give women the vote and in 1916, Paul founded the militant National Woman's Party (NWP), which became the radical voice of the suffrage movement.
  4. Carrie Chapman Catt became the head of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1915 and directed an effort that worked on several levels.
  5. Catt's "winning plan" succeeded, taking only four years to get the constitutional amendment for woman suffrage ratified.
  6. Women were not the only group left out in progressive reform; in the West and South, progressivism was tainted with racism and sought to limit the rights of African and Asian Americans.
  7. Hiram Johnson, governor of California, caved in to near unanimous pressure and signed the Alien Land Law, which barred Japanese immigrants from purchasing land in the state.
  8. In the South, progressives preached the disfranchisement of black voters as "reform" and also witnessed the rise of Jim Crow legislation to segregate public facilities.
  9. In the face of this growing repression, Booker T. Washington, the preeminent black leader of the day, urged caution and restraint, introducing the "Atlanta Compromise," an accommodationist policy that appealed to whites.
  10. The Supreme Court upheld the legality of racial segregation, affirming in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) the constitutionality of the doctrine of "separate but equal."
  11. When Woodrow Wilson came to power, he brought with him southern attitudes toward race and racial segregation, and while in office instituted segregation in the federal workforce and approved segregated facilities in the nation's capital, insisting that segregation was "in the interest of the Negro."
  12. Booker T. Washington's strategy of gradualism and accommodation was called into question after a major race riot in Atlanta left 250 African Americans dead.
  13. Faced with intolerance and open persecution, educated blacks in the North began to support Harvard-educated W. E. B. Du Bois, who, in 1905, founded the Niagara movement calling for universal male suffrage, civil rights, and a black intellectual elite.
  14. In 1909 the Niagara movement helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), a coalition of blacks and whites that sought legal and political rights for African Americans through the courts.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 21, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 21.

## Review Questions

1. What types of people were drawn to the progressive movement, and what motivated them? (pp. 747–749) Answer would ideally include:
  - *College-educated women:* These women were eager to use their knowledge but blocked from careers

in medicine, law, and the clergy. They put their talents to work in the service of society, championing progressive reform in settlement houses and organizations such as the WTUL and Consumers' League which aimed to remedy the problems of poverty and unsanitary urban conditions and the low wages and bad working conditions faced by workers. (pp. 747–749)

- *Ministers:* Ministers working in urban areas enunciated the social gospel as a powerful corrective to Social Darwinism and the gospel of wealth. They also played an active role in the social purity movement fighting prostitution and alcohol consumption. (pp. 747–748)

2. How did progressives justify their demand for more activist government? (pp. 754–756) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Reform Darwinism and social engineering:* A group of sociologists argued that humans could promote evolution by shaping the environment, in stark opposition to the laissez-faire approach to social problems grounded in social Darwinism. This idea helped defend reformers' attempts to use government and science to reform society. (p. 754)

- *Criticism of private services:* Progressive politicians advocated an expanded role for government by arguing that they would be able to better manage services and at a lower cost to consumers. Consider, for example, Cleveland mayor Thomas Lofton Johnson's successful campaign to get the city to buy Cleveland's streetcar system and lower fares, as well as Hiram Johnson's regulation of the Southern Pacific Railroad. (pp. 755–756)

3. How did Roosevelt's foreign policy move the United States onto the world stage? (pp. 765–769) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Executive power:* Roosevelt believed Congress was inept in foreign affairs and relied on executive power to pursue a vigorous foreign policy, sometimes stretching his powers beyond legal limits in order to act on his belief that "civilized nations" should police the world and hold "backward countries" in line. (pp. 765, 768)

- *Roosevelt and Latin America:* Roosevelt jealously guarded the U.S.'s sphere of influence, and brought progressives' managerial enthusiasm to diplomacy, most vividly in his "Roosevelt corollary" which limited American intervention in Latin America to nations the United States determined were not governing with "decency," in effect making the United States a regional policeman. (p. 768)

- *Roosevelt and Europe:* Roosevelt sought to establish the United States as a force in world affairs by mediating tensions between France and Germany in Morocco in 1905 and negotiating an end to the Russo-Japanese War, which earned him the Nobel Peace

Prize in 1906. His skills as a mediator gained him a reputation as an astute player on the world stage and demonstrated the nation's new presence in world affairs. (pp. 768–769)

- *Roosevelt and Japan:* Roosevelt worked to curb Japanese expansionism in China, but initiated the Taft-Katsura agreement to give it control of Korea in exchange for its pledge not to threaten the Philippines. In the Root-Takahira agreement the United States and Japan pledged to maintain the Open Door and support the status quo in the Pacific. (p. 769)

4. Why did Roosevelt become the presidential nominee of the Progressive Party in 1912? (pp. 770–773) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Taft's ineffectual leadership:* After Roosevelt's term in office, William Howard Taft's presidency suffered from weak leadership, an example of which is in his acquiescence to the Payne-Aldrich bill. The bill, which raised the tariff to the benefit of big business, and other departures from his predecessor's policies, weakened the Republican Party and infuriated Roosevelt. (p. 770)

- *Election of 1912:* Roosevelt challenged Taft for the Republican presidential nomination. Despite his popularity, Roosevelt could not overcome the Republican machine to get the nomination, so he and his supporters left the party. (p. 771)

- *Formation of the Progressive Party:* Following the Republican convention debacle, the Progressive Party formed hastily, formulated a broad reform platform, and nominated Roosevelt. (pp. 771–772)

5. How and why did Wilson's reform program evolve during his first term? (pp. 774–775) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Wilson's early policy successes:* Wilson successfully pursued his "New Freedom" campaign promises to regulate giant corporations and increase the power of the federal government to promote social justice: Passage of the Underwood tariff significantly reduced rates; the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 challenged J. P. Morgan's control of American banking and established a national banking system under government supervision; and the establishment of the Federal Trade Commission strengthened the government's ability to regulate big business. Wilson would have stopped here in his pursuit of reform, if politics had not intervened. (p. 774)

- *Election of 1914:* A reunited Republican Party made significant gains in the election of 1914, and with support of Bull Moose progressives in the Midwest and West, looked poised to compete for in the 1916 presidential election. (p. 775)

- *Presidential election of 1916:* Shortly before the 1916 election, Wilson adopted a series of reforms to court the support of unionized labor, social reformers,

and farmers. For example, the Keating-Owen child labor law banned the regular employment of children. Wilson's policy shifts helped him retain the presidency for a second term. (p. 775)

6. How did race, class, and gender shape the limits of progressive reform? (pp. 778–782) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Women and the vote:* Progressives in the manner of Woodrow Wilson rejected woman suffrage as radical and socially harmful. It would take the forceful and insistent leadership of women such as Alice Paul and Carrie Chapman Catt to force the nation to embrace the vote for women. (pp. 778–779)

- *Race and progressivism:* The dangerous side of social management backed by the power of law was on display in the West in attempts to restrict Asian Americans' rights and in the South in the vigorous enforcement of discriminatory Jim Crow laws. Southern states curtailed black voting rights through the use of literacy tests and the grandfather clause. (pp. 779–782)

as woman suffrage, federal income tax, and workers' compensation. (pp. 756–761, 764–765, 771–772)

- *Woodrow Wilson:* Like Roosevelt, Wilson attempted to strengthen government to enable it to compete with private industry for influence, and to regulate the trusts and capitalists who had come to have extraordinary power at the turn of the twentieth century in the United States. Still, his primary constituency was small business, not social reformers, workers, farmers, and immigrants. His adoption of policies friendly to these groups only emerged when a revived Republican party threatened his second term as president. Wilson reveals the breadth of the category of progressivism and the importance of politics in shaping which demands of progressives became successful reforms. (pp. 773–775)

- *Hallmarks of progressivism:* Key characteristics of progressivism included: belief in the power of personal and political activism to effect change, faith in science and technical expertise, and wariness of the concentration of power in the hands of private industrial concerns. (p. 746)

- *Divisions within progressivism:* National progressives such as Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt disagreed about the appropriate role for government. Wilson maintained a commitment to states' rights and a relatively limited role for the federal government as a regulator while Roosevelt envisioned a more muscular federal government and executive. (pp. 772–773) Tensions between the desire to build ties with the working class and nativism also undermined progressive reform. (pp. 748–749)

2. During the Gilded Age, industrial capitalism had concentrated power in the hands of corporations. Americans searched for ways to shift the balance, including strikes, antitrust actions, and regulation. How did Theodore Roosevelt attempt to respond to this problem? How did his approach differ from earlier efforts? Was it effective? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Antitrust litigation:* Early in his presidency, Roosevelt tested the government's power to control the trusts by launching an antitrust investigation of the Northern Securities Company. The Supreme Court supported the attorney general's findings and supported the dissolution of the company. This early success led him to pursue antitrust litigation against a host of companies. Roosevelt's action perhaps contributed to the Supreme Court's shift on the Sherman Antitrust Act, which it had vitiated only five years after its passage. (pp. 757–758; *see also* chapter 18)

- *Regulation:* Roosevelt preferred to use the legislative power of the federal government, rather than the courts, in challenging the trusts. In the effort to rein in the power of the railroads, he urged passage of

## Making Connections

1. Diverse approaches to reform came under the umbrella of progressivism. Discuss the work of three progressive reformers working at the grassroots or local government level. What do your examples reveal about progressivism? What characteristics connected their reform efforts? What separated them? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Jane Addams:* Addams illustrates the social reformer strain of progressivism. Her work for Hull House attacked problems of rapid urbanization and inequalities produced by industrial capitalism. Addams and the Hull House reformers used scientific investigation to diagnose and respond to urban ills, an approach characteristic of progressivism. Addams's reform trajectory suggests an important characteristic of progressivism: that to be effective, personal action had to overlap with political reform. (pp. 745–746, 749–751)

- *Theodore Roosevelt:* One of Roosevelt's first acts as president was to attack the powerful trusts, which identified his presidency with one of the central concerns of turn-of-the-century progressives: the power concentrated in the hands of wealthy individuals and within trusts. Toward the end of his presidency, Roosevelt adopted even more progressive causes such as regulation of the food industry and conservation. As the candidate of the Bull Moose Party, he endorsed policies often outside mainstream progressivism, such

the Elkins Act, and later, the Hepburn Act. He also created new governmental entities such as the Department of Commerce and Labor. (pp. 758–760)

- *Intervention:* Early in his presidency, and later in his leadership of the Progressive Party, Roosevelt supported the use of government authority and legislative powers to limit the power of big business and give labor moderate support. Roosevelt's approach differed from the acquiescence to private industry and reluctance to support labor on display in the Homestead Lockout and Pullman Strike. (pp. 759–760; *see also* chapter 20)

- *Effectiveness:* Roosevelt's actions did strengthen the federal government's ability to regulate the trusts, although without a national banking system, it remained beholden to men such as J. P. Morgan. By initiating reform and gaining the support of the Supreme Court, he paved the way for other reforms such as the Federal Reserve Act, which would further strengthen the government. (p. 774)

3. Opponents on the campaign stump, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson shared a commitment to domestic reform. Compare their legislative programs including the evolution of their policies over time and their ability to respond to shifting political circumstances. What do their policies reveal about their understandings of the roles of the executive and the federal government? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Trusts:* Roosevelt attacked the trusts through litigation, establishing the Department of Commerce and Labor, and attempting to rein in the railroads through the Elkins Act and the Hepburn Act. Wilson also attacked the trusts through the creation of the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), an approach Roosevelt himself had advocated. (pp. 757–758, 774)

- *The tariff:* Wilson had other financial reform successes such as reducing the tariff, which Roosevelt had avoided as too politically risky. (p. 774)

- *Banking:* Without a central bank to turn to, Roosevelt agreed to allow J. P. Morgan to take over Tennessee Coal and Iron Company without risk of antitrust litigation in return for propping up banks during the panic of 1907. This action left Roosevelt subject to a charge of being Morgan's tool. Responding to a public mandate for reform, Wilson led the passage of the Federal Reserve Act of 1913. The Act established a national banking system and gave the federal government greater control over banking and independence from financiers such as Morgan. (pp. 761, 774)

- *Labor and Suffrage:* Although both men shared a desire to lessen the power of banks and the wealthiest Americans, they differed on other questions of domestic policy. As president, Roosevelt had taken the unprecedented step of intervening in a coal strike and giving moderate support to the union. As leader

of the Bull Moose Party, Roosevelt endorsed an end to child labor and the vote for women. Wilson rejected woman suffrage and appeals by labor unions and farmers, until political circumstances made his positions serious liabilities. (pp. 758–759, 772, 775)

- *Response to political circumstances:* Both men shifted their political posture in response to public demands. The popularity of muckraking journalism and the problems it pointed out led Roosevelt to push for more progressive reforms such as the Pure Food and Drug Act. Wilson too adopted more progressive reforms, ending child labor in response to public demand and a growing threat from a reinvigorated Republican party. (pp. 760, 775)

- *Role of the executive and the government:* By the time Wilson and Roosevelt faced each other in the election of 1912, they were both avowed progressives, but disagreed about the appropriate role for government. Wilson maintained a strong commitment to states' rights and a relatively limited role for the federal government as a regulator that would establish an equal playing field for small businesses by eliminating the largest entities. In contrast, Roosevelt envisioned a more muscular federal government that would manage businesses in the nation through regulation and promote social justice and democracy. (pp. 772–773)

4. What contemporary movements lay beyond the limits of progressive reform? Why did progressive reform coincide with the restriction of minority rights? In your answer, discuss how radical movements provide insights into the character of progressivism itself. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Socialists and the left:* Unlike Progressives, who largely wanted to lessen the inequalities of industrial capitalism while preserving the overall system, socialists and other leftists urged more far-reaching reform. Under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs, American socialists promoted the end of capitalism, wage labor, and private ownership. The Industrial Workers of the World perceived the lowest rung of workers as victims of a brutal system and as a consequence, advocated direct action including sabotage and general strikes. (pp. 776–777)

- *Birth control:* Margaret Sanger advocated birth control as part of a social movement to challenge existing social and political realities. She published information to help women learn about how to control pregnancies and as a result, faced arrest for obscenity charges. (pp. 777–778)

- *Woman's suffrage:* Women's activism and persistence worked to urge the nation and mainstream progressives to adopt the cause of woman suffrage. Still, powerful progressives such as Woodrow Wilson, who didn't believe that a "lady" should vote, ignored their demands. (pp. 778–779)

- Racism and progressivism:* Progressive leaders often adopted explicitly racist policies. For example, Hiram Johnson in California called for restricting the rights of Japanese immigrants. Woodrow Wilson strengthened segregation in Washington D.C. In the South, progressive rhetoric helped justify denying blacks the vote through literacy tests. Although reform Darwinism had provided justification for social intervention, it did not challenge racism or its ostensibly scientific justification. Uplift, social control, and racism were often married in progressives' policies. (pp. 779–782)

- Overview:* Although the label of progressive was applied to diverse individuals and political causes, it primarily designated a reformist impulse. Rather than trying to undermine existing economic and social systems, progressives tried to correct the imbalances they perceived. The underlying conservatism of many progressives contributed to their acquiescence to standing ideas of gender and race. (pp. 746–747, 782)

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### "The World's Constable" (p. 765)

**Reading the Image:** How does this political cartoon from 1905 visually represent President Roosevelt's foreign policy? Does it appear to be supportive or critical of Roosevelt's policies? How does it treat the other peoples of the world? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Visual Representation:* This cartoon represents President Roosevelt as a colossus towering above the rest of the world. His famous "big stick" is the largest item in the picture, and he wields it threateningly over the people of South America, Asia, and Europe. The document "Arbitration" tucked under his other arm reflects his power in mediating international disputes (as he did between the Russians and the Japanese in 1905). The overwhelming sense conveyed by this cartoon is the power wielded by Roosevelt over other nations.

- Artist's Opinion:* The structure of this drawing reveals the artist's belief in the political and economic power of Roosevelt and the United States. While this perspective by itself offers neither support nor criticism of these policies, nor does it reveal if the author felt Roosevelt's actions were within the best interests of all involved parties, the representations of other peoples of the world suggests that the artist felt that Roosevelt's actions and policies were not unwarranted.

- Other peoples of the world:* The artist's depictions of peoples from other regions of the world are stereotypical and largely negative. Europeans are presented as begging aristocrats or anachronistic militarists (see for example the man in the suit of armor). South Americans are presented as shabby, disreputable figures, and Asians are either figures out of the tales of the Arabian Nights or uncivilized pigtailed supplicants.

**Connections:** What aspects of President Roosevelt's foreign policy ideas and actions are depicted in this cartoon? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Policeman of the Western hemisphere:* The most obvious example of Roosevelt's policies is revealed in the artist's depiction of Roosevelt as a policeman. Roosevelt's corollary to the Monroe Doctrine established the United States's role as protector of the Western Hemisphere, keeping European powers at bay.

- Separation of Eastern and Western powers:* Roosevelt as the 'World's Constable' stands between Europe and South America, blocking Europe's access to the continent and to the newly built Panama Canal, which Roosevelt hoped would bolster the U.S.'s naval power (notice the Englishman who holds a tiny ship up to Roosevelt). Roosevelt's position between the two "continents" echoes the ultimatum that he issued to Germany to stay out of Venezuela.

### Margaret Sanger's Brownsville Birth Control Clinic (p. 777)

**Reading the Image:** What does the picture and flyer say about which group of women—married or single—sought birth control? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Women seeking birth control:* Based on the proliferation of baby carriages that the women waiting in line had with them, and the lines in the flyer that say "All Mothers Welcome" and "Do You Want Any More Children?", it appears that Sanger's clientele was primarily women who already had children. While this would not necessarily mean that all of them were married, it does suggest that Sanger was catering to women who wanted to limit the size of their families rather than those looking for protection as they pursued more liberated sexual practices.

**Connections:** What does the high volume of women who visited the clinic in the few days before it was shut down suggest about the social implications of access to birth control? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Social implications:* The high volume of women who visited Sanger's clinic suggests that American women of all classes wanted access to birth control in order to gain some control over their reproductive roles. The fact that most of the leaders who opposed the opening of Sanger's clinic (indeed, most leaders in

all segments of American society) were men suggests a fear among men that access to birth control would cede greater power to women, not only within the home but throughout society. Women unburdened by the care of large families would have new opportunities to contribute to society and thus potentially threaten male dominance over most aspects of American life.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 21.1 National Parks and Forests (p. 764)

**Reading the Map:** Collectively, do national parks or national forests encompass more land? According to the map, how many national parks were created before 1910? How many were created after 1910? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *National Parks and Forests in the U.S.:* National forests contain substantially larger tracts of land than do national parks. Before 1910, fifteen national parks were created, while thirty-seven were created after 1910.

**Connections:** How do conservation and preservation differ? Why did Theodore Roosevelt believe conservation was important? What principle guided the national land use policy of the Roosevelt administration? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Conservation vs. Preservation:* Advocates of preservation hold that the natural world should be protected from all commercial use, while advocates of conservation seek to strike a balance between effective commercial use of natural resources and preservation of them.

• *Roosevelt and conservation:* Faced with strong opposition from business interests in Congress, Roosevelt nevertheless believed that the nation's rivers and forests were in need of better management after the decade of the 1890s, which had witnessed wanton exploitation of wilderness lands in the western United States. The efficient use of natural resources was the guiding principle of Roosevelt's national land use policy; the nation's resources were to be used but not exploited by industry. During his administration, the commercial use of national resources was under the carefully and efficiently managed care of the federal government.

### Map 21.2 The Panama Canal, 1914 (p. 769)

**Reading the Map:** How long was the trip from New York to San Francisco before and after the Panama Canal was built? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Travel Benefits of the Panama Canal:* Prior to the building of the Panama Canal, the ocean-going trip between New York and San Francisco was 13,000 miles. When the canal opened, the length of the trip was cut to 5,200 miles.

**Connections:** How did Roosevelt's desire for a canal lead to independence for Panama? How did the canal benefit the U.S. navy? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Independence for Panama:* Problems in the planned construction of the Panama Canal arose when Colombia, which controlled Panama, refused President Roosevelt's offer of \$10 million and an annual rent of \$250,000 to access the land. President Roosevelt was furious by what he saw as "blackmail," and in 1903, he implicitly backed a pro-independence uprising in Panama that was arranged by New York investors. The American government used the navy to protect the newly independent nation and promptly recognized it. In return, Panama accepted the \$10 million that President Roosevelt offered Colombia.

- *Benefits to the U.S. navy:* The canal permitted U.S. naval vessels to pass from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific in mere days, a far cry from the long voyage around the South American continent.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in "Additional Resources for Chapter 21."*

### LECTURE 1

#### *Progressive Reform at the Grassroots and State Levels*

This lecture introduces students to progressive reform and demonstrates the transformation of the reform movement from grassroots to statewide levels. Remind students that from the outset the progressives were a diverse group with a variety of motivations, interests, and goals. The social gospel of activists and theologians such as Walter Rauschenbusch motivated some reformers, while others feared that the social upheaval of the 1890s would continue unless some sort of corrective action was taken. Targets included wealthy individuals and powerful corporations, both of which reformers distrusted. Some progressives also feared the new immigrants. Impress upon your students that the reformers were united in all of the

following: their belief that environment, not heredity alone, determined human potential; their sense of optimism that conditions could be corrected without radically altering America's economy or institutions; their profound trust in experts and scientific investigations; and their willingness to take action.

After introducing the varied concerns of the progressives, turn the class's attention to the specific work undertaken by the reformers. Stress the role that women reformers, who were attracted to grassroots activism, played in the progressive movement. The material on Jane Addams of Hull House and the Women's Trade Union League will provide students with an understanding of the kinds of issues that motivated reformers as well as the kinds of actions these progressives could take at the local and state levels. Be sure to discuss as well political reform at the local and state levels. The accounts of Cleveland mayor Thomas L. Johnson, Wisconsin politician Robert La Follette, and California governor Hiram Johnson will make your point clear.

## LECTURE 2

### ***Progressivism in the White House: Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson***

In this lecture, turn your class's attention to how the reform movement entered national politics by tackling the social problems engendered by urban industrialism. Begin with Theodore Roosevelt's ascension to the presidency in 1901. Roosevelt had promised the American nation and, more important, Republican Party bigwigs that he would continue the policies of his predecessor. But Roosevelt was a progressive, and it did not take long for him to break away from party leadership and transform the office of the presidency into a "bully pulpit." Cover his first targets—those large corporate trusts that he believed abused their power. Remind students that Roosevelt was not antibusiness. Indeed, he recognized that consolidation was inevitable and not necessarily contrary to the public interest. Roosevelt believed that it was possible to distinguish between "good" and "bad" trusts and that only those harmful to the public at large should be prosecuted under federal antitrust legislation. Mention that Roosevelt faced stiff opposition to his regulatory impulses from the Republican-dominated Congress during both his terms as president, but he dealt with this opposition with characteristic savvy and vigor. His handling of railroad regulation and food and drug inspection should illustrate to your students his ability to deal with Congress.

Discuss the fact that Roosevelt's handpicked successor, William Howard Taft, displayed no such flair with Congress. Moreover, he managed to alienate

Roosevelt himself on the tariff issue, on conservation, and especially on the issue of trusts. By 1912, Roosevelt was so disenchanted with Taft that the former president formed a third party—the Progressive Party (nicknamed the Bull Moose Party)—and ran on its ticket. Here, you can draw students' attention to the Progressive Party campaign souvenir on page 772. Roosevelt's move split the Republican Party, ensuring that Democrat Woodrow Wilson became the twenty-eighth president.

End your lecture with a discussion of Wilson's presidency. Wilson secured crucial tariff and banking reform as well as antitrust and federal trade acts. But he soon declared that progressivism had run its course. Wilson reevaluated his position after the Republicans won significant victories in the state and congressional elections of 1914. No longer professing the end of progressive reform, Wilson came to champion many of Roosevelt's causes.

## LECTURE 3

### ***The Limits of Reform***

Use this third lecture to convey to students the limits of progressive reform. Never a radical movement, progressivism always had as its goal the preservation and strengthening of traditional American social, political, economic, and cultural institutions. Contemporary critics and many historians have correctly assessed the limits of progressivism, charging that it served only the needs of white men. The accounts of Socialist Party leader Eugene V. Debs, birth-control advocate Margaret Sanger, woman suffrage leaders Carrie Chapman Catt and Alice Paul, and "race men" Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois will help students to understand the limits of reform. Students should appreciate that the limits of reform compelled these other, more radical activists to agitate for more comprehensive changes in America's social, economic, and political structures.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. Child Labor

One of the problems progressive reformers attempted to address that students may find particularly interesting was child labor. Students are often amazed to learn the ages at which some children were put to work, and they may find it incredible that attempts to end child labor were met with resistance from employers and even parents.

## 2. Jim Crow, Progressivism, and the Career of W. E. B. Du Bois

Students might be surprised to learn that conditions for blacks in America actually worsened during the Progressive era. In fact, historians refer to this time as the nadir in American race relations. Make it clear that the period saw the systematic disfranchisement of black voters and the rise of racial segregation. Remind them that Jim Crow had the sanction of the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1896, the Court upheld the legality of segregation in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. In 1898, the Court upheld the legality of state constitutions that disfranchised voters through literacy tests (as long as race was not a stipulated criterion) in *Williams v. Mississippi*. Point out that the Roosevelt and Wilson administrations had abysmal records on civil rights.

Highlight the career of W. E. B. Du Bois, one of the most forceful and eloquent voices for African Americans since Frederick Douglass. Du Bois, born in Massachusetts, was the first black person to earn a Ph.D. from Harvard. In his most famous work, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), Du Bois offered a strong critique of Booker T. Washington's accommodationist policies. Du Bois's 1905 Niagara movement, which demanded suffrage and civil rights for African Americans, provided the foundations for the establishment in 1909 of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The NAACP's interracial membership further championed the Niagara movement's radical position on matters of racial equality. Du Bois edited *The Crisis* magazine for the NAACP. He later joined the Communist Party, gave up his American citizenship, and moved to Ghana for the rest of his life.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

“America 1900,” part of the PBS series *The American Experience*, and “1900: Age of Hope,” part of *The People’s Century*, both convey the sense of optimism with which reformers greeted the new century. Show “Emma Goldman,” also part of the PBS series *The American Experience*, to suggest to students the radical critiques of progressive reform. To give a more in-depth look at progressivism in the White House, show *TR: The Story of Teddy Roosevelt*, distributed by PBS Video. Direct Cinema Limited’s documentary *One Woman, One Vote* details the efforts of reformers to secure the Nineteenth Amendment. To examine race relations in the Progressive era, consider using D. W. Griffith’s epic *Birth of a Nation*, a racist film that celebrated the overthrow of Reconstruction and the birth

of the Ku Klux Klan. Be sure to point out to students that Wilson screened this film in the White House and offered his unqualified praise of it.

### Class Discussion Starters

Have students consider the possible course of American history had William McKinley not been assassinated. Would progressivism have found its way to the national stage? Ask students to name legislation passed under Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson that might not have been passed under McKinley. How did that legislation affect American society? What would America have looked like had that legislation not passed?

### Historical Debates

Have students debate the merits of establishing protective legislation, including a ten-hour workday for working women. Why did progressive reformers believe women needed such protection? How did reformers’ demands for a shortened workday mesh with their demands for suffrage and equality? Why did the Supreme Court refuse to uphold a law limiting the workday for men in the case of *Lochner v. New York* (1905), but uphold a similar law for women three years later in the case of *Muller v. Oregon*? Ask your students if the Court’s reasoning makes sense to them.

## Additional Resources for Chapter 21

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 21 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 21.1: National Parks and Forests (p. 764)
- Map 21.2: The Panama Canal, 1914 (p. 769)
- Map 21.3: The Election of 1912 (p. 772)
- Breaker Boys (p. 759)
- Progressive Poster Condemning Child Labor (p. 775)

#### Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from

chapter 21 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 21.1: National Parks and Forests (p. 764)
- Map 21.2: The Panama Canal, 1914 (p. 769)
- Map 21.3: The Election of 1912 (p. 772)
- “The World’s Constable” (p. 765)
- Margaret Sanger’s Brownsville Birth Control Clinic (p. 777)
- Theodore Roosevelt (p. 757)
- The Jungle (p. 761)
- Progressive Poster Condemning Child Labor (p. 775)
- IWW poster (p. 777)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 21 include:

- “Up from Slavery,” by Booker T. Washington, edited with an introduction by W. Fitzhugh Brundage
- “The Souls of Black Folks,” by W. E. B. Du Bois, edited with an introduction by David W. Blight and Robert Gooding-Williams
- *The Harlem Renaissance: 1914–1938*, by Jeffrey B. Ferguson
- *Muckraking: Three Landmark Articles*, by Ellen F. Fitzpatrick
- *Talking Back to Civilization: Indian Voices from the Progressive Era*, by Frederick E. Hoxie
- “Twenty Years at Hull-House,” by Jane Addams, edited with an introduction by Victoria Bissell Brown
- “*Muller v. Oregon*”: A Brief History with Documents, by Nancy Woloch
- *The Rebuilding of Old Commonwealths and Other Documents of Social Reform in the Progressive Era South*, edited with an introduction by William A. Link

- *The 1912 Election and the Power of Progressivism*, by Brett Flehinger
- “Other People’s Money and How the Bankers Use It,” by Louis D. Brandeis, edited with an introduction by Melvin I. Urofsky

## For Students

### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 21 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- Jane Addams on Settlement Houses: *The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements*, 1892
- A Sociologist Studies Working Class Saloons in Chicago: *Royal Melendy, Ethical Substitutes for the Saloons*, 1900
- John D. Rockefeller Jr. Explains “The Best Thing for Us All”: *Speech to Colorado Fuel and Iron Officials and Employee Representatives*, October 2, 1915.
- Mother Jones on the Futility of Class Harmony: *Letter to Mrs. Potter Palmer*, January 12, 1907
- Booker T. Washington on Racial Accommodation: *The Atlanta Exposition Address*, 1895
- W. E. B. Du Bois on Racial Equality: *Booker T. Washington and Others*, 1903

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 21:

### Map Activities

- Map 21.1: National Parks and Forests (p. 764)
- Map 21.2: The Panama Canal, 1914 (p. 769)

### Visual Activities

- “The World’s Constable” (p. 765)
- Margaret Sanger’s Brownsville Birth Control Clinic (p. 777)

# World War I: The Progressive Crusade at Home and Abroad

## 1914–1920

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### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. What was Woodrow Wilson's prewar foreign policy? What were the origins of war in Europe, and why did Wilson advocate U.S. neutrality? What events prompted the United States to abandon its neutral position and enter the war?
2. How did America gear up to fight a foreign war? Explain both the domestic preparations and the development of a military strategy.
3. How did the war transform policy at home? What stake did progressive reformers have in the war? How did women's rights activists use U.S. involvement to secure woman's suffrage?
4. What was Wilson's vision for a postwar world, and how was that vision compromised at Versailles? What was the fate of the Paris peace treaty in the U.S. Senate, and why did it face so much opposition?
5. What threats did democracy face in the immediate postwar period?

### Annotated Chapter Outline

#### I. Woodrow Wilson and the World

##### A. Taming the Americas

1. Wilson sought to distinguish his foreign policy from that of his Republican predecessors by appointing William Jennings Bryan, a pacifist, as secretary of state.

2. Wilson and Bryan, like Roosevelt and Taft, believed that the Monroe Doctrine gave the United States special rights and responsibilities in the Western Hemisphere, using it to justify U.S. action in Nicaragua, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic.
  3. Wilson's most serious and controversial involvement in Latin America occurred in Mexico; the country witnessed a violent political turnover in the weeks before Wilson's inauguration that culminated in General Victoriano Huerta's seizure of power.
  4. The United States forced Huerta into exile, only to prompt a rebellion among desperately poor farmers who believed that the new Mexican government, aided by American business interests, had betrayed the revolution's promise to help the common people.
  5. A rebel army, led by Francisco "Pancho" Villa, attacked Americans and American interests, causing Wilson to send 12,000 troops to Mexico, only to withdraw them soon after to prepare for the possibility of fighting in World War I.
- ##### B. The European Crisis
1. Before 1914, Europe enjoyed decades of peace, but beneath the surface lay the potentially destructive forces of nationalism and imperialism.

2. European nations sought to avoid an explosion by establishing a complex web of military and diplomatic alliances, but their efforts to prevent war through a balance of power, in reality magnified the possibility of large-scale conflict.
  3. Within weeks of the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, by a Bosnian Serb terrorist, the elaborate alliance system made a local conflict and international one, and war broke out in Europe.
  4. The conflict escalated to a world war when Japan joined the cause against Germany.
- C. The Ordeal of American Neutrality
1. Woodrow Wilson announced that the war was a European matter, that the United States would remain neutral, and would continue normal relations with the warring nations.
  2. Although Wilson proclaimed neutrality, his sympathies, like those of many Americans, lay with Great Britain and France.
  3. Great Britain was the first to test America's neutrality by using its navy to set up an economic blockade of Germany.
  4. Germany retaliated with a submarine blockade of British ports, and on May 7, 1915, a German U-boat torpedoed the British passenger liner *Lusitania*, killing over 1,000 passengers, 128 of them U.S. citizens.
  5. The attack provoked a mixed reaction from Americans; some demanded war, while others pointed out that the *Lusitania* was carrying munitions as well as passengers and was therefore a legitimate target.
  6. Wilson's response was to stay neutral, retaining his commitment to peace without condoning German attacks on passenger ships, but Bryan, in protest of Wilson's lack of action, resigned his position as secretary of state.
  7. Germany apologized for the civilian deaths on the *Lusitania* and tensions subsided for a while.
  8. Wilson's middle-of-the-road strategy between aggressiveness and pacifism proved helpful in his bid for reelection in 1916.
- D. The United States Enters the War
1. Gradually the United States backed away from "absolute neutrality" and became more forthrightly pro-Allies, supplying Britain with 40 percent of their war materiel and floating loans to Britain and France.
  2. In January 1917, the German government—resentful of neutral ships' access to Great Britain while Britain's blockade starved Germany—resumed unrestricted submarine warfare.
  3. Wilson continued to hope for a negotiated peace but when the details of the Zimmerman telegram were released, revealing Germany's attempt to ally itself with Mexico, it became increasingly more difficult for Wilson to pursue a policy of neutrality.
  4. In March, German submarines sank five American vessels off Britain, killing sixty-six Americans and prompting Wilson to ask Congress for a declaration of war.
  5. On April 5, 1917, by an overwhelming majority, Congress voted to declare war.
- II. "Over There"
- A. The Call to Arms
1. When America entered the war, Britain and France were nearly exhausted after almost three years of conflict.
  2. On May 18, 1917, to meet the demand for fighting men, Wilson signed a Selective Service Act, authorizing the draft of all young men into the armed forces, transforming a tiny volunteer armed force to a vast army and navy.
  3. Of the 4.8 million men under arms, 370,000 were African Americans who had put aside their skepticism about the war to serve, but still suffered discrimination and prejudice in the armed forces.
  4. Progressives in the government were determined that the training camps that transformed raw recruits into fighting men would have the highest moral and civic purposes.
- B. The War in France
1. At the front, the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) discovered that the three-year-old war had degenerated into a stalemate; both the British and French armies had dug hundreds of miles of trenches across France, where both sides suffered tremendous casualties.
  2. Except for the 92nd Division of black troops, which was integrated into the French army and fought 191 days, American troops saw almost no combat in 1917; instead, they continued to train and explore places most of them otherwise could never have hoped to see.

3. With the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty in March 1918, Germans and the Bolsheviks took Russia out of the war; the Germans launched a massive offensive aimed at French ports on the Atlantic, causing 250,000 casualties on each side.
  4. The French agreed to General Pershing's terms of a separate American command and in May 1918 assigned the Americans to the central sector.
  5. Once committed, the Americans remained true to their way of waging war, checking the German advance with a series of dashing assaults.
  6. In the summer of 1918, the Allies launched a massive counteroffensive that would end the war, routing German forces along the Marne River.
  7. On November 11, 1918 an armistice was signed and the adventure of the AEF was over.
- III. The Crusade for Democracy at Home**
- A. The Progressive Stake in the War
1. The idea of war as an agent of social improvement reawakened the old zeal of the progressive movement and the nation's capital soon bristled with hastily created agencies charged with managing the war effort.
  2. Activists cheered the war as a means of promoting progressive reform and industrial leaders were encouraged by the tripling of corporate profits achieved by feats of production and efficiency.
  3. Some working people also had cause to celebrate: wartime agencies enacted the eight-hour workday, a living minimum wage, and collective bargaining rights in some industries that had long resisted them.
  4. The war also provided a huge boost to the stalled moral crusade to ban alcohol, and prohibitionists eventually succeeded in securing the passage of a constitutional ban on alcohol, which went into effect on January 1, 1920.
- B. Women, War, and the Battle for Suffrage
1. Women made real strides during the Progressive Era, but the war presented them with new opportunities; more than 25,000 women served in France as nurses, ambulance drivers, canteen managers, and war correspondents.
  2. At home, long-standing barriers against hiring women fell when millions of working men became soldiers and few new immigrant workers made it across the Atlantic.
3. The most dramatic advance for women came in the political arena; the radical wing of the suffragists, led by Alice Paul, picketed the White House, while the more mainstream NAWSA, under the leadership of Carrie Chapman Catt, saw membership soar to some 2 million members.
  4. In 1918, Wilson gave his support to suffrage, calling the amendment "vital to the winning of the war" and by August 1920, the states had ratified the Nineteenth Amendment, granting woman suffrage.
- C. Rally around the Flag—or Else
1. When Congress finally committed the nation to war, most peace advocates rallied around the flag.
  2. Only a handful of reformers, including settlement house leader Jane Addams, resisted the tide of conversion from pacifism to bellicose patriotism in support of the war.
  3. Wilson's major strategy for fending off criticism of the war was to stir up patriotic fervor and in 1917, Wilson created the Committee on Public Information (CPI) under the direction of muckraking journalist George Creel, who cheered on America's war effort.
  4. America rallied around Creel's campaign and a firestorm of anti-German passion swept the nation, but as hysteria increased, the campaign reached absurd levels.
  5. The Wilson administration's zeal to suppress dissent took form in the Espionage Act, the Trading with the Enemy Act, and the Sedition Act, which gave the government sweeping powers to punish opinions or activities it considered "disloyal, profane, scurrilous or abusive," and contrasted sharply with the war's aim of defending democracy.
  6. The president hoped that national commitment to the war would subdue partisan politics, but Republican rivals used the war as a weapon against the Democrats.
  7. In the elections of 1918, Republicans won a narrow victory in both houses of Congress, ending Democratic control, suspending any possibility for further domestic reform, and dividing the leadership as U.S. forces advanced toward military victory.

**IV. A Compromised Peace****A. Wilson's Fourteen Points**

1. On January 8, 1918, President Wilson delivered a speech to Congress that revealed his vision of a generous peace; his Fourteen Points provided a blueprint for a new democratic world order.
2. The Fourteen Points, which affirmed basic liberal ideas, supported the right to self-determination of peoples who had been dominated by Germany, and called for a League of Nations, roused popular enthusiasm in the United States and every Allied country.
3. The Paris Peace Conference

  1. Despite his political opponents' challenge to his leadership, Wilson decided to attend the Paris peace conference in person, as head of the American delegation, but refused to include prominent Republicans in the delegation.
  2. Wilson soon encountered stiff resistance from European leaders who thought him an impractical moralist.
  3. Wilson was forced to make drastic compromises: in return for French moderation of territorial claims, Wilson agreed to support an article that assigned war guilt to Germany, causing many Germans to feel as if their nation had been betrayed.
  4. Wilson had better success in establishing the principle of self-determination and on this basis, the conference redrew the map of Europe and parts of the rest of the world.
  5. Wilson hoped that self-determination would also be the fate of Germany's colonies in Asia and Africa, but the Allies who had taken over the colonies during the war only allowed the League of Nations a mandate to administer them.
  6. The cause of democratic equality suffered another setback when the peace conference refused to endorse Japan's proposal for a clause in the treaty proclaiming the principle of racial equality.
  7. The issue that was closest to Wilson's heart was finding a new way of managing international relations, an idea sketched out in his Fourteen Points.
  8. Unwilling to see the world return to the old strategy of balance of power, Wilson proposed a League of Nations that would provide collective security and order.

9. To many Europeans and Americans whose hopes had been stirred by Wilson's lofty aims, the Versailles treaty came as a bitter disappointment.

**C. The Fight for the Treaty**

1. The tumultuous reception Wilson received when he arrived home persuaded him, probably correctly, that the American people supported the treaty.
2. But Wilson faced stiff opposition in the Senate from "irreconcilables," who condemned the treaty for entangling the United States in world affairs, and from Republicans, who feared that membership in the League of Nations would jeopardize the nation's independence.
3. At the center of Republican opposition was Wilson's archenemy, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, who used his position as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to air his complaints.
4. Eventually, it became clear that ratification of the treaty depended on the acceptance of Lodge's reservations, which the senator had appended to the treaty, but Wilson refused to accept the amendments.
5. Wilson decided to take his case directly to the people and embarked on an ambitious speaking tour, but he soon collapsed and had to return to Washington, where he suffered a massive stroke.
6. When the treaty without reservations came before the full Senate in March 1920, the combined opposition of the irreconcilables and the reservationists left Wilson six votes short of the two-thirds majority needed for passage.
7. The nations of Europe went about organizing the League of Nations at Geneva, Switzerland, but the United States never became a member.

**V. Democracy at Risk****A. Economic Hardship and Labor Upheaval**

1. With the armistice came an urgent desire to return the United States to a peacetime economy, prompting the government to abandon its wartime controls on the economy.
2. More than three million soldiers were released from the military, causing the unemployment rate to soar; at the same time consumers went on a spending spree, causing inflation to soar.
3. Most of the gains workers had made during the war evaporated; in 1919 there

- were 3,600 strikes involving 4 million workers, including a general strike in Seattle, the largest work stoppage in American history.
4. A strike by Boston policemen brought out postwar hostility toward labor militancy in the public sector and the labor strife reached its peak in the grim steel strike of 1919.
  5. The strike collapsed, initiating a sharp decline in the fortunes of the labor movement, a trend that would continue for almost twenty years.
- B. The Red Scare
1. The “Red Scare” that began in 1919, which far outstripped the assault on civil liberties during the war, had homegrown causes: postwar recession, labor unrest, and the difficulties in reintegrating millions of returning veterans.
  2. The success of the Russian Bolsheviks’ revolution contributed to Americans’ anxiety.
  3. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer led an assault on alleged subversives, targeting those men and women who harbored what Palmer considered ideas that could lead to violence.
  4. In January 1920, Palmer ordered a series of raids that netted 6,000 alleged subversives.
  5. The effort to rid the country of alien radicals was matched by efforts to crush troublesome citizens; though he found no revolutionary conspiracies, he nonetheless ordered 500 noncitizen suspects, including Emma Goldman, deported.
  6. Law enforcement officials and vigilante groups joined hands in several cities and towns to rid themselves of so-called Reds.
  7. Public institutions, including schools, libraries, and state legislatures, joined the attack on civil liberties.
  8. The Supreme Court acted to restrict free speech with their decision on *Schenck v. United States*.
  9. In time, the Red scare lost credibility and collapsed in its excesses.
- C. The Great Migrations of African Americans and Mexicans
1. In 1900, nine out ten blacks still lived in the South, where disfranchisement, segregation, and violence dominated their lives.
  2. World War I provided African Americans with the opportunity to escape the South’s cotton fields and kitchens.
3. As the number of European immigrants fell, between 1915 and 1920, half a million blacks boarded trains for the industrial cities in the North.
  4. Opportunities varied from city to city, but the North was not the promised land, and many African Americans, including those who had fought in the war, suffered from job discrimination and racially motivated violence.
  5. Still, most migrants who traveled to the North stayed and encouraged family and friends to follow.
  6. At almost the same time African Americans were streaming into northern cities, another migration was underway in the American Southwest.
  7. Between 1910 and 1920, the Mexican-born population in the United States more than doubled.
  8. Americans’ racial stereotypes made Mexican immigrants excellent prospects for manual labor but not for citizenship.
  9. Mexican immigrants in the Southwest dreamed of a better life in America, and found both opportunity and disappointment.
  10. Despite friction, large-scale immigration into the Southwest meant a resurgence of the Mexican cultural presence, which in time became the basis for greater solidarity and political action for the ethnic Mexican population.
- D. Postwar Politics and the Election of 1920
1. Wilson, suffering from the after-effects of a major stroke, insisted that the 1920 election would be a “solemn referendum” on the League of Nations.
  2. The Republican Party candidate, Ohio senator Warren G. Harding, showed little political aptitude but a great facility for connecting with the common people and won the election with the campaign promise to return the country to “normalcy.”

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 22, the *Questions for Analysis* and *Debate* following the feature *Documenting the American Promise*, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities,

and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 22.

## Review Questions

1. Why did President Wilson authorize repeated military interventions in the Americas? (pp. 789–790) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Support of the Monroe Doctrine:* Wilson believed the United States had special rights and responsibilities in the Western Hemisphere, an idea articulated in the Monroe Doctrine. (p. 789)

- *Moral obligation:* Wilson argued that the United States had an obligation to promote democracy and self-determination and presented his interventions in the Americas as fulfilling this responsibility. For example, he intervened to undermine General Victoriano Huerta's attempt to seize power in Mexico, referring to his government as a "government of butchers." (pp. 789–790)

- *Economic incentives:* Wilson authorized interventions that strengthened American companies, for example in Nicaragua, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. (p. 789)

2. How did the American Expeditionary Force contribute to the defeat of Germany? (pp. 794–800) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Checking German Advance:* In mobilizing American soldiers for war, progressives tried to ensure that all soldiers were healthy and well trained. Wilson's choice of General John Pershing as commander underlined his commitment to professional, efficient execution of American military intervention. When the United States American Expeditionary Force (AEF) entered the conflict under an independent U.S. military command, they effectively checked Germany's advance through France in battles at Cantigny and Château-Thierry. In the summer of 1918, the Allies launched a massive counteroffensive that threw the Germans back from positions along the Marne and Meuse rivers and led to a revolt against Kaiser Wilhelm II, paving the way to peace negotiations. (pp. 794–800)

3. How did progressive ideals fare during wartime? (pp. 801–805) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Progressive gains associated with the war; war and labor:* Early benefits of the war included an improved American economy, bringing higher wages for workers and strengthening unions in the tightened labor market. The war opened new work opportunities, particularly for women. (p. 801)

- *War and management expertise:* The exigencies of war gave progressive reformers such as Bernard Baruch and Herbert Hoover new opportunities to manage national production and consumption. (p. 801)

- *War and social progressives:* Temperance progressives seized the political opening created by the war and successfully advanced economic and patriotic arguments to achieve prohibition through passage of the Eighteenth Amendment. Wilson and the national parties at last bowed to the din of women's demand for the vote and arguments that it was necessary to ensure national unity, leading to passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. (pp. 802–803)

- *Dangers of dissent:* Wilson's fear that the war would breed intolerance and ethnic tension at home was born out to some extent. His propaganda efforts contributed to virulent anti-German sentiment and violence. The administration's fear of dissent led to passage of the Espionage Act and the Sedition Act, which were used to silence opponents of the war. (pp. 804–805)

4. Why did the Senate fail to ratify the Treaty of Versailles? (pp. 809–811) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Gap between Wilson's intentions and the treaty:* The Treaty of Versailles fell short of the equitable peace Wilson had hoped to broker. It assigned war blame exclusively to Germany and failed to extend the problematic standard of self-determination to European colonies in Africa and Asia. (p. 809)

- *Response at home:* The treaty's shortcomings drew criticism from the public, and most significantly, the Senate. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge criticized the treaty and Wilson's cherished League of Nations as undermining the United States' freedom to direct its foreign relations. (pp. 810–811)

- *Failure to ratify the treaty:* Despite Wilson's great exertions to resist Lodge's attempts to modify the treaty's provisions, his refusal to compromise with Republican opponents left him without the necessary two-thirds majority for passage. (p. 811)

5. How did the Red Scare contribute to the erosion of civil liberties after the war? (pp. 813–814) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on the Red Scare:* In 1919, a series of terrorist actions seemed to coincide with the Soviet leaders' formation of the Comintern, intended to promote revolution in capitalist countries. These circumstances, along with recession and the disorganized return of veterans, inflamed Americans' fear of communists and their willingness to sacrifice civil liberties ostensibly to ensure national safety. (pp. 813–814)

- *Restricting dissent:* The battle against communists soon merged into an effort to quiet opposition in

all forms. The Supreme Court's decision in *Schenck v. United States*, the banning of dissenting books in libraries and schools, the firing of teachers deemed "dangerous," and actions by the police and legislatures to curtail free speech and public access undermined dissenters, including labor organizations. These developments reinforced Americans' postwar reluctance to support labor in its conflict with management. (p. 814)

- *Encouraging anti-union, anti-alien, and anti-black sentiment:* The Red Scare raised alarms about the loyalty of union members and of some immigrant aliens and African Americans, leading to greater discrimination against some groups, and to vigilante violence and race riots. (p. 814)

## Making Connections

1. Why did the United States at first resist intervening in World War I? Why did it later retreat from this policy and send troops? In your answer, discuss whether these decisions revised or reinforced earlier U.S. foreign policy. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Early reasons for neutrality:* Since early in the nation's founding, the United States had officially tried to remain outside European disputes. Facing the First World War, Wilson feared U.S. intervention would disrupt American trade with opposing European nations at a time when the nation's economy remained vulnerable. Further, he worried the heterogeneous nation of immigrants might dissolve into conflict in sympathy with the disputes of citizens' countries of origin. (pp. 791–792)

- *Causes contributing to the retreat from neutrality, British blockade of Germany:* Although the United States maintained that its neutrality meant that it should be allowed to continue trading with all parties in the conflict, the powerful British navy quickly established an economic blockade of Germany. The United States vigorously protested but acquiesced to this development; Germany responded by using U-boats to attack ships trying to enter British ports. (p. 792)

- *Attack on the Lusitania:* As part of its attempt to blockade British ports, Germany attacked the *Lusitania*, a vessel carrying many Americans (and munitions). This development pushed some Americans toward supporting intervention and forced Wilson to state publicly his willingness to break diplomatic relations with Germany should such provocations occur again. (pp. 792–793)

- *U.S. trade with Britain:* The United States' shared political, cultural and linguistic ties with England tipped American sympathies toward Great Britain and its allies, even when neutrality was the

official posture. Further, supplying Britain and its allies had helped the United States overcome its economic downturn and brought prosperity, which Wilson was disinclined to sacrifice in order to honor neutrality. (pp. 791–792)

- *Zimmermann telegram:* Responding to the United States' continued financial and trading support of Great Britain, Germany warned that it would begin attacking any ships entering British waters, including American vessels. Wilson hoped that he might still be able to avoid American intervention, but the Zimmerman telegram escalated the conflict and convinced him Germany was engaged in a war against democracy. In the telegram, Germany promised the return of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona to Mexico if it declared war on the United States. This escalation meant that when Germany did attack American vessels, Congress declared war on Germany in April 1917. (p. 793)

2. Some reformers were optimistic that World War I would advance progressive ideals at home. Discuss specific wartime domestic developments that displayed progressivism's influence. How did war contribute to these developments? Did they endure in peacetime? Why or why not? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Wartime labor relations:* The war created an environment that facilitated labor reform. It ameliorated conditions for many by boosting the American economy, creating greater demand for workers at the same time men were being diverted into the armed forces, and consequently raising wages. Wilson's desire to manage the wartime economy also helped workers when the National War Labor Policies Board worked to maintain good labor relations by establishing long-sought reforms like an eight-hour workday and a living minimum wage. (pp. 801–802)

- *Postwar labor relations:* After the war, government contracts dried up, unemployment surged as soldiers returned home, and inflation skyrocketed. The government's management of wartime labor relations came to an end and industry quickly retreated from reforms like the eight-hour day. The Red Scare undermined American support for the unions and reinforced government's inclination to quash strikes. (pp. 812–813)

- *Government by experts:* Progressives' enthusiasm for management and expertise contributed to Wilson's approach to managing the war effort, including the establishment of the War Industries Board to stimulate and direct industrial production, the Food Administration to manage food supply, and the National War Labor Policies Board, to resolve labor disputes, among other agencies. After the war, business quickly undercut wartime labor gains. (pp. 801–802, 812)

- Progressive social reform:* Prohibition and woman suffrage both enjoyed dramatic successes during World War I. Building on decades of grassroots activism, both pushed recognition of their demands at the highest level of government. Appeals to patriotism and the need to manage resources carefully contributed to Congress's passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, banning the production and distribution of alcohol. Women's rights activists also appealed to the wartime need for national unity and succeeded in turning Wilson from an opponent to a supporter of woman's suffrage. Ratified in 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment gave women the vote. These reforms remained intact even after the war, though prohibition would not endure. (pp. 802–804)

3. A conservative reaction in American politics followed peace, most vividly in the labor upheaval and Red Scare that swept the nation. What factors drove these developments? How did they shape the postwar political spectrum? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Background on labor upheaval and the Red Scare:* Postwar recession, the disorganized reintegration of veterans returning from Europe, along with a series of terrorist actions coinciding with the Soviets' formation of the Comintern, intended to promote revolution in capitalist countries, produced profound anxiety in many Americans. These circumstances gave rise to the Red Scare and Americans' diminished sympathy with striking unions. (pp. 812–813)

- Postwar labor actions:* Workers organized to resist the rapid erosion of their wartime gains. The large number of strikes did not meet with popular support. Industry cast strikers as subversives trying to undermine the nation. Government intervention to suppress strikes, for example by protecting steel-working scabs with state and federal troops, enjoyed public approval. Strikes collapsed, destroying some labor groups like the IWW, and greatly weakening the negotiating power of labor. (pp. 812–813)

- Government response to postwar unrest:* The Justice Department sought to root out subversives, regardless of whether they had committed any crimes. Their efforts often undermined civil liberties but Americans, fearful of upheaval, largely consented to their actions. Local governments, schools, and libraries took actions to remove or silence people they feared had communist sympathies. The Supreme Court reinforced these developments in *Schenck v. United States*, in which it found there were limits to free speech. (pp. 813–814)

4. During World War I, the nation witnessed important demographic changes. What drove African American and Mexican migration North? How did the war facilitate these changes? In your answer,

explain the significance of these developments to the migrants and the nation. *Answer would ideally include:*

- Impact of First World War on African Americans:* The shortage of labor associated with wartime deployments and industrial demands opened up industrial work in northern cities for southern African Americans. Despite challenges in the North, most migrants remained in the North and encouraged others to follow them to escape the profound poverty and unrelenting racism of the Jim Crow South. (pp. 815, 818)

- Impact of African American migration:* Migrants established strong presences in the cities of the North, which had important implications for the culture and politics of the region. Black urban communities would become important actors in protest and political disputes in years to come. (p. 818)

- Mexican migration north:* Like African Americans, labor shortages associated with the war opened up new work opportunities for Mexican migrants. The Chinese Exclusion Act also reinforced this phenomenon. Also like African Americans in the South, poverty and hardship at home made the prospect of migration more appealing to Mexican migrants. (pp. 818–819)

- Impact of Mexican Migration:* Mexican immigrants became crucial to the economies of Texas and California. The expanded presence of a Mexican population and culture in the Southwest contributed to political action in the years after World War I, for example, in the formation of the League of United Latin American Citizens. (p. 819)

### Documenting the American Promise: The Final Push for Woman Suffrage (pp. 806–807)

1. Why was Susan B. Anthony confident that woman suffrage would soon become a reality? *Answer would ideally include:*

- Experience and training of new generation of activists:* Anthony points to the next generation's preparation for their task—college education, business experience, the right to speak in public—as factors that will make it possible for them to win suffrage quickly.

- Movement's size:* When Anthony and Stanton began the woman suffrage movement they were joined by only a few other women. By the 1910s there were so many women involved that Anthony called them "an army."

- Changes for women since 1848:* When Stanton and Anthony got the movement started, they had almost no rights but, by the 1910s, they had many. Stanton also points to public sentiment being much more open to women's rights and to suffrage.

2. Why do you think some legislators in New York and elsewhere were willing to work closely with

suffragists like Mary Garrett Hays? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Building loyalty among future constituents:* By 1919 it was probably clear to many legislators that it was just a matter of time before women gained the right to vote. Legislators who recognized that fact, and who worked with suffrage activists to assist their movement, were aiming to guarantee the support of thousands of future voters.

3. What, according to Woodrow Wilson, would America's rejection of the Nineteenth amendment have jeopardized? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *United States's ability to lead the democratic world:* Wilson suggests that the United States needs to prove its commitment to democracy by giving women suffrage if it is to be a model for democracy in the post-war world.
- *United States's ability to solve the problems of the post-war world:* Swayed by suffragists' arguments about women's superior moral instincts, Wilson suggests that women's moral sense will be necessary to solve the problems that will exist at the end of the war.

4. What do you suppose Carrie Chapman Catt meant when she said the greatest gain for women in the suffrage campaign was "discipline"? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Activism as an end in itself:* When Carrie Chapman Catt uses the term "discipline," she is talking about everything that women have gained from the suffrage movement itself, including organizational and political skills, friendships, community, self-respect, self-confidence, etc.

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Life in the Trenches (p. 798)

**Reading the Images:** What do these images suggest about the reality of life for American soldiers during World War I? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Life of a soldier:* The harsh and mundane aspects of war are suggested to have been experienced by American soldiers during World War I. The images of soldiers sleeping within the trench—one slumping awkwardly in the foreground and others lying on the earthen floor—show just how exhausted the soldiers must have been. The crumbling trench walls illustrate the potential danger to soldiers' lives, as does the lone

armed soldier peering over the edge of the trench. The images of the dry boots and Gillette shaving kit, otherwise quite ordinary possessions, add to the overall sense of the mundane and yet difficult nature of military service.

**Connections:** How does the photograph of the trench contrast with the larger tactical approach to war employed by the American Expeditionary Force in France? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *War Strategies:* The photograph of the trench contrasts sharply with the American Expeditionary Force's tactical approach to the war in France. Before the formal entry of the United States into World War I, the war had reached a prolonged stalemate in France as German and French forces locked into a battle of trench warfare. Rather than be dragged into the three-year-old quagmire of trench warfare, the AEF took a disciplined but aggressive approach to defeating the Germans. Through a series of dashing assaults, the AEF smashed into German lines in France and began a rout of German forces that ultimately led to victory for the Allies.

## African Americans Migrate North (p. 815)

**Reading the Image:** What emotions do the faces of the members of this family reveal? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Emotions:* The faces of the family in this photograph are somewhat difficult to read. Certainly they are not openly smiling; in fact, most of their expression might be viewed as cautious or wary, an indication of their practice in facing discrimination and perhaps also of their uncertainty as they entered a dramatically different type of culture in northern and western industrial cities. Overall, the effect of the photograph is to convey the sense of fear and trepidation that many Black immigrants must have felt as they moved to pursue new opportunities in the North and West.

**Connections:** What problems would this family likely have encountered when they reached their destination? Would the cards distributed by the Chicago League on Urban Conditions have helped? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Problems:* Black families from the South faced a variety of problems in their new environments. At work, they would not have been used to the pace of industrial life, since most of them had been raised working on farms that might have required long hours but would not have demanded the constant attention and focus on efficiency that factories expected of their workers. At home, they would not have known how to navigate the complex urban

culture with its wide variety of modern features such as public transportation, social service agencies, and consumer products.

- *Solutions:* While the cards might have helped the family to initially make their way through the city, many of the difficulties they would have faced could not be solved by such advice. However, these cards also served as advertisements that would let new migrants know that organizations existed to help them adapt to their new conditions, so the impact of such information should not be underestimated.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 22.3 The American Expeditionary Force, 1918 (p. 799)

**Reading the Map:** Across which rivers did the Germans advance in 1918? Where did the armistice line of November 11, 1918, lie in relation to the stabilized front of 1915–1917? Through which countries did the armistice line run? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Armistice Line:* The Germans advanced across the Somme and Marne Rivers in 1918. The armistice line of November 11, 1918, largely ran east of the stabilized front of 1915–1917, at some points paralleling the Meuse River. The Armistice line ran through Belgium, France, and parts of Germany.

**Connections:** What events paved the way for the American Expeditionary Force to join the combat effort in 1918? What characteristic(s) differentiated American troops from other Allied forces and helped them achieve victory? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *U.S. entry into World War I:* Following the resumption of German U-boat attacks on U.S. ships in 1917, the United States finally declared war on Germany and soon sent members of the American Expeditionary Force to France. For most of 1917, American troops saw almost no combat. But after Germany and Russia signed the Brest-Litovsk treaty in 1918, Germany launched an all-out offensive on French ports along the Atlantic. As a result, the French consented to U.S. command of U.S. troops, and the American Expeditionary Force began full combat duties.

- *Combat strategies of the U.S. forces:* Unlike Allied forces that had been engaged in trench warfare for more than three years, the fresh American forces approached the battle in France with a new

aggressiveness and greater level of organization. They engaged in dashing assaults on German lines that finally led to victory for the Allied forces.

### Map 22.4 Women's Voting Rights before the Nineteenth Amendment (p. 803)

**Reading the Map:** What was the first state to grant woman suffrage? How many states extended full voting rights to women before 1914? How many extended these rights during World War I (1914–1918)? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Suffrage before World War I:* The first state to grant woman suffrage was Wyoming, which gave women the vote in 1869. It was followed closely by Utah, which provided for women's voting rights in 1870. Prior to World War I, eleven states extended voting rights to American women.

- *Suffrage during World War I:* During World War I, another six states extended full voting rights to women. Montana and Nevada gave women the vote in 1914; New York in 1917; and Michigan, Oklahoma, and South Dakota in 1918.

**Connections:** Suffragists redirected their focus during the war. What strategies did they use then? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Strategies for gaining woman suffrage:* There was a great deal of resistance to woman suffrage, particularly in states outside the West. During World War I, supporters of women's right to vote were able to use the war to their advantage. When millions of the male workforce left for the war, industries were forced to lift long-standing gender barriers and hire women. Large numbers of women worked in the war industries and volunteered as army nurses. Women's new involvement convinced many Americans that women could take on public burdens, a point that was driven home by moderate suffragists. Militant suffragists such as Alice Paul continued more dramatic tactics—picketing the White House and going on hunger strikes when arrested and jailed.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in "Additional Resources for Chapter 22."*

### LECTURE 1

#### *Wilson's Prewar Foreign Policy*

This lecture on the roots of American involvement in World War I should cover Woodrow Wilson's prewar

foreign policy. Suggest that although Wilson displayed very little interest in or aptitude for foreign policy when he ran for president in 1912, he discovered soon after assuming the office that he could not remain aloof from the world. He rooted his foreign policy in his firm belief that America should provide a moral example in international affairs; he believed in the sanctity of human rights, the right of law, the right of self-determination, and free trade. Show that Wilson found it difficult to maintain his idealistic policy in Latin America, especially in Mexico. Here, you might want to have students look at Map 22.1, “U.S. Involvement in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1895–1941” (p. 789), and the small map on page 790, “U.S. Intervention in Mexico, 1916–1917.” When war broke out in Europe, however, Wilson felt no compunction to intervene. Wilson immediately proclaimed U.S. neutrality, urging Americans to be “neutral in fact as well as in name” and “impartial in thought as well as in action.” Ask students to consider why Wilson chose to follow such a course. Remind them that he was not convinced that Germany was solely to blame for the hostilities; he did not believe the United States had a vital stake in the outcome of the war; he feared the reaction from America’s immigrant populations; and, perhaps most important, he believed that only a neutral nation could broker a peace between the warring nations.

Neutrality proved to be a hard course to follow, however. Wilson himself was an Anglophile, as were many members of his cabinet. Wilson’s firm conviction in the sanctity of absolute freedom of the seas, coupled with the German policy of unrestricted submarine warfare, made it nearly impossible for Wilson to restrain from siding with the Allies. Moreover, the U.S. need to bail out the slumping American economy made trading with the belligerents an especially attractive policy. When the European economies proved too exhausted from fighting the war, the United States loaned them money to buy U.S. goods. Once again, Wilson found it difficult to remain neutral. The United States loaned Great Britain nearly ten times the amount it loaned Germany. By the time the U.S. public had learned of the Zimmermann telegram, it was ready for a new policy.

## LECTURE 2

### *The United States and the “Great War”*

The second lecture covers U.S. involvement in World War I. Remind students that Germany’s continued policy of unrestricted submarine warfare finally compelled Wilson to action. Emphasize that the president declared from the outset that the U.S. goal was not to

destroy Germany but rather to make the world “safe for democracy.” Have the class discuss what this lofty goal might possibly mean. Emphasize that despite Wilson’s heady rhetoric, however, the United States was woefully unprepared. Cover the ways in which the Wilson administration geared the nation to fight the war. The government instituted loyalty programs in public schools, created a number of agencies to manage the economy, began a department on propaganda (the Committee on Public Information), and enacted a series of repressive measures to ensure the support of the American people. Have students take a look at the poster on page 795 urging Americans to enlist.

Moving on, discuss how the domestic economy, increasingly fueled by African Americans’ and women’s labor, mobilized war industries. Wilson signed a Selective Service bill into law. It transformed the tiny volunteer army into a large and powerful fighting force, and new training camps turned raw recruits into professional soldiers. Even the “American way of war” changed. General John J. Pershing refused to allow his troops to fight alongside French and English troops for fear of a stalemate. Instead, Pershing advocated heavy frontal pressure combined with swift surprise attacks on the enemies’ flanks. The Allies proved victorious, but not without suffering heavy losses.

End the class by having students consider what African Americans, women, and progressive reformers hoped that U.S. involvement in the war would do to help the country fulfill its promise. Ask students to think about how each group thought the war effort might transform American society.

## LECTURE 3

### *Wilson’s Postwar Vision*

The third lecture covers Woodrow Wilson’s postwar vision. In his famous “Fourteen Points” speech to Congress, Wilson announced his plans for the post-war world even before the war had ended. Discuss how the first five of these points reaffirmed the basic liberal ideas that Wilson had championed before the war: open covenants of peace agreed on openly, absolute freedom of the seas, removal of barriers to free trade, reduction of arms, and the recognition of the rights of colonized peoples. The next eight points were concerned with the right to self-determination of European peoples. But it was the final point, creation of the League of Nations, on which Wilson rested his hopes for securing his vision of a postwar peace. Point out to students that Wilson jeopardized his chances, however, when he refused to take any members of

the Republican Party to the peace negotiations in Paris, thereby ensuring the party's opposition to the resulting treaty. Suggest that the European allies' insistence on assigning blame for the war to Germany, their reluctance to turn their African and Asian colonies over as mandates to an international body, and Britain's resistance to absolute freedom of the seas did not make Wilson's task at the negotiating table easy.

Then, turn your attention to the opposition Wilson faced at home. The irreconcilables and the reservationists in the U.S. Senate, for example, refused to support a treaty that bound the United States to the League of Nations. When the peace treaty reached the Senate in March 1920, it was six votes short of the two-thirds majority needed for passage. European nations organized the league in Geneva, but the United States never became a member, and Wilson died without seeing the new world order he so desired. End the lecture by having students contrast Wilson's vision with the realities of postwar America. Be sure to bring in the dubious constitutionality of the Palmer raids—and the race riots and lynchings that swept across the North during "Red Summer."

though it legally belonged to Turkey. The growth of Slavic nationalism in the late nineteenth century convinced many of the subject peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire—including Bosnians, Croats, and Slovenes—to seek independence by joining Serbia, the center of Slavic nationalism and the site at which a new national state might be formed at the expense of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

On June 28, 1914, in Sarajevo, a Bosnian Serb assassinated the Austrian archduke, heir to the throne of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, to proclaim his desire to break away from the empire. Austria-Hungary then declared war on Serbia, and the whole preexisting system of interlocking European alliances meant that the great European powers—Allied and Central—were suddenly at war with each other. In support of Austria-Hungary, Germany declared war on Russia and its ally France. Determined to support its Slavic brethren, Russia came to Serbia's aid. Great Britain declared war on Germany, and so forth. Thus, the lines were drawn, and fighting began in August 1914.

You might want to note that the armistice did not end ethnic tensions in the Balkans. In 1918, the nation of Yugoslavia was created as the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. It became a federal state with six republics in 1946, but increased demands for independence threatened Yugoslavia. The country split up in 1991 when four breakaway republics declared independence: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, and Slovenia. Ask students to reflect on how the ethnic tensions present at the turn of the twentieth century are manifested today.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. Crises in the Balkans

Students may have a tough time understanding the series of crises in the Balkans in the early decades of the twentieth century that ultimately caused World War I. Before getting into the details, however, establish that World War I was about much more than the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo. Emphasize that the main issue was the balance of power among the major European empires and their competition for colonies and resources on the world stage. Map 22.2, "European Alliances after the Outbreak of World War I" (p. 791), can be quite helpful on this score.

Having made this point, help students gain a clear view of the geography of south-central Europe. Explain that the Ottoman Empire, although in an advanced state of dissolution, maintained a band of territory from Constantinople westward to the Adriatic Sea. To the south lay an independent Greece. To the north, on the Black Sea, lay an autonomous Bulgaria and an independent Romania. In the center and west of the peninsula lay the landlocked independent kingdom of Serbia, adjoined by Bosnia-Herzegovina, which had been administered by Austria since 1878, even

### 2. Modern War

Most students have probably heard of "trench warfare" and will associate the term with World War I. Many will be eager to learn more about the military deadlock that at times paralyzed armies and was broken only by quick forays into "no-man's-land" and machine-gun fire. Be prepared to discuss, however briefly, the 1916 Battle on the Somme as an example of this trend in warfare. Contrast this battle, if you wish, with the "American style of war" introduced by General John J. Pershing. Also be prepared to discuss the new technological means that were used by both sides to break the military stalemate. The most successful example of technology was the German submarine, which completely flummoxed the Allied leaders as they attempted to draft a policy response. You can also talk about chemical weapons (which so disgusted the international community that their use was later banned by the Geneva Convention of 1925), tanks, and airplanes. These technological advances helped transform World War I into the first modern war, fought for unlimited ends.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

When discussing U.S. military involvement in World War I, consider showing your students the PBS documentary *The Great War: 1918*, which is particularly useful when covering how servicemen coped with the realities and horrors of modern warfare. When discussing the suffrage activists' use of Woodrow Wilson's rhetoric in World War I to secure women's right to vote, consider showing the PBS documentary *One Woman, One Vote*. PBS's documentary "Emma Goldman," part of its *American Experience* series, can be quite helpful when discussing the suppression of civil liberties during the Red scare.

### Class Discussion Starters

Have your students speculate on what would have happened had William Jennings Bryan not resigned from the State Department. Remind them that his departure silenced the last voice for neutrality in the Wilson administration. Would Bryan's continuation at the State Department have guaranteed a more neutral course for America? Could he have kept America out of the war? Or would his voice have been overwhelmed by that of Robert Lansing and other pro-Allied leaders in the administration? What would have been the probable course of World War I had America stayed out of the fighting?

### Historical Debates

Consider setting up a debate on the pros and cons of the government's actions to suppress civil liberties during the Great War. Do national emergencies justify the suspension of constitutional guarantees and liberties? Must the Constitution be "bent" in order to be saved? You may want to circulate to your students the texts of the Espionage and Sedition acts, found on a variety of different Web sites. Remind your students of the positions they took when discussing the Alien and Sedition acts of 1798 and Lincoln's suspension of habeas corpus during the Civil War.

### Reading Primary Sources

Using the feature *Documenting the American Promise: "The Final Push for Woman Suffrage"* (pp. 806–807), ask your students to think about the relationship between World War I and the Nineteenth Amendment. Did the war serve to facilitate or impede the suffrage movement? How so? Ask them to speculate about whether or not woman suffrage would have

been won in 1920 if the U.S. had not become involved in the war. Ask them to think about what accounts for the movement's victory after so many years. Did Wilson and other political leaders grant women the right to vote? Or did women themselves win it?

## Additional Resources for Chapter 22

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 22 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 22.1: U.S. Involvement in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1895–1941 (p. 789)
- Map 22.2: European Alliances after the Outbreak of World War I (p. 791)
- Map 22.3: The American Expeditionary Force, 1918 (p. 799)
- Map 22.4: Women's Voting Rights before the Nineteenth Amendment (p. 803)
- Map 22.5: Europe after World War I (p. 810)
- Map 22.6: The Election of 1920 (p. 820)
- Global Comparison: Casualties of the First World War (p. 800)
- Gas Mask (p. 786)
- Life in the Trenches (p. 798)

#### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 22 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 22.1: U.S. Involvement in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1895–1941 (p. 789)
- Map 22.2: European Alliances after the Outbreak of World War I (p. 791)
- Map 22.3: The American Expeditionary Force, 1918 (p. 799)
- Map 22.4: Women's Voting Rights before the Nineteenth Amendment (p. 803)
- Map 22.5: Europe after World War I (p. 810)
- Map 22.6: The Election of 1920 (p. 820)
- Figure 22.1: Industrial Wages, 1912–1920 (p. 801)
- Global Comparison: Casualties of the First World War (p. 800)

- “Enlist” (p. 792)
- Life in the Trenches (p. 798)
- “Save Wheat” (poster) (p. 801)
- D.W. Griffith’s Hearts of the World (p. 805)
- “The Warrior’s Return” (p. 812)
- Returning Veterans and Work (p. 813)
- African Americans Migrate North (p. 815)
- Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer (p. 817)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

- A Doughboy’s Letter from the Front: *Anonymous Soldier’s Letter to Elmer J. Sutters*, 1918
- Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer Defends America from Communists: *The Case Against the “Reds,”* 1920
- An African American Responds to the Chicago Race Riot: Stanley B. Norvell, *Letter to Victor F. Lawson*, 1919

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for using the Bedford Series in History and Culture volume *Black Protest and the Great Migration: A Brief History with Documents*, by Eric Arnesen, in the U.S. history survey.

### For Students

#### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 22 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- President Woodrow Wilson Asks Congress for a Declaration of War: *Speech to Congress*, April 2, 1917
- Eugene V. Debs Attacks Capitalist War Mongers: *Speech Delivered in Canton, Ohio*, June 16, 1918

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 22:

#### Map Activities

- Map 22.3: The American Expeditionary Force, 1918 (p. 799)
- Map 22.4: Women’s Voting Rights before the Nineteenth Amendment (p. 803)

#### Visual Activities

- Life in the Trenches (p. 798)
- African Americans Migrate North (p. 815)

#### Reading Historical Documents Activity

- The Final Push for Woman Suffrage (pp. 806–807)

# From New Era to Great Depression

## 1920–1932

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### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. In what ways did business and industry contribute to the beginning of a “new era” in the 1920s? How did mass production fuel the growth of a new consumer culture, and what were the effects of this new culture?
2. How did Prohibition play out in the 1920s? What were the “new woman” and the “new Negro” movements? How did the film industry and professional sports contribute to popular culture of the 1920s? How did artists and intellectuals respond to this mass culture?
3. How did the reemergence of immigration restriction, the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan, the Scopes trial, and the presidential election of 1928 embody the rejection of modernity?
4. What various factors contributed to the Great Crash of 1929? What was President Hoover’s response, and why did it prove inadequate?
5. How did the Great Depression affect the lives of ordinary Americans?

### Annotated Chapter Outline

- I. **The New Era**
  - A. A Business Government
    1. From 1921 to 1933, Republicans controlled the White House; William G. Harding, the first of the three Republican presidents, was elected in 1920.
  - B. Promoting Prosperity and Peace Abroad
    1. The repudiation of Wilsonian internationalism and the rejection of collective

- security offered through the League of Nations did not mean that the United States retreated into isolationism; New York replaced London as the center of world finance, and the United States became the world's chief creditor.
2. One of the Republicans' most ambitious foreign policy initiatives was the Washington Disarmament Conference that convened in 1921 to establish a global balance of naval power.
  3. A second major effort on behalf of world peace came in 1928 with the Kellogg-Briand pact; nearly fifty nations signed a pledge to renounce war and to settle international disputes peacefully.
  4. In 1924, American corporate leaders produced the Dawes Plan, which halved Germany's annual reparation payments, initiated fresh American loans to Germany, caused the French to retreat from the Ruhr, and got money flowing again in Germany's financial markets; these successes also fueled prosperity at home.
- C. Automobiles, Mass Production, and Assembly-Line Progress
1. In the early twentieth century, the automobile industry emerged as the largest single manufacturing industry in the nation and brought other new industries, such as filling stations, garages, and motels, into being.
  2. Automobiles altered the face of America, changing where people lived, what work they did, how they spent their leisure time, and even the way they thought.
  3. Efficient mass production made the automobile revolution possible.
  4. As the assembly line became standard in industry, corporations reaped great profits, but laborers lost many of the skills in which they had once taken pride.
  5. With the intention of encouraging loyalty to the company and discouraging traditional labor unions, industries also developed programs that came to be known as "welfare capitalism," which sometimes included improved factory safety and sanitation, paid vacations, and pension plans.
- D. Consumer Culture
1. Mass production fueled corporate profits and national economic prosperity and in this new era of abundance, more people than ever conceived of the American dream in terms of things they could acquire.
  2. The expanding business of advertising stimulated the desire for new products and pounded away at the traditional values of thrift and saving.
  3. By the 1920s, the United States had achieved the physical capacity to satisfy the material wants of its people; the economic problem had shifted from production to consumption.
  4. One solution was to expand America's markets in foreign countries, and government and business joined in that effort; a second solution was to simply expand the market at home.
  5. While Henry Ford paid his workers twice the going rate to encourage mass consumption, not all industrialists were as far-seeing and many people with low wages began to rely on credit purchasing.
- II. The Roaring Twenties**
- A. Prohibition
1. Republicans generally sought to curb the powers of government and liberate private initiative, but the 1920s witnessed a great exception to this rule when the federal government implemented one of the last reforms of the Progressive era, the Eighteenth Amendment, which took effect in January 1920, banning the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcohol.
  2. Local resistance to the law was intense and treasury agents faced a staggering task, as "speakeasies" became a common feature of the urban landscape.
  3. Eventually, serious criminals took over the liquor trade, turning bootlegging into a highly organized business.
  4. Gang-war slayings, police corruption, disrespect for the law by otherwise upright citizens, and a demoralized judiciary prompted demands for repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.
  5. In 1933, after thirteen years, the nation ended prohibition.
- B. The New Woman
1. Of all the changes in American life in the 1920s, none sparked more heated debates than the alternatives offered to the traditional roles of women.
  2. Politically, women entered uncharted territory in the 1920s when the Nineteenth Amendment granted them the vote.
  3. Women began pressuring Congress to pass laws that especially concerned

- women, including measures to protect women in factories and grant federal aid to schools, but their only legislative success came with the passage of the Sheppard-Towner Act, which funded state efforts to curb infant mortality.
4. A number of factors helped to thwart women's political influence, however, including male domination of both political parties, the rarity of female candidates, and women's lack of experience in voting.
  5. Women failed to form a solid voting bloc; feminists argued over whether women should fight for special protection or equal protection, and in 1923, the divided feminist movement saw Congress shoot down the Equal Rights Amendment.
  6. Economically, more women worked for pay, but they clustered in "women's jobs," many working as secretaries, stenographers, typists, nurses, librarians, elementary school teachers, salesclerks, and telephone operators.
  7. Increased earnings gave women more buying power and a special relationship with the new consumer culture.
  8. The new woman both reflected and propelled the modern birth control movement as well which, by the 1920s, linked birth control and eugenics.
  9. Flapper style and values spread from coast to coast through films, novels, magazines, and advertisements.
  10. New women challenged American convictions about women and men in separate spheres, the double standard of sexual conduct, and Victorian ideas of proper female appearance and behavior.
- C. The New Negro
1. The 1920s also witnessed the emergence of the "New Negro."
  2. During the 1920s, the prominent African American intellectual W. E. B. Du Bois and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) aggressively pursued the passage of a federal antilynching law to counter mob violence against blacks in the South.
  3. Many poor urban blacks, disillusioned with mainstream politics, turned to a Jamaican born visionary named Marcus Garvey for new leadership; Garvey urged African Americans to rediscover the heritage of Africa, take pride in their own culture and achievements, and maintain racial purity by avoiding miscegenation.
4. During this active time, an extraordinary mix of black artists, sculptors, novelists, musicians, and poets made Harlem their home.
  5. Despite the dazzling talent produced by the Harlem Renaissance, Harlem remained a separate black ghetto that most whites knew only for its lively nightlife.
  6. This creative burst left a powerful legacy, but did little in the short run to dissolve the prejudice of a white society.
- D. Mass Culture
1. In the 1920s, popular culture, such as consumer goods, was mass-produced and mass-consumed, and nothing offered escapist delights as effectively as the movies.
  2. By 1929, Hollywood drew more than 80 million people to the movies in a single week.
  3. Americans also found heroes in sports, as they fell in love with baseball's Babe Ruth and boxing's Jack Dempsey.
  4. The decade's hero worship reached its zenith when Charles Lindbergh, a young pilot, set out on May 20, 1927, from Long Island in his plane, *The Spirit of St. Louis*, to become the first person to fly nonstop across the Atlantic.
  5. The radio became important to mass culture in the 1920s, bringing news, sermons, soap operas, sports, comedy, and music, especially jazz, into America's homes.
- E. The Lost Generation
1. Some writers and artists felt alienated from American mass-culture society, finding it shallow, anti-intellectual, and materialistic.
  2. Many of these writers and artists left the United States to live in Europe, where they helped launch one of the most creative periods in American art and literature in the twentieth century.
  3. Writers who remained in America—many of whom had embraced progressive reform movements early in the century—were often exiles in spirit and acted as lonely critics of American cultural barrenness and vulgarity.
- III. Resistance to Change**
- A. Rejecting the Undesirables
1. After the war, large-scale immigration resumed at a moment when industrialists

- no longer needed new factory workers, and nativist and antiradical sentiments ran high.
2. Congress responded by severely restricting immigration.
  3. The Johnson-Reid Act of 1924 limited the number of immigrants to no more than 161,000 a year and gave each European nation a quota based on 2 percent of the number of people from that country in America in 1890.
  4. The act revealed the fear and bigotry that fueled anti-immigration legislation, squeezing out some nationalities far more than others.
  5. The 1924 law reaffirmed 1880s legislation that barred Chinese immigrants and added Japanese and other Asians to the list of the excluded nationalities; however, it did not restrict immigration from the Western Hemisphere because agriculture in the Southwest had come to rely on Mexican labor.
  6. Rural Americans, who had little contact with eastern or southern European immigrants, along with industrialists and labor leaders, supported the 1924 act.
  7. Antiforeign hysteria climaxed during the 1920 trial of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, two anarchist immigrants from Italy who were arrested for robbery and murder.
  8. When Massachusetts executed the two on August 23, 1927, 50,000 mourners followed the caskets in the rain, convinced that the men had died because they were immigrants and radicals, not because they were murderers.
- B. The Rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan
1. The nation's sour, antiforeigner mood struck a responsive chord in members of the Ku Klux Klan, which experienced a rebirth in the early twentieth century.
  2. The Klan promised to defend family, morality, and traditional American values against the threat posed by blacks, immigrants, radicals, feminists, Catholics, and Jews.
  3. Building on the frustrations of rural America, the Klan quickly attracted some 3 to 4 million members, men and women alike, and by the mid-1920s wielded a strong influence over politics in many states.
  4. Eventually, social changes, along with lawless excess, decreased the Klan's significance, yet Klan members' grievances remained.
- C. The Scopes Trial
1. Old-time fundamentalist religion and the new spirit of science went head-to-head in a Tennessee courtroom after John Scopes, a biology teacher, offered to test the constitutionality of his state's ban on teaching evolution.
  2. The trial quickly degenerated into a media circus; most of the reporters from big-city papers were hostile to fundamentalist Bryan, who successfully defended the Tennessee law, and continued to side with Scopes.
  3. The trial dramatized and inflamed divisions between city and country, intellectuals and the unlettered, the privileged and the poor, the scoffers and the faithful.
- D. Al Smith and the Election of 1928
1. The presidential election of 1928 brought many of the significant developments of the 1920s—prohibition, immigration, religion, and the clash of rural and urban values—into sharp focus.
  2. Republicans nominated Herbert Hoover, the energetic secretary of commerce and the leading public symbol of 1920s prosperity; Democrats nominated four-time governor of New York, Alfred E. Smith, dubbed "Alcohol Al" for his opposition to prohibition.
  3. Smith, whose parents were immigrants and who got his start in New York City's Irish-dominated political machine, seemed to represent all that rural America feared and resented, and was especially vulnerable in the heartland because he was Catholic.
  4. Hoover, who neatly combined the images of morality, efficiency, service, and prosperity, won the election by a landslide.
- IV. The Great Crash**
- A. Herbert Hoover: The Great Engineer
1. Hoover entered the White House as a Progressive Republican, calling for a limited government-business partnership and a reform agenda that called for a nation of homeowners and farm owners whose savings were protected and whose jobs were secure.
  2. However, Hoover's ideological and political liabilities prevented him from providing the leadership demanded by the Great Depression.

**B. The Distorted Economy**

1. In the spring of 1929, the United States enjoyed a fragile prosperity, but high tariffs and demands on Europeans for repayment of wartime loans led to an unstable international economy.
2. The domestic economy was also in trouble: The distribution of wealth in America was badly skewed, and farmers continued to suffer from low prices and chronic debt, which produced a serious problem in consumption.
3. Signs of economic trouble began to appear at mid-decade, when new construction slowed down, automobile sales faltered, companies began cutting back production and laying off workers, and many banks were failing.

**C. The Crash of 1929**

1. Even as the economy faltered, America's faith in it remained unshaken and Americans continued to speculate wildly in the stock market on Wall Street.
2. Between 1924 and 1929, the values of the stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange increased by more than 400 percent.
3. Finally, in the autumn of 1929, the market hesitated, and nervous investors began to sell their overvalued stock.
4. The dip quickly became a panic, as investors tried desperately to unload overvalued stock on Black Thursday, October 24, and Black Tuesday, October 29.
5. Though the crash alone did not cause the Great Depression, the dramatic losses in the stock market and the fear of risking what was left acted as a great brake on economic activity and shattered the new era's aggressive confidence that America would enjoy a perpetually expanding prosperity.

**D. Hoover and the Limits of Individualism**

1. To prevent future economic panics, Hoover urged business leaders to maintain production and keep their workers on the job, and urged labor leaders to accept existing wages, hours, and conditions.
2. The bargain quickly fell apart as demand for products continued to decline, which led to further cuts in production and loss of jobs, thus fueling the terrible cycle of economic decline.
3. In 1929, Hoover got Congress to pass the Agricultural Marketing Act, which created a Farm Board to help raise crop prices.

When prices continued to decline, Congress established the Hawley-Smoot tariff in 1930, the highest tariff in history, and also authorized \$420 million for public works projects to give the unemployed jobs and create more purchasing power.

4. Despite his efforts, with each year of Hoover's administration, economic conditions worsened.
5. In 1932, Hoover authorized the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), a federal agency empowered to lend government funds to endangered banks and corporations.
6. The trickle-down economic theory behind the RFC did little to help the poor, whose numbers steadily increased.
7. Cries grew louder for the federal government to give hurting people relief, but Hoover's response revealed the limits of his conception of the government's proper role.
8. Hoover's circumscribed philosophy of legitimate government action proved vastly inadequate to the problems of restarting the economy and ending human suffering.

**V. Life in the Depression****A. The Human Toll**

1. Jobless, homeless victims wandered in search of work, and the tramp, or hobo, became one of the most visible figures of the decade.
2. Rural poverty was most acute, and tenant farmers and sharecroppers, mainly in the South, came to symbolize how poverty crushed the human spirit.
3. There was no federal assistance to meet this human catastrophe, only a patchwork of strapped charities and destitute state and local agencies.
4. The deepening crisis roused old fears and caused some Americans to look for scapegoats, such as recently arrived Mexican immigrants.
5. The depression deeply affected the American family; young people postponed marriage and had fewer children, and men lost jobs while women kept them.

**B. Denial and Escape**

1. President Hoover tried to express his optimism about economic recovery, but amidst the shantytowns and suffering, Hoover became increasingly unpopular.

2. While Hoover practiced denial, maintaining that no one in America was starving, other Americans sought refuge at the movies.
  3. Grim conditions moved a few filmmakers to grapple with the depression woes rather than to escape them.
  4. Crime increased during the 1930s.
- C. Working-Class Militancy
1. The nation's working class bore the brunt of the economic collapse.
  2. The American people were slow to anger, then strong in protest, and workers and farmers began to mount uprisings across the country.
  3. Hard times also revived the left in America, bringing socialism back to life and propelling the Communist Party to its greatest size and influence in American history.
  4. The left also led the fight against racism, attacking the sharecropping system in the South.
  5. Breadlines, soup kitchens, foreclosures, unemployment, and cold despair drove patriotic men and women to question American capitalism.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 23, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 23.

## Review Questions

1. How did the spread of the automobile transform the United States? (pp. 829–830) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Impact on the economy:* The manufacture of automobiles became the largest industry in the nation and brought into existence a host of supporting businesses, including filling stations and motels. (pp. 829–830)

- *Impact of workers:* Ford's success depended in significant part on the refinement of assembly lines. This approach to manufacture facilitated much greater efficiency in American industry, but demanded fewer skills and made work more monotonous. (pp. 825, 830)

- *Impact on geography:* The automobile influenced the distribution of population within the nation, giving rise to highways, expansion of suburbs, and so on. (p. 830)

2. How did the new freedoms of the 1920s challenge older conceptions of gender and race? (pp. 835–841) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Ethic of personal freedom:* Influenced by a truncated reading of Freud, many Americans came to believe that health and happiness depended on following personal desires. (p. 835)

- *The "new woman":* In the 1920s, women exercised their new voting rights, though entrenched male domination of parties and longstanding voting manipulation practices limited their political influence. Women entered the workforce in greater numbers and exercised the freedom to spend their income on all kinds of consumer goods. Popular culture facilitated the circulation of new ideas about the possibility of women's equality with men, in earnings, political life, and sexual liberty. (pp. 836–837)

- *The "New Negro":* Facing continued racial discrimination and economic hardship, African Americans organized politically to demand change through organizations such as the NAACP. Marcus Garvey also attracted many followers to his black nationalist Back to Africa Movement. Other African Americans experimented with new cultural forms and, in the process, challenged white discrimination and racism. (pp. 840–841)

3. Why did the relationship between urban and rural America deteriorate in the 1920s? (pp. 845–849) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Uneven distribution of 1920s abundance:* Rural America did not share equally in the wealth, technology, or cultural innovations characteristic of the urban United States of the 1920s. (p. 845)

- *Population shift:* By 1920, the concentration of American population had shifted from the country to the cities, reinforcing cities' political and cultural dominance. (pp. 845–846)

- *Rural America and anti-immigrant sentiment:* Rural America imagined itself as more racially and morally pure than the cities, which they identified with immigrants. This sentiment contributed to rural America's support of immigration restrictions, particularly of immigrants deemed racially or culturally undesirable. These concerns contributed to the appeal of the revived Ku Klux Klan in rural America. (pp. 845–847)

- *Cultural disputes:* The Klan also built on rural Americans' perception that the nation's cities were decadent and immoral. The gulf between urban and rural values was on national display in the Scopes

trial, which pitted the rural fundamentalists against educated, largely urban secularists. (pp. 847–849)

4. Why did the American economy collapse in 1929? (pp. 851–852) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Trade and foreign economies:* The United States exacerbated European economic woes following World War I by insisting on the repayment of wartime debts. In order to enable foreigners to buy the flood of American goods being produced despite such debt, American banks extended credit to foreigners, compounding their economic liabilities. (p. 851)

- *Domestic economic problems:* Uneven distribution of wealth in the United States left a majority of Americans living on relatively small incomes, sharply curtailing their ability to participate in the new levels of consumption needed to keep pace with American industry's production capacity. The new practice of buying on credit helped shore up the problem for a time, but it created unsustainable levels of personal debt. (p. 851)

- *Market speculation:* The booming economy had drawn many Americans into stock market speculation, including buying stocks on margin. Overvalued stock and underfinanced purchases led to a stock market crash in October 1929. The crash gave the severe economic problems of the American economy free expression. (pp. 851–852)

5. How did the Depression reshape American politics? (pp. 852–857) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Hoover's decline in popularity:* When Hoover assumed office, he enjoyed the confidence of the majority of Americans, but his inadequate response to the Great Depression quickly overwhelmed citizens' admiration for his earlier record. Hoover's refusal to take dramatic action, and particularly to ameliorate individual hardship, prompted Americans to deride the president. (pp. 852–853)

- *Radicalized public:* The staggering human toll of the economic collapse and the government's inadequate response angered and frustrated Americans. Workers demonstrated to demand jobs; farmers resisted foreclosures. The apparent failure of capitalism led to a revival of socialism and the Communist party. (pp. 856–857)

opinion? How did it influence Republicans' approach to governance and the development of the American economy in the 1920s? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *World War I and the decline of progressivism:* The unsatisfying resolution of World War I and anxiety about the threat of radicalism had undermined the idealism that undergirded progressivism. Personal success replaced social uplift as the driving ambition of many Americans, leading to popular opposition to government regulation of the economy in favor of untrammeled free enterprise. (p. 826; see also chapter 22)

- *Republican rollback of regulation:* Warren G. Harding responded to the high unemployment and personal bankruptcy rates of 1920 by supporting private business through a high tariff, agricultural price supports, and dismantling wartime regulation of private industry. Calvin Coolidge continued these policies by reducing taxes for corporations and wealthy Americans, and consequently, government revenue. (pp. 827–828)

- *Republican international policy:* Republicans continued American leadership abroad, working to promote peace and prop up Europe's postwar economies in order to protect American markets and fuel the nation's economy. (pp. 828–829)

- *Republican policy and the distorted economy:* Although the United States had a booming economy in the 1920s, the lack of regulation and minimization of government intervention had exacerbated some of its dangerous tendencies, including unequal distribution of wealth, overextension of credit, and speculation. (p. 851)

2. Americans' encounters with the wealth and increased personal freedom characteristic of the 1920s varied greatly. Discuss the impact such variation had on Americans' responses to new circumstances. Why did some embrace the era's changes, while others resisted them? Ground your answer in discussion of specific political, legal, or cultural conflicts. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Economic and geographic inequality:* The booming economy had not benefited all Americans equally; almost two-thirds of Americans lived on incomes only large enough to get the bare essentials. In addition to economic adversity, rural America did not benefit equally from the technological innovations of electricity, indoor plumbing, or gas. (p. 845)

- *Urban America and the Roaring Twenties:* The new cultural opportunities of American cities, from jazz to movies and sports, attracted many Americans. (pp. 841, 844) A new ethic of personal freedom, along with new political and economic opportunities led many women to participate fully in the consumer culture of the 1920s, as well as nonconformity with

## Making Connections

1. In the 1920s, Americans' wariness of the concentration of power in the hands of industrial capitalists gave way to unrestrained confidence in American business. What drove this shift in popular

older versions of femininity. Even women who did not participate directly in these trends learned of them through mass media. (pp. 836–837) African Americans in northern cities challenged white cultural and political supremacy through artistic movements such as the Harlem Renaissance and Marcus Garvey's political call for black pride and independence. (pp. 840–841)

• *Rural America and resistance to change:* In addition to not enjoying the same improvements in standards of living of some Americans benefiting from the booming 1920s, rural America perceived that its political and cultural influence was waning as the population became more concentrated in urban areas. Rural Americans compensated for these declines by claiming that they were the racially and morally pure core of the nation. Opposition to immigration and Roman Catholics, support of prohibition and the reactionary Ku Klux Klan, and evangelical fervor on display in the Scopes trial all registered the discomfort of some Americans with the changes that accelerated in the 1920s. (pp. 845–849)

3. How did shifting government policy contribute to both the boom of the 1920s and the bust of 1929? In your answer, consider the part domestic and international policy played in these developments, including matters of taxation, tariffs, and international banking. *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Postwar embrace of deregulation:* Disillusionment with the resolution of World War I made the idealism that had informed it, and progressivism, lose appeal. Americans after the war looked to personal achievement registered in wealth as the goal government should advance. This sentiment contributed to popular support for deregulation. (pp. 826–827; see also chapter 22)

• *Republican economic policies, taxation:* Calvin Coolidge reduced taxes on the wealthy and corporations, reducing government revenue and exacerbating inequality. The low incomes of many Americans made them unable to buy goods, contributing to weaknesses in the economy. (p. 827)

• *Regulation and protection:* Republicans established agricultural price supports and enacted high tariffs, such as the Fordney-McCumber tariff under Harding and the Hawley-Smoot tariff under Hoover. At the same time, they reduced the power of the Federal Trade Commission to regulate industry. The Supreme Court reinforced these policies by issuing decisions that undermined the power of unions. The heightened tariff was popular, but ultimately prompted retaliation from Europe in the form of a tariff against U.S. goods, making it harder for American producers to sell abroad. (pp. 826–827)

• *Foreign economic policy:* The Republican administration deferred to private banking groups to respond to the postwar economic challenges of Europe, a vital market for American goods. This policy had some success, for example through the Dawes Plan, but it also had long-term deficiencies. By extending credit to foreign customers at the same time the Republican administration was demanding repayment of debt from nations with crippled economies, this approach created significant weaknesses in the economy. (pp. 829, 851)

4. The Great Depression plunged the nation into a profound crisis with staggering personal and national costs. How did Americans attempt to lessen the impact of these circumstances? In your answer, discuss and compare the responses of individual Americans and the federal government. *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Federal response:* Although Hoover had come into office still committed to progressive ideals and enjoying great personal support, his commitment to a limited federal government, self-regulation by industry, and self-reliance crippled his response to the calamity of the Great Depression. His attempt to broker a deal between industry and labor collapsed when industry reneged and began laying off workers. His resort to the tariff to protect American goods backfired. His primary response to the devastation was to try to shore up banking and industry at the top with the expectation that this would trickle down to American workers suffering below. In practice, the lack of federal assistance left local aid agencies overwhelmed, and Americans starving and desperate. (pp. 852–853)

• *Individual responses, survival:* Americans facing widespread unemployment and poverty wandered the country seeking work. They crowded together and scrounged for food. Some blamed immigrants for taking American jobs. Women went into the workforce in greater numbers, in part to compensate for men laid off from industrial employment. (pp. 854–855)

• *Individual responses, coping:* Americans responded by deriding the ineffectual president and questioning the order of society. Farmers and workers demonstrated to protest actions by the federal government and industrialists such as Ford. For some, criminals such as bank robbers became heroes, punishing the real thieves—bankers. For others, socialists who had seemed dangerous ten years earlier now seemed to offer some hope in the midst of hardship by giving strong support to striking unions. Many others found an escape in popular entertainment, especially in the movies. (pp. 856–857)

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Colorado Filling Station and Gas Pump (p. 831)

**Reading the Image:** What does this road map and accompanying image of a gravity-flow gasoline pump tell us about American consumer culture on the eve of the Great Depression? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *American consumer culture:* The 1929 Conoco road map of Colorado suggests both the power of consumerism, especially the expanding automobile and tourism industry, and a deep level of anxiety about consumerism itself during the 1920s. While the company boasts about the quality of its product on the map, it also seeks to set consumers at ease by connecting their product and the modern automobile to more familiar images of the West and the natural environment. The gasoline station appears idyllic and blends almost seamlessly with the pristine natural world that surrounds it. If consumers worried about mega-oil corporations or automobile makers despoiling the environment or challenging more traditional—if sometimes imagined—ways of life, this map seems to have been created to allay those worries and fears. The glass-cylinder, gravity-flow pump is, perhaps, an even more obvious attempt to calm the fears of American consumers who preferred to see what they purchased and who likely were skeptical of the new products and technologies to which they had growing access.

**Connections:** Does the road map accurately reflect the economic direction of the American economy in 1929? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Economic climate of the United States in 1929:* While the Conoco road map of Colorado accurately reflects the high-flying mood of 1920s consumerism, it provides few clues to the underlying economic problems that led the nation into the Great Depression following the stock market crash of October 1929. The road map promises abundance and access to the leisure world of the great West. But by 1929, signs that the economy was faltering, rather than growing, were becoming more and more clear. New construction slowed considerably. Automobile sales fell, and workers were laid off in growing numbers. Investment opportunities shrank, and thousands of banks failed. Just as the Conoco road map promised consumer bliss, the stock market headed for a crash that signaled the formal onset of the Great Depression.

### Heroes and Heroines (p. 839)

**Reading the Image:** Is the pale heroine in the movie poster beseeching her kidnapper to release her, or is she swooning with desire? How is the depiction of the college girl similar to the depiction of the movie star, and how is it different? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Movie poster heroine:* The uncertainty about whether the young heroine in this poster is beseeching the sheik for mercy or swooning with sexual desire is almost certainly intentional. Much of the American public would have been outraged by a more overtly sexual tone to this poster, so the producers seem to have satisfied both their potential critics and their young audience, who were titillated by the sexual undertones of the poster, by masking the poster's sexuality in ambiguity. The introduction of an exotic hero whose presence seems to suggest an element of violence also makes the film poster's depiction of sexuality all the more risqué.

- *College girl heroine:* The college girl on the cover on *People's Popular Monthly* extends the boundaries of typical feminine behaviors in other ways, although she too is restricted by social codes. Her outfit and her pennant suggest that she is a college student, an indication of widening educational opportunities for young women from prosperous families during this period. She also coyly flirts with the football player, initiating physical contact, an approach that offers a more veiled but still clearly present tone of sexuality. However, her conduct is made more socially acceptable because the object of her desire, a safe, rugged, Nordic-looking athlete, is more socially acceptable.

**Connections:** How do these portrayals of women conform to the social and sexual mores of the 1920s? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Social mores:* These posters reaffirm the subordinate role of women, as both heroines are literally looking up to their male counterparts. Yet the magazine cover in particular suggests new opportunities for respectable young women to gain a college education and to exhibit her sexual desire within acceptable social boundaries.

- *Sexual mores:* The undercurrent of sexuality present in both of these drawings reflects the gradual decay of Victorian sexual morality. By the 1920s, discussion and exhibition of sexuality had become more socially acceptable, particularly among younger groups of Americans. Freud's theories had made sexual impulses seem more acceptable to some Americans, and the rise of the advertising and film industries played a significant role in enhancing the degree of sexuality present in American popular culture.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 23.1 Auto Manufacturing (p. 827)

**Reading the Map:** How many states had factories involved with the manufacture of automobiles? In what regions was auto manufacturing concentrated? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Auto manufacturing factories:* Twenty-eight states had factories involved with the manufacture of automobiles, including Rhode Island. Auto manufacturing was heavily concentrated in the Great Lakes region, with substantial production in California as well.

**Connections:** On what related industries did auto manufacture depend? How did the integration of the automobile into everyday life affect American society? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Industries related to auto manufacturing:* Auto manufacturing was dependent on the steel, oil, glass, and rubber industries. The advent of the automobile industry affected American life greatly. By 1929, the automobile industry directly or indirectly employed one in every four Americans.

- *Affect of automobiles on the average American:* As a result of the rapid increase in automobile ownership, the way people lived, worked, and spent their time began to change. Small towns began to decline, people moved from cities to suburbs, and the success of the auto industry contributed to a larger consumer revolution.

### Map 23.2 The Shift from Rural to Urban Population, 1920–1930 (p. 846)

**Reading the Map:** Which states had the strongest growth? To which cities did southern blacks predominantly migrate? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Population growth:* The states of Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Oregon, and California experienced the strongest population growth in the nation.

- *Migration to the North:* Southern blacks predominantly migrated to cities such as New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and Detroit, hoping to find more opportunities to establish a better life than they had in the South.

**Connections:** What conditions in the countryside made the migration to urban areas appealing to many rural Americans? In what social and cultural ways did rural America view itself as different from urban America? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Motives for moving to urban areas:* During the 1920s, rural America experienced a rapid decline. Forty percent of the nation's farmers were landless and ninety percent lacked indoor plumbing, gas, or electricity. The difficult conditions in rural areas certainly led many to look to urban areas for some measure of relief.

- *Rural vs. Urban America:* For many rural people, the city stood for everything they were against. Rural areas were home to Anglo-Saxon, Protestant America and old-fashioned moral standards, while the city was filled with nonwhites, dangerous foreigners, liberal Protestants, Jews, Catholics, and atheists.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in "Additional Resources for Chapter 23."*

### LECTURE 1

#### "Normalcy"

This lecture should convince students that many Americans in the 1920s longed for a retreat from the upheavals of the previous decade. When President Warren G. Harding promised the American people a "return to normalcy" in a 1920 campaign speech, he capitalized on the nation's weariness from a world war unprecedented in its destruction, the threats to the cherished democratic and capitalist order that socialism represented—especially in light of the 1917 Russian Revolution—and the intrusion of progressive reform in the workplace and the private sphere. Harding's speech carried considerable currency with much of the American public. Here you may wish to note that America's refusal to support Woodrow Wilson's coveted League of Nations confirmed that some had tired of worldly involvement and preferred to remain isolated from foreign affairs. Also mention that the passage of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Amendments bolstered America's desire to return to normalcy. Have students discuss the effectiveness and the legacies of the "noble experiment" of prohibition. Note also that the nation's attitude had changed toward the government's involvement with American business. The Supreme Court's decisions to oppose any federal regulation regarding wages, hours, and conditions of labor suggested that the reform impulse of the earlier Progressive Era no longer lingered. And for a time, America appeared to thrive under this return to normalcy.

Demonstrate that by 1922 the economy had recovered from its initial postwar slump and entered a period of vigorous growth. The phenomenal success of

Henry Ford in the automotive industry suggested that the government's hands-off policy benefited American business. Moreover, the effectiveness of new techniques in specialization and scientific management, coupled with welfare capitalism, implied that American business could monitor itself without the interference of the federal government. Finally, American consumers' desire to purchase manufactured goods and partake in commercial pastimes—sports, amusement parks, movies, and radio—illustrated their acceptance of this return to normalcy.

## LECTURE 2

### *Critics of American Culture*

This lecture makes clear to students that mainstream culture in the 1920s was not without its critics and not everyone championed the return to normalcy. Start by covering the writers of the Lost Generation, such as Ernest Hemingway, who chafed at the crass commercialism of the consumer culture and spurned the conventionality and provinciality of American life, choosing instead to live in exile. You might then describe the disaffected youth of the 1920s who rejected the moral conventions of their parents, flaunting their newfound sexual freedom. The theories of Sigmund Freud became the lens through which many young people looked at the world, allowing for a frank and open appraisal of sexuality. You may then wish to cover the African American artists and writers of the Harlem Renaissance, who celebrated their rich culture through poetry, art, music, theater, and dance. Ironically, many associated with the Harlem Renaissance depended on white patronage for their livelihoods. To suggest the depths to which some Americans resisted the dominant white culture, you might introduce Marcus Garvey's proclamations on the inability of that culture to embrace African Americans and his eventual call for blacks to return to Africa.

Urban intellectuals were not the only ones who rejected modern American culture, however. At this point, you should make it clear to students that many rural Americans also rejected the encroachment of modernity but for different reasons. Discuss how immigration restriction, the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan, the Scopes trial, and the hostility leveled at presidential candidate Al Smith bespeak the degree to which some resisted the dominant culture.

## LECTURE 3

### *The Causes of the Crash*

Despite tremendous growth during the early 1920s, the nation's economy was fundamentally unstable. First, mention that while certain sectors of the economy grew

during the decade, agriculture, the largest sector, remained weak. Farmers continued to receive low prices for their goods and suffered from chronic indebtedness. Overproduction and underconsumption, fueled by a massive imbalance of wealth, also contributed to the economy's instability. Make sure students understand that not all Americans shared in the prosperity of the 1920s.

Next, demonstrate that an unstable international economy further contributed to the national economy's underlying weakness. European nations, unable to pay off the loans they incurred during the Great War, borrowed even more money from the United States to pay off their old loans and finance their trade. Moreover, the United States erected trade barriers (tariffs), which prevented foreign nations from selling their goods in the United States, which in turn hampered their ability to buy U.S. goods.

Finally, make the point that the government's retreat from economic regulation also contributed to the economy's instability. Explain that an unregulated stock market allowed for buying on margin, which encouraged average speculators to invest beyond their means. When nervous investors began unloading their overvalued stock, the price of stocks began to plummet. These speculators were forced to meet their margin loans, and the panic began that would result in the worst economic depression in American history. President Herbert Hoover's commitment to private philanthropy rather than governmental involvement did not spur the growth of the economy or restore Americans' confidence in it. The nation was ready for a different solution.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. The United States Was Completely Isolationist in the 1920s

Students may assume that America's disillusionment with Woodrow Wilson's idealistic rhetoric and its distrust of the League of Nations caused the United States to retreat from foreign affairs altogether during the 1920s. But although an isolationist mood swept across the nation in the years following World War I, the United States could hardly sever its ties with the rest of the world completely. It might be worth pointing out that American business leaders held foreign investments, the U.S. government earnestly endeavored to collect on war debts, and the nation maintained overseas possessions, especially in the Pacific. In addition, the United States signed a number of treaties in the 1920s. The Washington Disarmament Conference met in 1921, and delegates from the United States, Britain, Japan, France, and Italy signed the Five-Power Naval

Treaty, which limited tonnage and construction of capital ships. The United States also signed the Four-Power Treaty (along with Britain, Japan, and France), agreeing to respect other nations' possessions in the Pacific and to refer disputes to outside arbitration, and the Nine-Power Treaty, which formally pledged all signatories to support the Open Door principle first articulated at the turn of the century. In 1928, the United States, along with sixty-one other nations, signed the Kellogg-Briand pact, which demanded all who signed to "condemn recourse to war . . . and renounce it as an instrument of national policy."

Finally, the United States continued its tortured relations with Nicaragua and Mexico while attempting to establish a "good neighbor" policy with the rest of Latin America.

## 2. Modernism versus Fundamentalism

Because of the fame of the 1925 Scopes trial, many students may erroneously believe that Darwin's theory of evolution was the sole challenger to religious fundamentalism in the 1920s. In fact, a number of scientific theories gained popular currency in that decade. And although most ordinary Americans failed to grasp the complexities of Albert Einstein's theory of relativity, Max Planck's quantum theory, or Werner Heisenberg's uncertainty principle, most understood that previously held conceptions of absolutes no longer made sense. Many people reasoned, and many more feared, that traditional convictions and faiths had to be abandoned in light of new scientific findings.

## 3. The 1920s Was an Era of . . .

As the text in this chapter makes abundantly clear, the 1920s era has tended to invite, and at the same time defy, generalization. Take advantage of students' pre-conceived notions about the period to introduce them to the difficulties of defining an era, much less a decade, and especially one that was so full of contradictions. Many will be familiar with the 1920s as the Jazz Age, the Roaring Twenties, and so on. Use relevant illustrations in the textbook, and ask students to consider which labels might be most accurate.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

Perhaps because the 1920s has so captured the imagination of generations of Americans, there are a number of good documentaries about the period. "The Twenties," episode 17 of Bill Moyers's series *A Walk through the Twentieth Century*, offers a good overview of the period. The PBS documentary *Against the Odds: The Artists of the Harlem Renaissance* combines rare archival footage and oral histories to give viewers a firsthand account of the movement. The PBS series *I'll*

*Make Me A World* can also serve as a good introduction to the Harlem Renaissance. The first few episodes of Ken Burns's series *Jazz* capture the early appeal the new American art form had for American audiences. There are a number of Charlie Chaplin movies you can show to demonstrate the popular appeal of silent movies. *Modern Times* offers a provoking critique of the effect on human workers of scientific management and industrialism. To capture the transition in Hollywood from silent movies to "talkies," consider showing *The Jazz Singer* (1927). You might follow it up with the segment from the episode "1927: The Great Escape" from the *People's Century Series*, which covers the golden era of Hollywood and the film industry.

## Class Discussion Starters

Most students assume that the Great Crash of 1929 caused the Great Depression. To get them to consider the serious structural problems that existed in the American economy prior to Black Thursday, ask "What if the stock market had not crashed in October 1929? Would the country still have had the Great Depression? Would it have occurred later? Would it have lasted as long?" These questions will also force students to consider the importance of the stock market as a symbol of American wealth—and the serious ramifications of the shattering of symbols.

## Historical Debates

Consider having students re-create courtroom scenes from the Scopes trial. Transcripts may be found at [www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/trials/scopes/scopes.htm](http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/trials/scopes/scopes.htm). Have students explain why supporters of modernism believed the trial repudiated the claims of religious fundamentalism, while defenders of the faith claimed that the trial showed defense attorney Clarence Darrow to be one of the century's most dangerous apostates.

## Additional Resources for Chapter 23

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 23 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 23.1: Auto Manufacturing (p. 827)
- Map 23.2: The Shift from Rural to Urban Population, 1920–1930 (p. 846)
- Map 23.3: The Election of 1928 (p. 849)

- Lucky Strike (p. 835)
- Noah's Ark (p. 840)

### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 23 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 23.1: Auto Manufacturing (p. 827)
- Map 23.2: The Shift from Rural to Urban Population, 1920–1930 (p. 846)
- Map 23.3: The Election of 1928 (p. 849)
- Figure 23.1: Production of Consumer Goods, 1920–1930 (p. 834)
- Figure 23.2: Movie and Baseball Attendance (p. 841)
- Figure 23.3: Manufacturing and Agricultural Income, 1920–1940 (p. 854)
- Colorado Filling Station and Gas Pump (p. 831)
- 1924 Redbook cover (p. 837)
- The Weary Blues, by Langston Hughes (p. 841)
- An Unemployed Youth (p. 854)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor's Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 23 include:

- *The Scopes Trial: A Brief History with Documents*, by Jeffrey P. Moran
- *The Sacco and Vanzetti Case: A Brief History with Documents*, by Michael M. Topp
- *The Harlem Renaissance: A Brief History with Documents*, by Jeffrey B. Ferguson

## For Students

### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 23 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- President Calvin Coolidge on Government and Business: *Address before the New York Chamber of Commerce*, November 19, 1925
- Reinhold Niebuhr on Christianity in Detroit: *Diary Entries*, 1925–1928
- The Ku Klux Klan Defends Americanism: Hiram W. Evans, *The Klan's Fight for Americanism*, 1926
- Mothers Seek Freedom from Unwanted Pregnancies: Margaret Sanger, *Mothers in Bondage*, 1928
- Marcus Garvey Explains the Goals of the Universal Negro Improvement Association: *The Negro's Greatest Enemy*, 1923

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 23:

### Map Activities

- Map 23.1: Auto Manufacturing (p. 827)
- Map 23.2: The Shift from Rural to Urban Population, 1920–1930 (p. 846)

### Visual Activities

- Colorado Filling Station and Gas Pump (p. 831)
- Heroes and Heroines (p. 839)

**CHAPTER**  
**24**

# The New Deal Experiment

## 1932–1939

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### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. What issues shaped the presidential campaign of 1932, and how did the candidates' strategies differ? What did Roosevelt's victory signal?
2. What factors united New Deal reformers, and what kinds of policies did they endorse? What was the focus of the initial reforms enacted during Roosevelt's first one hundred days in office?
3. What resistance did critics mount against the New Deal?
4. How did the Second New Deal move the country toward a welfare state? What kinds of programs did reformers propose? Why were some Americans left out of the New Deal?
5. When did the New Deal enter its final phase? Why did it ultimately reach a deadlock?

### Annotated Chapter Outline

- I. **Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Patrician in Government**
  - A. The Making of a Politician
    1. Born in 1882, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was raised to strive for the high-minded doctrines of public service and Christian duty to help the poor and weak.
    2. After a two-year stint in the New York legislature, he ascended to national office when Woodrow Wilson appointed him assistant secretary of the navy.
    3. During the summer of 1921, Roosevelt was infected with the polio virus, paralyzing both his legs.
  - B. The Election of 1932
    1. Democrats convened in Chicago in July 1932 to nominate their presidential candidate; opposition to Republicans and hunger for office united Democrats, but the party remained divided by religion, region, culture, and commitment to the status quo.
    2. When Roosevelt accepted the Democratic nomination, he stated his determination to govern decisively and pledged himself to

"a new deal for the American people," but few details about what Roosevelt meant by a "new deal" emerged in the presidential campaign.

3. Roosevelt won in a historic landslide; his victory represented the emergence of what came to be known as the New Deal coalition, attracting support from farmers, factory workers, immigrants, city folk, African Americans, women, and progressive intellectuals.

## II. Launching the New Deal

### A. The New Dealers

1. In order to design and implement the New Deal, Roosevelt needed ideas and people; Harry Hopkins and Frances Perkins, both activists from the social gospel tradition and veterans of Roosevelt's New York governorship, became two of the most important new cabinet members.
2. No New Dealer was more important than the president himself and his wife, Eleanor, who became the New Deal's unofficial ambassador.
3. Many Americans benefited from Roosevelt's programs either directly through jobs and relief or indirectly from economic improvements.
4. As Roosevelt and his advisers developed plans to meet the economic emergency, their watchwords were *action, experiment, and improvise*.
5. The New Dealers' experimentation and improvisation was driven by four underlying ideas.
6. First, Roosevelt and his advisers sought capitalist solutions to the economic crisis.
7. Second, Roosevelt was persuaded that the greatest flaw of America's capitalist economy, underconsumption, was the root cause of the current economic paralysis.
8. Third, New Dealers believed that the immense size and economic power of American corporations needed to be counterbalanced by government and by organization among workers and small producers.
9. Fourth, New Dealers felt that the government must somehow moderate the imbalance of wealth created by American capitalism so that working people could share more fully in the fruits of the economy.

### B. Banking and Finance Reform

1. New Dealers first tackled the nation's failing banking system, declaring a

four-day bank holiday, working around the clock to draft the Emergency Banking Act, which released funds from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in order to bolster bank assets.

2. In his "fireside chats," Roosevelt addressed the millions of Americans over the radio to explain the first of the New Deal initiatives and to reassure Americans about the safety of their money in banks.
3. The banking legislation and fireside chats worked; most of the nation's banks reopened and remained solvent under federal regulation and oversight.
4. To prevent fraud, corruption, insider trading, and other abuses that had tainted Wall Street and contributed to the crash of 1929, Roosevelt pressed Congress to regulate the stock market, leading to the creation of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC).

### C. Relief and Conservation Programs

1. Since its founding, the federal government had not assumed responsibility for needy people except during natural disasters or emergencies such as the Civil War.
2. To persuade Americans that the depression necessitated unprecedented federal relief efforts, Harry Hopkins, a New Dealer in Roosevelt's administration, dispatched investigators throughout the nation to describe the plight of impoverished Americans.
3. Reports of families living in desperate poverty galvanized support for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), which provided \$500 million to feed the hungry and create jobs.
4. The most popular relief program was the Civilian Conservation Corps, which offered unemployed young men a chance to earn wages while working to conserve natural resources; women were excluded until Eleanor Roosevelt demanded that a token number of them be hired.
5. The New Deal also sought to harness natural resources for hydroelectric power.
6. The New Deal's most ambitious and controversial natural resources development project was the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), created in 1933 to build dams along the Tennessee River in an effort to supply cheap electricity to impoverished rural communities.
7. New sources of hydroelectric power helped the New Deal bring the wonder of

- electricity to the country folk, fulfilling an old progressive dream.
- D. Agricultural Initiatives
1. New Dealers diagnosed farmers' economic plight as a classic case of overproduction and underconsumption.
  2. They sought to cut agricultural production, thereby raising crop prices and farmers' income; the New Deal's Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) accomplished this by paying farmers not to grow some crops.
  3. With the formation of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the federal government allowed farmers to hold their harvested crops off the market and wait for higher prices; the Farm Credit Act (FCA) provided long-term credit on mortgaged farm property and allowed debt-ridden farmers to avoid foreclosure.
  4. Crop allotments, commodity loans, and mortgage credit made farmers major beneficiaries of New Deal policies.
  5. In the South, landlords controlled the distribution of New Deal agricultural benefits and shamelessly rewarded themselves while denying funds to sharecroppers and tenant farmers, whose privation worsened.
- E. Industrial Recovery
1. Unlike farmers, industrialists cut production with the onset of the depression, a strategy that created major economic and social problems for Roosevelt and his advisers, since declining industrial production meant that millions of working people lost their jobs and, in turn, their ability to buy consumer goods.
  2. The New Deal's National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) opted for a government-sponsored form of industrial self-government and established the National Recovery Administration (NRA) in June 1933.
  3. NRA codes encouraged employers to define fair working conditions, set prices, and minimize competition in order to stabilize existing industries and maintain their workforces; in exchange for relaxing federal antitrust regulations, the NRA made participating businesses promise that they would recognize workers' right to organize and engage in collective bargaining.
  4. New Dealers hoped that the NRA codes would encourage businesses with a social conscience to enact fair treatment for workers and consumers and promote the general economic welfare; instead, NRA codes tended to strengthen conventional business practices.
- III. Challenges to the New Deal
- A. Resistance to Business Reform
1. New Deal programs rescued capitalism, but did not prevent business leaders from criticizing Roosevelt, despite the fact that their economic prospects improved more than those of most other Americans during the depression.
  2. By 1935, two major business organizations, the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce, had become openly anti-New Deal.
  3. Economic planners who favored rational planning in the public interest and labor leaders who sought to influence wages and working conditions by organizing unions attacked the New Deal from the left.
  4. In May 1935, the Supreme Court stepped into the crossfire of criticism in and declared that the NRA unconstitutionally granted powers reserved to Congress on an administrative agency staffed by government appointees.
- B. Casualties in the Countryside
1. The Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) also weathered harsh criticism from opponents but managed to outlast the NRA.
  2. Agricultural processors criticized the AAA because the tax on processed crops funded the programs that aided farmers while disadvantaging processors; the Supreme Court struck down the tax and the AAA rebounded, getting funding instead from general government funds.
  3. Protests stirred among those who did not qualify for allotments, arguing that the act enriched large farmers, rather than small farmers, especially sharecroppers in the South, who rented rather than owned land.
  4. Roosevelt's political dependence on southern Democrats caused him to avoid confronting such economic and racial inequities in the South's entrenched order.
  5. With few other options, displaced tenants often joined the army of migrant workers that straggled across rural America during the 1930s.

**C. Politics on the Fringes**

1. Politically, the New Deal's staunchest opponents were part of the Republican Party—organized, well-heeled, mainstream, and determined to challenge Roosevelt at every turn.
2. Socialists and Communists accused the New Deal of being an instrument of business elites, rescuing capitalism from its self-inflicted crisis.
3. Many intellectuals and artists decided that the time was ripe to advance the cause of more radical change; they joined left-wing organizations, including the American Communist Party, which reached the height of its influence in the United States in the 1930s.
4. More powerful challenges to the New Deal sprouted from homegrown roots.
5. Charles Coughlin, a Catholic priest in Detroit, spoke to, and for, many worried Americans in his weekly radio broadcasts that reached a nationwide audience of 40 million and espoused virulent anti-Semitism.
6. Dr. Francis Townsend proposed the creation of an Old Age Revolving Pension that would pay every American over the age of sixty a pension of \$200 a month that had to be spent within thirty days, thereby stimulating the economy.
7. Caughlin and Townsend merged forces in the Union Party in time for the 1936 election.
8. A more formidable challenge to the New Deal came from the Southern wing of the Democratic Party.
9. Louisiana senator Huey Long introduced a sweeping “soak the rich” tax bill to outlaw personal incomes of more than \$1 million and inheritances of more than \$5 million; when the Senate rejected his proposal, Long decided to run for president on a platform that promised to “Share Our Wealth,” but was assassinated in 1935.
10. Challenges to the New Deal from Republicans as well as more radical groups stirred Democrats to solidify their winning coalition and in the midterm elections of 1934, New Dealers won a landslide victory.

**IV. Toward a Welfare State****A. Relief for the Unemployed**

1. By 1935, 8 million people were jobless; Roosevelt and his advisers launched

a massive work relief program, creating the Works Progress Administration (WPA).

2. By 1936, WPA funds provided jobs for 7 percent of the nation's labor force, discriminating in favor of men against women and racial minorities.
  3. About three out of four WPA jobs involved construction and renovation of the nation's physical infrastructure; other WPA jobs employed artists, musicians, actors, journalists, poets, and novelists.
- B. Empowering Labor**
1. Depression-era factory workers who managed to keep their jobs saw their wages and working hours cut and worried constantly about being laid off.
  2. With legislation and political support, the New Deal encouraged an unprecedented wave of union organizing among the nation's working people.
  3. Battles on the nation's streets and docks showed the determination of militant labor leaders to organize unions that would protect jobs as well as wages.
  4. The 1935 Wagner Act, which created the National Labor Relations Board and guaranteed workers the right to organize unions, along with renewed labor militancy, made great strides for labor unions during the New Deal era.
  5. Most of the new union members were factory workers or unskilled laborers; many were also immigrants and African Americans.
  6. In 1935, under the leadership of John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman, a coalition of unskilled workers formed the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO), which mobilized organizing drives in major industries.
  7. The bloody struggle by the CIO-affiliated United Auto Workers (UAW) to organize workers at General Motors climaxed in January 1937 when striking workers occupied the main assembly plant in Flint, Michigan.
  8. After the “sit-down” strike slashed the plant's production of 15,000 cars a week to a mere 150, the automaker capitulated, recognizing the UAW as the sole bargaining agent for all the company's workers and agreeing to refrain from interfering with union activity.
  9. CIO organizers hoped to ride their success in auto plants to victory in the steel mills,

- but they encountered fanatic opposition from small steel mills.
- C. Social Security and Tax Reform
1. The single most important feature of the New Deal's emerging welfare state was Social Security.
  2. The political struggle for Social Security highlighted class differences among Americans.
  3. The large majority of New Dealers carried the Social Security Act through Congress in August, 1935; the act provided pensions for the elderly funded by workers and their employers, and unemployment insurance funded by employers' contributions.
  4. The Social Security Act excluded domestic and agricultural workers, thereby making about half of African Americans and half of all employed women ineligible for benefits.
  5. Social Security also issued multi-million-dollar grants to the states to use to support dependent children, public health services, and the blind.
  6. Strong objections to federal involvement in matters, traditionally left to individuals and to local charities, persuaded the framers of the Social Security Act to strike an awkward balance among federal, state, and personal responsibility.
  7. Fervent opposition to Social Security struck New Dealers as evidence that the rich had learned little from the depression.
- D. Neglected Americans and the New Deal
1. While the WPA and other work relief programs aided working people, the average unemployment rate during the 1930s remained high at 17 percent, about one of every six workers.
  2. Many working people, including domestic workers—mostly women—and agricultural workers—African, Hispanic, or Asian Americans—remained largely untouched by New Deal benefits.
  3. Millions of women, children, old folks, the unorganized, unskilled, uneducated, and unemployed, often fell through the New Deal safety net, but the New Deal neglected few citizens more than it did African Americans.
  4. Disfranchisement prevented southern blacks from protesting their plight at the ballot box; other forms of protest risked retaliation from local whites and, after years of decline, lynching increased during the 1930s.
5. Roosevelt responded to criticism cautiously, because New Deal reforms required the political support of powerful conservative, segregationist, southern Democrats who would be alienated by programs that aided blacks.
  6. Nonetheless, Roosevelt's overtures to African Americans prompted northern black voters to shift in the 1934 elections from the Republican to the Democratic Party, helping elect New Deal Democrats.
  7. Eleanor Roosevelt sponsored the appointment of Mary McLeod Bethune—the energetic cofounder of the National Council on Negro Women—as head of the Division of Negro Affairs in the National Youth Administration, where she used her position to guide a small number of black professionals and civil rights activists to posts within New Deal agencies.
  8. Despite making a few gains, by 1940 African Americans still suffered severe disadvantages, as did Hispanic Americans and Asian Americans.
  9. Native Americans also suffered neglect from New Deal agencies, but the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 did restore the Indians' right to own land communally, to have greater control over their own affairs, and provided an important foundation for Indians' economic, cultural, and political resurgence a generation later.
- V. **The New Deal from Victory to Deadlock**
- A. The Election of 1936
1. Roosevelt believed that the presidential election of 1936 would test his leadership and progressive ideals.
  2. Republicans turned to the Kansas heartland and selected as their presidential nominee Governor Alfred Landon, who stressed mainstream Republican proposals to achieve a balanced federal budget.
  3. Roosevelt put his faith in the growing coalition of New Deal supporters, who he believed shared his conviction that the New Deal was the nation's liberator from a long era of privilege and wealth for a few and "economic slavery" for the rest.
  4. Roosevelt triumphed spectacularly in the election, winning 60.8 percent of the popular vote, pledging to use his mandate to help all citizens achieve a decent standard of living.

- B. Court Packing**
1. After winning the election, Roosevelt focused on removing the remaining obstacles to New Deal reforms.
  2. He decided to target the Supreme Court, laden with Republican-appointed conservative justices, which had invalidated eleven New Deal measures as unconstitutional interferences with free enterprise.
  3. Roosevelt proposed a plan that would allow him to appoint to the Court up to six New Dealers, who could outvote the elderly, conservative, Republican justices.
  4. The president had not reckoned with Americans' deeply rooted deference to the independent authority of the Supreme Court and the court-packing bill failed.
  5. Ultimately, the Supreme Court justices got Roosevelt's message and upheld New Deal legislation in subsequent cases.
- C. Reaction and Recession**
1. Emboldened by their defeat of the court-packing plan, Republicans and southern Democrats rallied around their common conservatism to obstruct additional reforms.
  2. Roosevelt himself favored slowing the pace of the New Deal and believed that additional deficit spending by the federal government was no longer necessary.
  3. Roosevelt's retrenchment soon backfired, as national income and production slipped steeply backward.
  4. The economic reversal hurt the New Deal politically; conservatives argued that New Deal measures produced only an illusion of progress, and staunch New Dealers felt that Roosevelt should revive federal spending.
  5. The New Deal's ad hoc methods received support from new economic ideas advanced by the brilliant British economist John Maynard Keynes.
  6. The recession scare of 1938 taught Roosevelt the Keynesian lesson that economic growth had to be carefully nurtured.
- D. The Last of the New Deal Reforms**
1. Roosevelt gained new influence over the bureaucracy in 1938 when Congress passed the Administrative Reorganization Act, but resistance to further reform was on the rise and the New Deal was beginning to lose momentum.
- 2. The last burst of New Deal reforms included farm reforms in 1937 that led to the creation of the Farm Security Administration (FSA), which tried to help tenant farmers become independent; further reforms in 1938 led to a second Agricultural Adjustment Act, which moderated price swings by regulating supply.**
3. Advocates for the urban poor also made modest gains after decades of neglect; the 1937 National Housing Act represented the federal government's first effort to provide affordable housing in urban areas.
  4. The last major piece of New Deal legislation, the Fair Labor Standards Act of June 1938, reiterated the New Deal pledge to provide workers with a decent standard of living through the regulation of wages and hours, standards that also curbed child labor.
  5. The final New Deal reform effort failed to make much headway against the hidebound system of racial segregation and by the end of 1938 the New Deal had lost steam and was encountering stiff opposition.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 24, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 24.

## Review Questions

1. Why did Franklin D. Roosevelt win the 1932 presidential election by such a large margin? (pp. 863–868) *Answer would ideally include:*
  - *Rejection of Hoover's response to the Great Depression:* Hoover's inadequate response to the economic collapse and his unwillingness to give direct assistance to suffering Americans had undercut Americans support for him. His decision to send General Douglas MacArthur to evict veterans demonstrating for their war bonuses in Washington, D.C., dismayed Americans, contributing to his defeat in the 1932 election. (pp. 863–865)

• *Roosevelt's record:* As governor of New York, Roosevelt responded to the depression by extending assistance to citizens of his state through the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration (TERA), demonstrating awareness of the economic devastation and a willingness to act that helped him win the Democratic nomination and the presidency. (pp. 866–867)

2. How did the New Dealers try to steer the nation toward recovery from the Great Depression? (pp. 868–869, 872–877) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Economic measures:* Roosevelt began by rescuing private banks through the Emergency Banking Act, the creation of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and conversations with the public to explain the new measures. The initiatives propped up the nation's private banking system. Roosevelt also encouraged legislation to regulate the stock market, leading to the creation of the Securities and Exchange Commission. (pp. 872–873)

- *Relief:* Roosevelt's administration acted on the belief that the scale of the economic disaster necessitated a radical expansion of federal relief. The passage of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration reflected these ideas, providing jobs and assistance for unemployed Americans. (p. 874)

- *Agricultural initiatives:* Using the Agricultural Adjustment Act, New Dealers paid farmers not to grow some crops in order to cut agricultural production and raise crop prices. The Commodity Credit Corporation created government storehouses for farmers' crops, provided loans that made the federal government a major consumer of agricultural goods, and reduced farmers' vulnerability to low prices. (pp. 875–876)

- *Industrial initiatives:* The National Industrial Recovery Act, a government-sponsored form of industrial self-government through the National Recovery Administration, encouraged industrialists to adopt codes that defined fair working conditions, set prices, and minimized competition for the promotion of general economic welfare. In reality, the NRA was a peace offering to business leaders, conveying the message that the New Deal did not intend to attack profits or private enterprise. (pp. 876–877)

3. Why did groups at both ends of the political spectrum criticize the New Deal? (pp. 877–884) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Criticisms from the right:* Businesses interests were fearful of the New Deal and the potential erosion of their influence. They argued that the Agricultural Adjustment Act and the National Recovery Administration undermined American values of individualism and freedom. Outrage at the hardship facing many Americans and a belief the government was not

doing enough gave rise to extremes such as the anti-Semitic Union Party led by Father Charles Coughlin. (pp. 880–884)

- *Criticisms from the left:* Labor organizers and advocates of more rigid economic planning objected to the National Recovery Administration by citing its tendency to undermine competition. They also objected to its blockage of employee-established unions. Socialists and communists objected to the goals of the New Deal, particularly the salvage of American capitalism. (pp. 882–884)

4. What features of a welfare state did the New Deal create and why? (pp. 884–889) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Providing employment:* Through the Works Progress Administration, Roosevelt provided employment for about 7 percent of the workforce in 1936, mostly in making improvements to the nation's infrastructure. (pp. 884–886)

- *Supporting unions:* Roosevelt reversed the federal government's hostile relationship to unions, looking to them as useful partners in the New Deal as a counterweight to the power of corporations. The Wagner Act secured the right to unionize, contributing to a five-fold expansion of union membership. (pp. 886–888)

- *Combating poverty:* In addition to creating unemployment insurance, Social Security, financed through worker/employer contributions, countered the poverty of the elderly by ensuring them a modest income. Roosevelt also pushed tax reform to try to lessen the concentration of wealth in a few hands, and to combat radical challengers such as Huey Long and Father Coughlin. (pp. 888–889)

5. Why did political support for New Deal reforms decline? (pp. 892–896) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Conservative opposition:* In his second term Roosevelt stopped seeking cooperation from conservative business leaders and relied on the growing New Deal coalition to enact reforms despite opposition. Roosevelt's conservative opponents responded by intensifying their opposition to the welfare state and criticizing the New Deal as ineffective. By 1938 Republicans picked up seven seats in the Senate and 80 in the house, giving them more congressional influence than they had had since 1932. (pp. 893–896)

- *Economic reversal:* The slowed pace of New Deal reforms in 1936 and 1937 resulted in a reversal of the economic gains Roosevelt had achieved in his first term. The economic reversal allowed conservatives arguments about the ineffectiveness of the New Deal to gain a greater foothold. (pp. 894–896)

- *Weariness among New Deal supporters:* By 1938 even Roosevelt's political allies were weary of one

emergency program after another while economic woes continued to shadow New Deal achievements, and they began to balk at new initiatives. (p. 898)

• *International distractions:* The rise of belligerent regimes in Germany, Italy, Japan, and elsewhere, made Americans worry about the need to defend the nation. By 1939 Roosevelt himself pointed to the rise of fascism in Europe and Asia and proposed defense expenditures that surpassed New Deal appropriations for relief and recovery. (p. 898)

## Making Connections

1. Franklin Roosevelt's landslide victory in 1932 changed the political landscape. How did Roosevelt build an effective interregional political coalition for the Democratic Party? How did the challenges of balancing interests within the coalition shape the policies of the New Deal? In your answer, discuss the character of the coalition and specific reforms. *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Election of 1932:* Roosevelt's stunning success in the 1932 election was in large part a vote against Hoover and his limited response to the devastation of the Great Depression. Support for Roosevelt cut across economic, cultural, educational, and regional lines. The New Deal coalition was united in the shared expectation that the government could and should intervene to change existing circumstances. (pp. 867–868; *see also* chapter 23)

• *Interregional coalition:* The political and cultural differences between the northern and southern wings of the Democratic Party presented significant challenges to Democratic solidarity. The pressures of the Great Depression helped create party unity around the New Deal. (pp. 867–868)

• *Managing the coalition:* Roosevelt knew that maintaining the interregional coalition was crucial to the legislative success of the New Deal. Some of the shortcomings of his presidency can be attributed to his attempt to mollify white southern supporters. Black southerners did not benefit equally from the Agricultural Adjustment Act or the Works Progress Administration. Roosevelt turned a blind eye to the voting manipulations in the South. (pp. 889–890)

• *Shifts in policy:* Some early New Deal reforms such as the National Recovery Administration prompted opposition on the left from labor leaders and economic planners, and on the right from business groups. Later in his administration, Roosevelt adopted legislation such as the Wagner Act to strengthen labor, which he viewed as a valuable counter to the power of corporations. (pp. 886–888)

2. New Dealers experimented with varied solutions to the economic disorder of the 1930s. Compare reform efforts targeting rural and industrial America. Were they effective? Why or why not? What do they reveal about how the Roosevelt administration understood the underlying causes of the Great Depression? *Answer would ideally include:*

• *New Deal and agriculture:* New Deal reformers looked at farmers' chronic economic hardship since World War I as a problem of overproduction and underconsumption. In order to raise prices for agricultural goods, they wanted farmers to reduce production. Through the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the government paid farmers not to produce. Through the Commodity Credit Corporation, the government addressed the problem of underconsumption by in effect making the government a large consumer of agricultural products and ensuring a minimum price for farmers. Through the Farm Credit Act, the government helped farmers avoid foreclosure. These measures produced impressive gains for farmers, though the benefits were not spread equally to agricultural workers who did not own their farms. The Farm Security Administration (FSA), intended to help tenant farmers gain independence was short-lived and had little success due to limited funds and the resistance of large farming interests. Black farmers in the South enjoyed only limited benefits from the New Deal, in part because of Roosevelt's reluctance to risk the interregional coalition that made his legislation possible. (pp. 875–876, 880–882, 896)

• *New Deal and rural America:* The New Deal employment initiatives, such as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and Civil Works Administration (CWA), put unemployed Americans to work making improvements to the nation's infrastructure, including improvements in rural America. The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) was created to build dams and bring affordable electricity to a chronically impoverished region and enjoyed significant success. The Rural Electrification Administration succeeded in dramatically expanding the availability of electricity to rural America, closing part of the gap with urban services. (pp. 873–875)

• *New Deal and industry:* The New Deal's first attempt to address the problems of industry, the National Recovery Administration, did little to deal with major problems of unemployment and underconsumption. Although it was an attempt to assuage the worries of business leaders about the New Deal's goals, it provoked objections from industry and labor and was invalidated by the Supreme Court. It would take the Works Progress Administration to make a dent in massive unemployment and restore some buying power to many Americans. The New Deal also

came to support unions as an important check on the power of corporations and guaranteed the right to organize through the Wagner Act. An enormous expansion of union membership quickly followed. Through the National Housing Act, the New Deal offered some assistance to the urban poor in finding affordable housing. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 reiterated the government's commitment to ensuring a decent standard of living for workers by establishing a minimum wage. Still, there were limits to the New Deal's success; women and minorities continued to earn low wages. (pp. 876–877, 886–888, 889–892)

3. Although the New Deal enjoyed astonishing popularity, some Americans were consistently critical of Roosevelt's reforms. Why? In your answer, discuss three opponents of the New Deal, being attentive to changes over time in their opinions. Were they able to influence the New Deal? If so, how? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Business leaders:* Despite Roosevelt's initially gentle approach to reforming businesses through the voluntary National Recovery Administration, business opposed the New Deal as a radical agenda that undermined democracy, private property, and individualism. Business interests, influential in the Republican Party, continued to try to undermine the New Deal, seizing on political openings such as Roosevelt's disastrous attempt at court packing and the economic downturn in 1938. (pp. 892–896)

- *Left opposition:* Socialists and Communists criticized the New Deal for failing to address what they saw as the underlying problem of the Great Depression, capitalism itself. In 1935, fears of fascism rising in Europe led many radicals, with the encouragement of the Soviet Union, to make common cause with the New Deal. Further, the New Deal's increased commitment to labor undermined their criticisms of the administration as the handmaiden of business. (pp. 883, 898)

- *Radicals at home:* Registering frustration over continued unemployment and the failure of the New Deal to provide sufficient aid to the poor, Father Charles Coughlin blended calls for radical financial reforms with anti-Semitism in his challenge to Roosevelt. Huey Long also made a significant challenge to Roosevelt through his calls for redistribution of wealth. The popularity of their demands contributed to the New Deal's pursuit of a more muscular welfare state through the development of Social Security. (pp. 883–884, 888–889)

4. Although the New Deal extended help to many Americans, all did not benefit equally from the era's reforms. Who remained outside the reach of

New Deal assistance? Why? In your answer consider how politics shaped the limits of reform, both in constituents' ability to demand assistance, and in the federal government's response to their demands. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *African Americans:* Many African Americans, particularly in the South, worked as agricultural workers and therefore did not benefit from New Deal labor reforms such as social security. Other initiatives, such as the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), favored landholders and in practice often harmed sharecroppers. Disfranchisement of African Americans in the South largely cut them off from registering their sentiments by voting. The New Deal coalition's dependence on support from southern Democrats made Roosevelt cautious in his efforts to address poverty and injustice in the South. Still, the New Deal attracted new support from African American voters in the North. (pp. 889–890)

- *Women:* Women were concentrated in fields of work such as domestic labor that were outside the reforms of the New Deal, leaving them without many of the benefits industrial workers enjoyed, such as the promise of a minimum wage promised in the Fair Labor Standards Act. Still, the Democratic Party enjoyed support from women voters and reformers such as Frances Perkins and Mary McLeod Bethune, who took important leadership roles in the administration. (pp. 869, 890)

- *Hispanic Americans and Asian Americans:* Many Hispanic Americans were agricultural workers, and therefore did not enjoy the New Deal reforms such as a minimum wage and social security. Attempts to protect jobs for citizens led to closing off Mexican immigration and the deportation of many aliens. Barred from citizenship, Asian Americans were similarly cut out of New Deal reforms. Without citizenship, many immigrants were unable to vote and use formal politics to make demands. (pp. 889–892)

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Attack on the Bonus Marchers (p. 864)

**Reading the Image:** What does the image reveal about the Bonus March? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *The Bonus March:* The image cannot tell the whole story of the Bonus March, but it does reveal several important themes of the march and the effort

to suppress it. We can see that U.S. soldiers used violence to drive Bonus Marchers from their camp. We can also see that the marchers used violence to resist removal. The Bonus Marchers had been waving American flags to demonstrate their patriotism, and when violence began, they used these flags to defend themselves against attack by U.S. soldiers. The photograph also illustrates the difficult conditions of the marchers' Washington camp. They lived in tents situated on rock-strewn lots. However, the marchers also dressed respectably. Their clothes and their use of the flag suggest that the Bonus Marchers tried to present themselves as ordinary, patriotic Americans who were seeking what was justly owed them.

**Connections:** How did the Bonus March dramatize the ineffective response of government to the Great Depression? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Relationship of the Bonus March and the Great Depression:* The Bonus March provided Americans with an example of the refusal of government to provide relief for Americans suffering from the economic crisis of the 1930s. The Bonus March sought to persuade the federal government to pay World War I veterans a promised stipend, or "bonus," for their service in war. In 1924, Congress had promised to pay tens of thousands of World War I veterans \$1 for every day they had been in uniform, but they stipulated that payment would be withheld until 1945. The destruction of jobs and personal savings wrought by the Great Depression pushed many veterans to the edge of subsistence, and they looked to the promised bonus as a source of relief. In the summer of 1932, thousands of veterans converged on Washington in a self-styled Bonus March to demand immediate payment of their promised stipend. With no jobs to go home to, the Bonus Marchers camped out in Washington, D.C., to lobby Congress and make their case known to the nation. President Hoover refused to pay the bonus, and he then ordered the army to disperse the approximately 20,000 Bonus Marchers camped near the capitol. The news of soldiers attacking defenseless veterans who had come to ask their government for relief convinced many Americans that the Hoover administration cared little about the suffering of ordinary people. In this way, the Bonus March clearly dramatized the failure of the government to effectively respond to the Great Depression.

### City Activities Mural (p. 885)

**Reading the Image:** What features of urban experience does Thomas Hart Benton emphasize in this mural? What ideas and attitudes, if any, link the people shown here? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Urban experience:* In this mural, Benton emphasizes the leisure activities that occupied many Americans living in cities during the 1930s. He shows people on the subway, attending a boxing match, a cabaret show, listening to outdoor music shows, and eating in cafes. Benton has also chosen to highlight activities that took place at night, were seductive, and seemed to challenge the norms for proper behavior. Benton is also careful to show a side of life that completely ignores the hardship and suffering endemic to the nation during the Depression era.

- *Attitudes and ideas:* The attitude expressed by the characters in Benton's mural is one of adventure and fortitude. The people in the mural have embraced the occasionally risqué pursuits offered by city life and have chosen to lose themselves in these activities, perhaps, deluding themselves into believing that the economic climate of the United States was on the rise. All of the activities shown in the mural involve American's spending money; this mural was sponsored by one of the New Deal agencies and, perhaps, was meant to inspire Americans to spend their money on such amusements, thus stimulating the economy.

**Connections:** To what extent does the mural highlight activities distinct to the U.S. cities, compared to urban life in Europe, Africa, or Asia? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Amusements in the United States and the world:* The mural seems to focus on music, especially jazz, which became particularly prevalent in the United States during this period. Cabaret originated in Europe, specifically France, and boxing as well was popular in Europe. These amusements, however, were predominantly of American and European inspiration.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 24.2 Electoral Shift, 1928–1932 (p. 868)

**Reading the Map:** How many states voted Democratic in 1928? How many states voted Republican in 1932? How many states shifted from Republican to Democratic between 1928 and 1932? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Shift in votes:* In the presidential election of 1928, only seven states voted for the Democratic candidate. In the presidential election of 1932, there was a

complete turnaround when only six states voted for the Republican candidate. Between the two elections, an overwhelming thirty-four states switched from voting Republican in 1928 to voting Democratic in 1932.

**Connections:** What factions within the Democratic Party opposed Franklin Roosevelt's candidacy in 1932, and why? To what do you attribute his landslide victory? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Roosevelt's 1932 victory:* Within the Democratic Party, there were some who thought Roosevelt's goals would cause class conflict, particularly eastern dignitaries who did not share Roosevelt's vision of empowering the working class. Southern Democrats who were devoted to white supremacy also proved to be an opposition for Roosevelt. Although he narrowly won the Democratic presidential nomination, Roosevelt secured the presidency with a landslide victory over Republican Herbert Hoover; voters may not have known exactly how Roosevelt planned to fix the country's economy, but his pledge for a "new deal" was enough to sway the majority of the voting public.

### Map 24.3 The Tennessee Valley Authority (p. 875)

**Reading the Map:** How many states were affected by the TVA? How many miles of rivers (approximately) were affected? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Scope of the Tennessee Valley Authority:* Six states were affected by the Tennessee Valley Authority. They were Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Tennessee, home to the major rivers of the Tennessee Valley, received the most benefits from the program. Over one thousand miles of rivers were encompassed by the program.

**Connections:** What kinds of benefits—economic as well as social and cultural—did TVA programs bring to the region? How might the lives of a poor farming family in Alabama or Tennessee have changed after the mid-1930s owing to these programs? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Benefits of the TVA:* The TVA tried to break the long-running poverty of the Tennessee Valley by building dams along the Tennessee River, which would then supply impoverished rural counties with cheap electricity. TVA planners hoped that the development of hydroelectric power would promote economic growth while at the same time maintaining the folkways of the region. Bitter resistance from private power companies prevented full implementation of the TVA, but farm families in Tennessee and Alabama

nonetheless improved their lives through TVA flood control, land reclamation, and jobs.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in "Additional Resources for Chapter 24."*

### LECTURE 1

#### FDR and the First New Deal

In this lecture, impress upon your students the optimism Franklin Delano Roosevelt conveyed to the American people during the Great Depression. When he entered the White House in 1932, he was already committed to the belief that the government's prime role was to respond to the social needs of the country, not to defend abstract principles. Here you may wish to point out Map 24.2, "Electoral Shift, 1928–1932" (p. 868), to demonstrate the resonance of Roosevelt's message. Unlike his predecessor, he was eager to try new remedies to ease the nation's economic plight. Suggest to students that Roosevelt's campaign speeches outlined his theory for an activist government. It is important to remind students, however, that FDR was firmly committed to democracy and capitalism and harbored no desire to supplant America's traditional institutions with radical ones.

As president, Roosevelt signed into law an unprecedented fifteen pieces of major legislation during his first one hundred days in office, all designed to counter the most wrenching effects of the depression. To help students who feel overwhelmed by all the legislation, you can categorize the material and then hit the highlights, always stressing that planning and coordination were the unifying elements of this new legislation. Refer them to the thematic chronology, "Major Legislation of the New Deal's First Hundred Days" (p. 880). Roosevelt tackled banking and finance reform first, endorsing the Emergency Banking Act and the Securities Act. He then sought to provide relief to those with no means of support, creating the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), the Civil Works Administration (CWA), and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). In order to meet the crisis in agriculture, FDR created the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) and signed into law the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) and the Farm Credit Act. (Map 24.3, "The Tennessee Valley Authority," on page 875 shows the area affected by the TVA.) Finally, he turned his attention to industrial recovery and created the National Recovery Administration (NRA).

## LECTURE 2

### *Challenges to the New Deal and FDR's Response*

This lecture conveys that the president faced a barrage of criticism for his programs. Critics on both the right and the left attacked Roosevelt's New Deal for failing to address the country's needs effectively. Demonstrate that many within the business community opposed the TVA and the NRA, for example, because they believed the government had no right to interfere in the economy. They accused New Deal initiatives of ushering in socialism and betraying basic constitutional guarantees of freedom and individualism. Here, you will wish to demonstrate that the Supreme Court concurred; in 1935, it ruled that the NRA violated the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution. Many on the left, however, believed that the New Deal did not do enough to ease the plight of average Americans.

You can then go on to cover three of Roosevelt's most vociferous critics. Father Charles Coughlin, a Detroit priest and radio talk-show host, advocated the confiscation and redistribution of the nation's wealth to ease the lives of the worthy poor. Dr. Francis Townsend, a public health official from California who chastised Roosevelt for not dealing with the problems of the nation's poor, devised an Old Age Revolving Pension plan and started his own movement. FDR received his most serious threat from Louisiana politician Huey Long, who advocated a steeply progressive tax in his "Share Our Wealth" program. Demonstrate that the threats levied against the New Deal forced the Roosevelt administration to shore up its position. Buoyed by strong results in the 1934 congressional election, the Roosevelt administration moved ahead with the Second New Deal. End your lecture by emphasizing the differences between the first and second agendas, explaining how the Second New Deal moved away from central economic planning and, in response to critics, concentrated instead on meeting the needs of various social groups. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) provided work for the unemployed, the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) secured decent working conditions for laborers, and the Social Security Act helped alleviate the plight of the hard-hit elderly.

## LECTURE 3

### *The End of the New Deal*

Begin this lecture by mentioning that Roosevelt, fortified by a stunning victory in the presidential

election of 1936, turned his attention to removing the remaining obstacles to his New Deal reform. Thwarted by the Supreme Court, which had ruled eleven New Deal measures unconstitutional, the president sought to change the makeup of the bench by appointing sympathetic jurists. One justice's change of opinion and the retirement of four other justices gave him a chance to reshape the Supreme Court so that it would never again strike down a piece of New Deal legislation. Mention that although Roosevelt secured the support of the Supreme Court, his scheme riled Republicans and southern Democrats into such a frenzy that they combined forces to obstruct additional reform. To make matters worse for Roosevelt, he assumed (incorrectly) that the reviving economy had completely recovered, and he therefore reversed a number of strategies, causing the recovery to lose momentum. Make it clear that only the infusion of Keynesian economic theory into New Deal policy could have reinvigorated the national economy.

Roosevelt's faith in deficit spending reaffirmed, it looked as if the president was heading toward the Third New Deal, but opposition grew, especially from the right. New initiatives, such as the Farm Security Administration, ran up against the opposition of major farm organizations, were starved for funds, and eventually petered out. In 1938, major New Deal reform initiatives ended when Roosevelt signed the Fair Labor Standards Act into law. The administration then shifted its attention to foreign policy and the threat of world war. As the nation readied its defenses, Roosevelt declared that he had ceased to be "Dr. New Deal" and had become "Dr. Win the War."

End your lecture with a discussion of the possibilities and limits of New Deal reform. Have students consider the ways in which the New Deal articulated the promise of America and the ways in which it failed to live up to that promise. Students may want to discuss, for example, the New Deal's unwillingness or inability to tackle racism in America effectively.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. What Was the Works Progress Administration?

Students may ask about the specific types of projects undertaken by the WPA, which put unemployed actors, writers, and artists to work. You may wish to bring in examples of the interviews that WPA workers conducted with ex-slaves, immigrants, and people who lived in the rural South. Many of these interviews are available online from the Library of Congress at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/wpaintro/wpahome.html>.

Show students one of the state, regional, or city guidebooks that celebrated American life, or play a brief passage from Aaron Copland's *Rodeo*, which the composer wrote under WPA sponsorship. Mention the productions of the Federal Theater Project (FTP), an organization sponsored by the WPA that promised "free, adult, uncensored theater." For the four years of its existence, the FTP reached an estimated audience of 25–30 million people. These examples should help not only to clarify the types of projects undertaken by the agency but also to emphasize the ways in which the WPA celebrated American culture and made it more accessible to the average American.

## 2. Radicalism

Many students may question the degree to which Americans turned to radical ideologies during the depression. You will want to remind them that while the president and members of his administration remained fully convinced of the viability of America's political and economic institutions, many citizens, especially intellectuals, and especially during the early years of the depression, did indeed investigate the possibility of radical change to cure America's ills. For those who seemed particularly disenchanted with traditional paths of American reform, the Soviet Union provided an attractive model against which American ideals and institutions could be measured. The Russian experiment proved particularly appealing to progressives enamored of planning and scientific investigation. But the Soviets' brief flirtation with Hitler's fascist state when the two countries signed a nonaggression pact in 1939 caused many of these intellectuals to reevaluate their own commitment to the Soviet model for the American experience. In any case, most Americans felt that under Roosevelt's New Deal their concerns were at the very least heard and addressed, so they maintained their faith in traditional American institutions.

## 3. Roosevelt's Court-Packing Plan Was "Unconstitutional"

Some students might be shocked to learn of Roosevelt's court-packing plan and assume that his move was both unprecedented and unconstitutional. Tell your students that his scheme was neither. The size of the Supreme Court is not set in stone. Remind them of the Judiciary Act of 1801, which expanded the size of the federal judiciary although it reduced the size of the Supreme Court. (Remind them, too, of the background to *Marbury v. Madison*.) Back in 1914, one of the most conservative members of the Court, James McReynolds, had proposed adding one judge to the lower federal courts for every sitting judge who reached the age of seventy. (McReynolds was seventy-two in 1937.) Congress had considered other plans to alter the size of the Court throughout its history.

Remind students that many Americans grew increasingly frustrated at the Supreme Court for stymieing New Deal efforts. Opposition to Roosevelt's plan stemmed less from outrage at the idea of tinkering with the Court than from the partisan nature of his particular plan.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

There are a number of good documentaries about the Great Depression. *After the Crash*, distributed by Blackside Inc., covers three protest groups—the Bonus Army, farmers in Arkansas, and autoworkers in Detroit—during the early years of the depression. *America Lost and Found*, distributed by Direct Cinema Limited, offers a portrait of Americans as they experienced the Great Depression. *Union Maids*, by New Day Films, tells the story of three women labor activists during the 1930s. *The Uprising of 1934*, directed by acclaimed documentarian George Stoney, looks at the 1934 North Carolina mill strikes. Episode 5, "Shadow Ball," of Ken Burns's PBS *Baseball* series covers baseball's desperate attempt to survive during the Great Depression. The seven-part PBS series *The Great Depression* offers a many-faceted look at the nation's worst economic disaster. There are also a number of biographical documentaries that are worth showing; *FDR and Father Coughlin: Radio Priest*, produced by PBS; *Huey Long*, available from Direct Cinema Limited; and *Harry Hopkins: At FDR's Side*, distributed through the Educational Film Center.

To convey Hollywood's attempt to bolster sagging spirits during the depression, you might consider showing any of a number of popular films: Marx Brothers comedies; Busby Berkeley musicals; *The Thin Man* series, starring William Powell and Myrna Loy; and the Preston Sturges comedy *Sullivan's Travels* all offer escapist fare. *Scarface* (1932) and *Public Enemy* (1931) offer insight into America's fascination with outlaws during the early years of the depression. (You might follow segments of either of these films with "The Road to Rock Bottom," the portion of the PBS series on the Great Depression that covers the exploits of Pretty Boy Floyd. If so, then draw your students' attention to Woody Guthrie's "The Ballad of Pretty Boy Floyd," whose lyrics are printed in the textbook in chapter 23 on page 856.) *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940) and *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939) offer examples of popular social commentary films that suggested the people would triumph. Finally, consider showing scenes from *Gone with the Wind* (1939). Most of your students will be familiar with this classic. Remind them that although the book's story concerns the Civil

War, the movie was filmed in the 1930s. Ask them to think about how the burned-over and ravaged landscape of the war-torn South may have had a parallel in the depression landscape.

### Class Discussion Starters

Consider playing selections of Woody Guthrie's music, available from the Smithsonian Institution's Folkways Recordings, and have students connect the recordings to the letters written by ordinary Americans to President Roosevelt and members of his New Deal cabinet. What sentiments do these documents express?

### Historical Debates

Have your students consider the degree to which the New Deal represented a major change in American life. Was it, as Carl Degler suggested, the Third American Revolution? Or was it a continuation of what had come before? Ask them to think about what aspects of the New Deal were really new, and what elements drew on reforms initiated by Populists and Progressives. How might the United States have been different if Roosevelt's efforts to enact New Deal legislation had been foiled by conservatives and business interests? Would Republicans have been able to continue the status quo? Or would the United States have moved in other more radical directions?

## Additional Resources for Chapter 24

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 24 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 24.1: The Election of 1932 (p. 868)
- Map 24.2: Electoral Shift, 1928–1932 (p. 868)
- Map 24.3: The Tennessee Valley Authority (p. 875)
- Global Comparison: A Balance Sheet of Population, Territory, and Economy, c. 1938 (p. 897)
- Emergency Money (p. 872)
- Okie Family (p. 882)

### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The

following maps and figure from chapter 24 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 24.1: The Election of 1932 (p. 868)
- Map 24.2: Electoral Shift, 1928–1932 (p. 868)
- Map 24.3: The Tennessee Valley Authority (p. 875)
- Global Comparison: National Populations and Economies, c. 1938 (p. 897)
- Figure 24.1: Bank Failures and Farm Foreclosures, 1932—1942 (p. 873)
- Attack on the Bonus Marchers (p. 864)
- Roosevelt's Common Touch (p. 866)
- Okie Family (p. 882)
- Social Security Card (p. 889)
- "All Races Serve the Crops in California" (p. 894)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor's Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 24 include:

- *The Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Brief History with Documents*, by Richard Polenberg
- *Confronting Southern Poverty in the Great Depression: "The Report on Economic Conditions of the South" with Related Documents*, edited with an introduction by David L. Carlton and Peter A. Coclanis

### For Students

#### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 24 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- Franklin D. Roosevelt Proposes an Activist Government: *Speech to the Commonwealth Club, San Francisco, 1932*
- Working People's Letters to New Dealers: *Letter to Frances Perkins, January 27, 1935; Letter to Frances Perkins, March 29, 1935; Letter to Franklin D. Roosevelt, November 23, 1936; Letter to Frances Perkins, July 27, 1937; Letter to Franklin D. Roosevelt, November 27, 1939*
- Huey Long Proposes Redistribution of Wealth: *Speech to Members of the Share Our Wealth Society, 1935*

- A Mexican American Farm Worker Describes the Importance of Sticking Together: Jose Flores, *Interview, Farm Security Administration Migrant Laborer Camp, El Rio, California, 1941*
- Conservatives Criticize the New Deal: Herbert Hoover, *Anti-New Deal Campaign Speech, 1936*; Minnie Hardin, *Letter to Eleanor Roosevelt, December 14, 1937*

**Online Study Guide at**  
**[bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)**

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the

skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 24:

**Map Activities**

- Map 24.2: Electoral Shift, 1928–1932 (p. 868)
- Map 24.3: The Tennessee Valley Authority (p. 875)

**Visual Activities**

- Attack on the Bonus Marchers (p. 864)
- City Activities Mural (p. 885)

# The United States and the Second World War

## 1939–1945

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### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. What foreign policy dilemmas confronted the United States during the inter-war years?
2. What events led to the onset of war? Why did the United States abandon its neutral policy in favor of becoming the “arsenal of democracy”? Why did Japan attack Pearl Harbor, and how did the United States respond?
3. How did America mobilize for war in terms of economic initiatives, “homeland security,” and the raising of an army?
4. Outline the crucial military and diplomatic events of 1941 through 1943. How did the United States turn the tide in the Pacific? What were the prime military objectives in the European theater?
5. What effect did the war have on American society? What role did women and families play in the war effort? How did racial prejudice shape the U.S. war effort, and what was the “Double V” campaign? How did the war influence American politics, and what were the reasons behind FDR’s victory in the 1944 presidential campaign?
6. What military and diplomatic events during 1943 to 1945 contributed to Allied victory? What factors led to U.S. victory over Japan? How did the United States develop the atomic bomb, and why did Harry S. Truman decide to drop the bomb on Japan?

### Annotated Chapter Outline

#### I. Peacetime Dilemmas

- A. Roosevelt and Reluctant Isolation
  1. Although Franklin Roosevelt agreed with most Americans that the nation’s highest

priority was to attack the domestic causes and consequences of the depression, he had long advocated an active role for the United States in international affairs.

2. The depression had forced Roosevelt to retreat from his previous internationalism and he was further constrained by prevailing popular opinion that the country should maintain its neutrality.
  3. Roosevelt did establish diplomatic relations in 1933, formally recognizing the Soviet Union, but turned a blind eye when Hitler began to arm Germany.
- B. The Good Neighbor Policy
1. In his 1933 inaugural address, Roosevelt announced that the United States would pursue “the policy of the good neighbor” in international relations, reversing the old policy of intervention in Latin America.
  2. The commitment to military nonintervention did not indicate a U.S. retreat from empire in Latin America; the United States would continue to exert its economic influence in Latin America, but would not depend on military force in the region.
- C. The Price of Noninvolvement
1. In Europe, fascist governments in Italy and Germany threatened military aggression, and in Japan, a stridently militaristic government planned to follow the invasion of Manchuria in 1931 with conquests extending throughout Southeast Asia.
  2. In the United States, hostilities in Asia and Europe only further reinforced isolationist sentiments.

3. International tensions and the Nye committee report, which concluded that greedy “merchants of death” had dragged the United States into World War I, prompted Congress to pass a series of neutrality acts between 1935 and 1937.
  4. The Neutrality Act of 1937 established the “cash-and-carry” policy, which sought to allow trade but prevent foreign entanglements by requiring warring nations to pay cash for nonmilitary goods and transport them in their own ships.
  5. The desire for peace in France, Britain, and the United States led Germany, Italy, and Japan to launch offensives on the assumption that the Western democracies lacked the will to oppose them.
  6. In Spain, a bitter civil war broke out in 1936 when fascist rebels led by General Francisco Franco and supported by Germany and Italy, attacked the democratically elected Republican government.
  7. Hostilities in Europe and Asia alarmed Roosevelt and other Americans.
  8. Roosevelt sought to persuade Americans to moderate their isolationism and tried to find a way to support the victims of fascist aggression.
  9. Roosevelt proposed that the United States “quarantine” aggressor nations and halt the spread of war’s contagion, igniting a storm of protests from isolationists.
  10. The strength of isolationist sentiment convinced Roosevelt that he needed to maneuver carefully if the United States were to help prevent fascist aggressors from conquering Europe and Asia and leaving the United States an isolated and imperiled island of democracy.
- II. The Onset of War**
- A. Nazi Aggression and War in Europe
    1. Under the spell of isolationism, Americans passively watched Hitler’s relentless campaign to dominate Europe.
    2. In March 1939, after bullying Austria into accepting incorporation with the Nazi Third Reich, Hitler marched the German army into Czechoslovakia and conquered it without firing a shot.
    3. In April 1939, Hitler demanded that Poland return the German territory it had been awarded after World War I.
    4. Britain and France assured Poland they would go to war with Germany if Hitler invaded the country, but Hitler negotiated with his enemy, the Soviet premier Joseph Stalin, offering concessions in exchange for Stalin’s promise that he would refrain from joining Britain and France in opposing Germany’s invasion of Poland.
5. At dawn on September 1, 1939, Hitler unleashed the *blitzkrieg* on Poland.
  6. After the Nazis overran Poland, Hitler paused for a few months before launching a westward *blitzkrieg* that smashed through Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and France in a few devastating weeks.
  7. By mid-June 1940, France had surrendered the largest army in the world, signed an armistice that gave Germany control of the entire French coastline and nearly two-thirds of the countryside, and installed a collaborationist government at Vichy in southern France headed by Philippe Pétain.
  8. The new British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, vowed that Britain, unlike France, would never surrender to Hitler.
- B. From Neutrality to the Arsenal of Democracy
1. When the Nazi attack on Poland ignited the war in Europe, Roosevelt issued an official proclamation of American neutrality.
  2. After heated debate, Congress voted in November 1939 to revise the neutrality legislation and allow belligerent nations to buy arms, as well as nonmilitary supplies, on a cash-and-carry basis.
  3. Churchill pleaded for American destroyers, aircraft, and munitions, but Britain lacked the funds to buy them, so Roosevelt arranged to swap fifty old destroyers for American access to British bases in the Western Hemisphere.
  4. In 1940, while Luftwaffe pilots bombed Britain, Roosevelt decided to run for an unprecedented third term as president.
  5. Empowered by voters after being elected president for another term, Roosevelt maneuvered to support Britain in every way short of entering the war.
  6. In January 1941, Roosevelt proposed the Lend-Lease Act, which allowed the British to obtain arms from the United States without paying cash, instead promising to reimburse the United States when the war ended.
  7. The Lend-Lease Act placed the United States on a collision course with the Nazis, whose U-boats prowled the Atlantic, preying on ships laden with supplies for Britain.

8. Stymied in his plans for an invasion of England, Hitler turned his massive army eastward, launching a surprise attack on the Soviet Union.
  9. As Hitler's Wehrmacht raced across the Russian plains and Nazi U-boats tried to choke off supplies to Britain and the Soviet Union, Roosevelt met with Churchill and signed the Atlantic Charter, which called for, among other things, freedom of the seas and the right of nations to choose their own form of government.
- C. Japan Attacks America
1. Although the likelihood of war with Germany preoccupied Roosevelt, Hitler exercised a measure of restraint in directly provoking America.
  2. Unlike the Germans, Japanese ambitions in Asia, especially in China and the Philippines, clashed more openly with American interests and commitments.
  3. In 1940, Japan signaled a new phase of its imperial designs by entering into a defensive alliance with Germany and Italy—the Tripartite Pact.
  4. When the United States discovered that Japan planned to invade the resource-rich Dutch East Indies, it announced a trade embargo that denied Japan access to oil, scrap iron, and other goods essential for its war machines.
  5. In October 1941, reacting to the American embargo, Japanese militarists, led by General Hideki Tojo, seized control of the government and persuaded Emperor Hirohito and other leaders that the swift destruction of American naval bases in the Pacific would leave Japan free to follow its destiny.
  6. Decoded Japanese messages alerted American officials that an attack on United States forces was imminent somewhere in the Pacific, but nobody knew where and when the attack would come.
  7. Early on the morning of December 7, 1941, Japanese planes attacked the American fleet at Pearl Harbor on the Hawaiian island of Oahu and sank or disabled 18 ships, killing more than 2400 Americans.
  8. The Japanese scored a stunning tactical success at Pearl Harbor, but in the long run, the attack proved a colossal blunder.
- III. Mobilizing for War**
- A. Home-front Security
1. Shortly after declaring war against the United States, Hitler dispatched German submarines to hunt for American ships along the Atlantic coast from Maine to Florida.
  2. By mid-1942, the U.S. navy had chased German submarines away from the East Coast, into the mid-Atlantic, reducing the direct threat to the nation's homeland but the government still worried constantly about espionage and internal subversion.
  3. The campaign for patriotic vigilance focused on German and Japanese foes, but Americans of Japanese descent became targets of official and popular persecution.
  4. On February 19, 1942, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which authorized sending all Americans of Japanese descent to makeshift prison camps, euphemistically called "relocation centers," located in remote areas of the West.
- B. Building a Citizen Army
1. In 1940, Roosevelt encouraged Congress to pass the Selective Service Act to register men of military age, who would then be subject to draft into the armed forces if the need arose.
  2. The Selective Service Act prohibited discrimination "on account of race or color," and almost a million African American men and women donned uniforms, as did half a million Mexican Americans, 25,000 Native Americans, and 13,000 Chinese Americans.
  3. Homosexuals also served in the armed forces, although in much smaller numbers than black Americans, and, like other minorities, they sought to demonstrate their worth under fire.
- C. Conversion to a War Economy
1. In a rush to produce military supplies, factories were converted from producing consumer goods to war materiel, and production was ramped up to record levels.
  2. To organize and oversee this tidal wave of military production, Roosevelt called upon business leaders to head new government agencies such as the War Production Board, which, among other things, set production priorities and pushed for maximum output.
  3. Booming wartime employment swelled union membership and in order to speed up production of war time materials, unions agreed not to strike during the war.
  4. Overall, conversion to war production achieved Roosevelt's ambitious goal of "overwhelming . . . crushing superiority" in military goods and the United States

managed to produce more than double the combined production of Germany, Japan, and Italy.

#### IV. Fighting Back

##### A. Turning the Tide in the Pacific

1. In the Pacific theater, Japan's leading military strategist, Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, ordered an all-out offensive throughout the southern Pacific.
2. By 1942, all that stood in the way of Yamamoto's plan for Japan's domination of the southern Pacific was the American stronghold in the Philippines.
3. The Japanese unleashed a withering assault against the Philippines in January 1942 and by May 1942, Japanese forces had defeated the American and Philippine defenders.
4. By the summer of 1942, the Japanese war machine had swooped from its Philippine successes to conquer the oil-rich Dutch East Indies and was poised to strike Australia and New Zealand.
5. The Japanese had better ships and airplanes than the Americans, but James Doolittle's daring 1942 air raid on Tokyo boosted American morale and showed that even the Japanese imperial capital lay within reach of American might.
6. United States forces launched a two-pronged counteroffensive that military officials hoped would halt the Japanese advance.
7. Victory at the Battle of Midway in June 1942 reversed the balance of naval power in the Pacific in favor of the United States and put the Japanese at a disadvantage for the rest of the war.

##### B. The Campaign in Europe

1. In the months after Pearl Harbor, Hitler's eastern-front armies marched deeper into the Soviet Union while his western forces prepared to invade Britain.
2. The war in the Atlantic remained undecided, but the introduction of radar detectors and sufficient numbers of destroyer escorts eventually drove the Nazi U-boats from the North Atlantic in late May 1943.
3. The most important strategic question confronting the United States and its allies was when and where to open a second front against the Nazis.
4. In response to Stalin's demand that America and Britain mount a massive assault into western France to relieve

pressure on the Soviet Union, Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to open a second front, deciding to strike first in southern Europe and the Mediterranean.

5. The plan targeted a region in the eastern Mediterranean of longstanding British influence; by May of 1943 the Allied armies defeated the Germans in North Africa, made the Mediterranean safe for Allied shipping, and opened the door for an Allied invasion of Italy.
6. In January 1943, while the North African campaign was still underway, Roosevelt traveled to Casablanca to confer with Churchill and other Allied leaders.
7. Churchill and Roosevelt announced that they would accept nothing less than the "unconditional surrender" of the Axis powers, ruling out peace negotiations, and concluded that they were not yet prepared for the invasion of France that Stalin demanded.
8. Leaving Stalin to bear the brunt of the Nazi war machine for another year, Churchill and Roosevelt decided instead to invade Italy and on July 10, 1943, combined American and British amphibious forces landed 160,000 troops in Sicily.
9. The Italian government surrendered unconditionally, but German troops dug into strong fortifications and fought to defend every inch of Italy's rugged terrain for the remainder of the war.
10. Stalin denounced the Allies' Italian campaign because it left the Soviet Army "which is fighting not only for country, but also for its Allies, to do the job alone, almost single-handed."

#### V. The Wartime Home Front

##### A. Women and Families, Guns and Butter

1. Millions of American women gladly left home to take their places on assembly lines in defense industries.
2. Government advertisements urged women to take industrial jobs by assuring them that their household chores had prepared them for work on the "Victory Line."
3. The majority of married women remained at home, occupied with domestic chores and child care; but they, too, contributed to the war effort by planting Victory Gardens, collecting tin cans and newspapers for recycling into war materials, and buying war bonds.

4. The wartime prosperity and abundance enjoyed by most Americans contrasted with the experiences of their hard-pressed allies.
- B. The Double V Campaign
1. Fighting against Nazi Germany and its ideology of Aryan racial supremacy forced Americans to examine racial prejudice in their own society.
  2. In 1941, black organizations demanded that the federal government require companies receiving defense contracts to integrate their workforces.
  3. Responding to this pressure, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, which authorized a Committee on Fair Employment Practices to investigate and prevent race discrimination in employment.
  4. Progress came slowly; although black unemployment had dropped by 80 percent during the war, by the war's end, the average income of a black family still stood at half of that of a white family.
  5. Blacks' migration to defense jobs intensified racial tensions, which boiled over in the summer of 1943 when 242 race riots erupted in 47 cities.
  6. Racial violence gave impetus to the "Double V" campaign, officially supported by the NAACP; although membership in the NAACP greatly expanded, they achieved only limited success against racial discrimination during the war.
  7. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), founded in 1942, organized picketing and sit-ins against Jim Crow restaurants and theaters.
- C. Wartime Politics and the 1944 Election
1. Despite an overwhelming consensus on war aims, the strains and stresses of the nation's massive wartime mobilization made it difficult for Roosevelt to maintain his political coalition.
  2. Republicans took the opportunity to roll back New Deal reforms and abolished several agencies including the Works Progress Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps.
  3. But the Democratic administration fought back, and in June 1944, Congress unanimously approved the landmark GI Bill of Rights, which promised veterans government money for education, housing, and health care and made available low-interest loans so they could start businesses and buy homes when they returned from overseas.
- D. Reaction to the Holocaust
4. Roosevelt, exhausted and gravely ill with heart disease, was determined to remain president until the war ended.
  5. The Republicans, confident of a strong conservative upsurge in the nation, nominated as their presidential candidate the governor of New York, Thomas E. Dewey, who had made his reputation as a tough crime fighter.
  6. Roosevelt's failing health alarmed many observers, but the majority of voters were unwilling to change presidents in the midst of the war and dismissed Dewey's charge that the New Deal was a creeping socialist menace.
- E. The War in Europe
1. The political cross-currents in the United States were tame in comparison with Hitler's vicious campaign to exterminate Jews.
  2. In 1942, numerous reports filtered out of German-occupied Europe that Hitler was implementing a "final solution": Jews and other "undesirables"—such as Gypsies, religious and political dissenters, and homosexuals—were being sent to concentration camps.
  3. Most Americans, including top officials, believed the reports of the camps were exaggerated and only 152,000 of Europe's millions of Jews managed to gain refuge in the United States before its entry into the war.
  4. The World Jewish Congress appealed to the Allies to bomb the death camps and the railroad tracks leading to them but Allied officials repeatedly turned aside such requests, arguing that they could not spare the resources from the military missions.
  5. When Russian troops arrived at Auschwitz in Poland in February 1945, the truth about the Nazi Holocaust was revealed; by the end of the war, Nazi troops had slaughtered nine million victims—mostly Jews.
- VI. Toward Unconditional Surrender
- A. From Bombing Raids to Berlin
1. While the Allied campaigns in North Africa and Italy were under way, British and American pilots flew bombing missions from England to the continent as

- an airborne substitute for the delayed second front on the ground.
2. German air defenses took a fearsome toll on Allied pilots and aircraft until the arrival, in February, 1944, of the P-51 Mustang fighter which gave Allied bomber pilots superior protection.
  3. In November 1943, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin met in Teheran, Iran, to plan the Allies' next step.
  4. Roosevelt and Churchill promised that they would at last launch a massive second-front assault in northern France.
  5. Code-named Overlord, the offensive was scheduled to begin in May 1944 with the combined manpower of four million Americans massed in England along with fourteen divisions from Britain, three from Canada, and one each from Poland and France.
  6. German forces, commanded by General Erwin Rommel, fortified the cliffs and mined the beaches of northwestern France; but, the huge deployment of Hitler's armies to the east to halt the Red Army's westward offensive left too few German troops to stop the millions of Allied soldiers waiting in England.
  7. False radio messages and diversionary bombing led the Germans to expect an Allied invasion where the English Channel is narrowest; the actual invasion site took place 300 miles away on the beaches of Normandy.
  8. On June 6, 1944—D Day—General Dwight Eisenhower launched the largest amphibious assault in world history; within a week, Allied soldiers, tanks, and other military equipment were sweeping east toward Germany.
  9. In February 1945, while Allied armies relentlessly pushed German forces backward, Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt met secretly at Yalta, a Russian resort town on the Black Sea, to discuss plans for the postwar future.
  10. There, Roosevelt secured Stalin's promise to permit votes of self-determination by people in eastern European countries occupied by the Red Army and the "Big Three" agreed on the creation of a new international peacekeeping organization, the United Nations (UN).
  11. While Allied armies sped toward Berlin, Allied war planes dropped more bombs after D Day than in all previous European bombing raids combined.
12. In April, the Soviets smashed into Berlin; Hitler committed suicide on April 30, and on May 7, a provisional German government surrendered unconditionally.
  13. Roosevelt did not live to see the end of the war, and Americans worried about Harry Truman, his successor.
- B. The Defeat of Japan
1. In the Pacific, Americans and their allies attacked Japanese strongholds by sea, air, and land, moving island by island toward the Japanese homeland.
  2. The island-hopping campaign began in August 1942 when American marines landed on Guadalcanal in the southern Pacific, where six months of fighting had showed how costly it would be to defeat Japan.
  3. In mid-1943, American, Australian, and New Zealand forces launched offensives in New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, gradually securing the South Pacific.
  4. As the Allies attacked island after island, Japanese soldiers were ordered to refuse to surrender no matter how hopeless their plight.
  5. While the island-hopping campaign kept pressure on Japanese forces, the Allies invaded the Philippines in the fall of 1944.
  6. By June 1945, the Japanese were nearly defenseless on sea and in the air but their leaders prepared to fight to the death for their homeland.
- C. Atomic Warfare
1. In mid-July 1945, as Allied forces were preparing for the final assault on Japan, American scientists tested the atomic bomb near Los Alamos, New Mexico, sending a mushroom cloud of debris eight miles into the atmosphere.
  2. A delegation of scientists and officials hoped to persuade Japan to surrender by giving a demonstration of the bomb's destructive power, but U.S. government officials rejected the idea.
  3. President Truman heard about the successful bomb test at Los Alamos when he was in Potsdam, Germany, negotiating with Stalin about postwar issues.
  4. Truman saw no reason not to use the atomic bomb against Japan if it would save American lives.
  5. Truman also recognized that the bomb gave the United States a devastating

- atomic monopoly that could be used to counter Soviet ambitions and advance American interests in the postwar world.
6. When Japan refused to surrender unconditionally by the deadline, Truman ordered that the bomb be dropped without warning on Japanese cities not already heavily damaged by American raids.
  7. Japan surrendered on August 14.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 25, the *Questions for Analysis* and *Debate* following the feature *Documenting the American Promise*, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 25.

## Review Questions

1. Why did isolationism during the 1930s concern Roosevelt? (pp. 905–907) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Roosevelt's support for internationalism:* Roosevelt's experience as assistant secretary of the navy during the Wilson's administration made him a champion of the significance of naval strength in the global balance of power. After the war he continued to embrace Wilson's idea that the United States should take the lead in making the world "safe for democracy," and he continued to advocate American membership in the League of Nations during the 1920s. (p. 905)

- *Fascism in Europe:* Fascist governments emerged in Germany, Italy, and Spain during the 1930s. German Nazis began to violate the Treaty of Versailles by invading the Rhineland. Italy invaded Ethiopia and projected fascist power into Africa. Franco overturned the republican government in Spain and built a fascist bulwark in southern and western Europe. (p. 907)

- *Militarism in Asia:* The militaristic government in Japan invaded Manchuria and planned conquests throughout Southeast Asia. Japan also violated naval limitation treaties and began to build its fleet to achieve naval superiority in the Pacific. (pp. 906–907)

2. How did Roosevelt attempt to balance American isolationism with the increasingly ominous international scene of the late 1930s? (pp. 908–912) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Trade measures:* Alarmed by Nazi aggression in Europe but bound by neutrality acts and popular sentiment, Roosevelt urged Congress to repeal the arms embargo to enable France and Britain to purchase arms from the United States. He succeeded and the allies were able to acquire weapons on a cash-and-carry basis. The Lend-Lease Act strengthened the repeals by allowing Britain to obtain weapons and pay for them at the conclusion of the war. (pp. 911–912)

- *Anglo-American alliance:* In August 1941 Churchill and Roosevelt strengthened their alliance through the Atlantic Charter. Along with the pledge of shared commitment to freedom of the seas, Roosevelt promised to continue to supply Great Britain with arms and to look for an opportunity to enter the war with popular support. (p. 912)

3. How did the Roosevelt administration steer the mobilization of human and industrial resources necessary for a two-front war? (pp. 914–921) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Selective Service Act:* The act established draft boards, which registered over 30 million men subject to the draft, making it easy to quickly induct them into the armed forces when war came. (p. 918)

- *Converting the economy:* Roosevelt recruited business leaders to the War Production Board, which helped direct the conversion and push production. The government also issued enormous contracts that guaranteed profits to corporations filling them. (pp. 918–921)

4. How did the United States seek to counter the Japanese in the Pacific and the Germans in Europe? (pp. 921–924) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Japanese success in the Pacific:* With excellent weapons and a sense of strategic urgency, the Japanese had, by mid-1942, made strides toward their goal of conquering the southern Pacific. (pp. 921–923)

- *American counteroffensive:* In Spring 1942, the United States began a two-pronged effort to reverse Japanese advances. General MacArthur attacked the Japanese in the Philippines. In May 1942, Admiral Chester W. Nimitz defeated a Japanese armada in the Coral Sea. Then, in June, alerted by an intelligence intercept, Nimitz surprised the Japanese in the Battle of Midway, which reversed the balance of naval power in the Pacific and put Japan on the defensive for the remainder of the conflict. (pp. 921–923)

- *German warfare in Europe:* German U-boats, aiming to starve Britain into submission by destroying their seagoing lifeline, in 1941 and 1942 sank Allied ships faster than new ones could be built. Hitler's western armies prepared to invade Britain while the rest of his forces concentrated on fighting the U.S.S.R. and capturing the Suez Canal. (pp. 923–924)

• *Allied counteroffensive:* In 1943 the United States employed newly invented radar detectors and newly produced destroyer escorts for merchant vessels to destroy significant numbers of U-boats in the Atlantic, thereby protecting Britain from isolation and German invasion. Delaying their opening of a second front against the Nazis in Europe, the United States first defeated Germans in North Africa and the Mediterranean and then invaded Italy. (p. 923)

5. How did the war influence American society? (pp. 924–929) *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Wartime economy:* Roosevelt responded to Axis aggression by mobilizing the United States economy to produce an overwhelming abundance of military supplies. In order to do this, he called on business leaders to manage the nation's production and guide it toward maximum efficiency. He also called on labor to forego strikes. The government pumped enormous sums into the nation's economy and industry by issuing large contracts. The gross national product quadrupled between 1933 and the conclusion of the war, demonstrating the dramatic expansion of the American economy during wartime. The economic effort required to produce war materiel led to labor shortages that brought women into the traditionally male workforce and put more money into the pockets of the American public than ever before. New Deal restraints on agricultural production were lifted and farm output grew 25 percent every year during the war, providing surplus food to be exported to the Allies. (pp. 924–926)

• *Wartime politics:* The stresses of wartime mobilization made it difficult for Roosevelt to maintain his political coalition and Republicans rolled back some New Deal reforms. Yet Congress extended some elements of the welfare state when it approved the GI Bill of Rights in June 1944 and Roosevelt won his reelection campaign in 1944. (pp. 927–928)

• *Race relations during the war:* Responding to the demands of African Americans, Roosevelt authorized the Committee on Fair Employment Practices to prevent racial discrimination in employment. Five and a half million African Americans migrated north during the war in search of work and better living conditions. Despite overt discrimination by unions and industry, severe labor shortages opened up industrial work to minorities. Emboldened by the wartime ideology of freedom and democracy, African Americans created the Double V campaign to assert black Americans' demands for the rights and privileges enjoyed by whites. Nazi ideology of Aryan racial supremacy made some Americans think more deeply about their country's own racial prejudices. (pp. 926–927)

• *Family life during wartime:* Millions of women joined defense industries and earned wages that

contributed to the incomes of their families, but most of these were single women. Most married women remained at home doing domestic work and child care, including aiding in the war effort by planting victory gardens, saving tin cans and newspapers, and buying war bonds. Despite rationing and shortages, unprecedented government expenditures for war production brought prosperity to many American families after years of depression-era poverty. Unable to buy consumer goods such as tires, gasoline, or washing machines, families instead spent their money on movie tickets, music recordings, and other goods, leading to a 12 percent increase in spending for personal consumption. (pp. 925–926)

6. Why did Truman elect to use the atomic bomb against Japan? (pp. 935, 939–942) *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Costs of victory:* Although the United States and its allies had made decisive gains in the Pacific, the victories came at enormous costs. U.S. military advisers estimated that 250,000 Americans would die in an assault on the Japanese homeland. (pp. 935, 939–942)

• *Truman's willingness:* Although some scientists and officials were troubled about using a bomb with such devastating destructive capacities, Truman's primary concern was how to end the war as quickly as possible with as few additional American casualties as possible. He determined that dropping the atomic bomb would accomplish his goals. (pp. 940–941)

## Making Connections

1. Does isolationism bolster, or undermine, national security and national economic interests? Discuss Roosevelt's evolving answer to this question as revealed in his administration's policies toward Europe. In your answer, consider how other constraints (such as, politics, history, and ethics) affected administration policies. *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Roosevelt's support for internationalism:* Even after the disappointment of World War I, Roosevelt believed the United States should be a leader in world and work with other nations to promote democracy through the League of Nations. (p. 905)

• *Roosevelt's retreat from internationalism:* The crisis created by the Great Depression at home and the need to protect political support for his domestic agenda led Roosevelt to retreat from some of his earlier internationalist policies. For example, he withdrew his support for forgiving the war debts of Europe, as well as his support for the League of Nations. This policy posture, and concern for his domestic agenda, led to his decision not to give American assistance to the

League's efforts to contain German and Japanese aggression, even though he perceived both as a serious threat to peace. (pp. 906–907)

- *Response to growing threat of fascism:* Despite Germany's flagrant violations of the Versailles peace treaty and the alarming rise of fascism in Italy and Spain, staunch isolationists, convinced that profiteering had driven American involvement in World War I, stymied Roosevelt's efforts to convince Americans to intervene against fascism in 1937. (pp. 910–911)

- *Navigating isolationist legislation:* As Nazi Germany's invasions overtook first Poland and flowed further west into Europe in 1939 and early in 1940, Roosevelt tried to balance his understanding of the urgent need to assist France and Great Britain with adherence to the Neutrality Acts, passed only shortly before, to prevent the president from leading the United States into another foreign war. He further pushed the nation toward providing greater assistance with the Lend-Lease Act. (pp. 911–912)

- *Declaration of War:* Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor immediately led to the end of isolation and American entry into World War II. (pp. 912–913)

2. World War II brought new prosperity to many Americans. Why did war succeed in creating the full economic recovery that the New Deal had pursued, but with more limited success? In your answer, discuss both the objectives of specific New Deal economic reforms and the needs of the wartime economy. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Objectives of the New Deal:* The diverse policy initiatives that made up Roosevelt's New Deal were aimed at alleviating the hardship of Americans enduring the Great Depression and to restore the American economy to stability and growth. (*See also chapter 24*)

- *Converting the economy:* Roosevelt responded to Axis aggression by mobilizing the United States economy to produce an overwhelming abundance of military supplies. In order to do this, he called on business leaders to manage the nation's production and guide it toward maximum efficiency. He also called on labor to forego strikes. The government pumped enormous sums into the nation's economy and industry by issuing large contracts. The gross national product quadrupled between 1933 and the conclusion of the war, demonstrating the dramatic expansion of the American economy during wartime. (pp. 918–921)

- *Labor supply:* Expanded production and a workforce drained of millions of men and women serving in the armed forces meant that the demand for labor exceeded the supply. These circumstances brought women and minorities into the industrial workforce in new numbers. They also contributed to keeping wages relatively high even in the face of inflation. (pp. 925–927)

3. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor plunged the United States into war with the Axis powers. How did the United States recover from this attack to play a decisive role in the Allies' victory? Discuss three American military or diplomatic actions and their contribution to the defeat of the Axis powers. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Declaration of war and American sentiment:* The bombing of Pearl Harbor convinced all Americans that isolationism was not a viable stance in the conflict. It galvanized the nation to go to war. (pp. 912–913)

- *Selective Service Act:* This act prepared the nation to mobilize millions of men and women to serve in the armed forces, many through the draft. It also prohibited discrimination in the service, and although this provision was only partially honored. (p. 918)

- *War economy:* The conversion of the economy to war production quickly made up for the ships and production capacity lost at Pearl Harbor. The United States was able to produce more than double the military goods of the Axis powers, ensuring its, and the Allies', ability to wage war effectively. (pp. 918–921)

- *Military actions in the Pacific:* In battles in the Coral Sea and Midway Island, Admiral Chester W. Nimitz effectively countered Japan's dominance in the Pacific, putting them on the defensive for the rest of the conflict. (pp. 922–923)

- *Campaign in North Africa:* The Allied campaign in North Africa opened the Mediterranean for Allied shipping and prepared the way for an invasion of Italy. (p. 923)

- *Opening the second front:* The Allied assault at Normandy opened a second front in the European theater, enabling the Soviet Union and the Allies to squeeze Hitler and exact unsustainable Nazi losses. (pp. 932, 934–935)

4. As the United States battled racist regimes abroad, the realities of discrimination at home came sharply into focus. How did minorities' contributions toward the war effort as soldiers and laborers draw attention to these problems? What were the political implications of these developments? In your answer, consider both grassroots political action and federal policy. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Grassroots actions:* Roosevelt's characterization of World War II as a war for freedom and a level of equality encouraged Americans who saw these goals circumscribed in their own lives to demand changes at home. When African American organizations threatened to demonstrate if Roosevelt did not require the integration of workforces fulfilling federal contract, Roosevelt established the Committee on Fair Employment Practices. Labor shortages also led to gains for

African Americans in procuring work and improved wages. Still, discrimination and inequality persisted. (pp. 926–927)

- *Federal policy:* The Selective Service Act provided for the registration of all men eligible to the draft and prohibited discrimination. Although minorities served in large numbers, they faced discrimination, including, for African Americans, segregated units. The pressing need for personnel in Europe late in 1944 led military leaders to place black soldiers in combat positions in large numbers, rather than using them almost exclusively for manual labor as they had earlier in the war. (p. 918)

- *Double V campaign:* Black migration North and white reaction touched off racial violence in American cities during the war. The NAACP and the Congress of Racial Equality demanded equal rights for black Americans, pointing to the goals of the war Americans were engaged in overseas. (pp. 926–927)

### Documenting the American Promise: Japanese Internment (pp. 916–917)

1. What explains General DeWitt's insistence on evacuating the Japanese after he received the report of military investigators that no acts of sabotage had occurred? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *DeWitt's assumptions about race:* DeWitt discusses the Japanese in racial terms as an “enemy race,” whose “racial strains are undiluted” despite their long residency in the United States. He assumes that race carries with it essential attitudes and values and he rejects the notion that American-born people of Japanese descent might actually see themselves as Americans.

- *DeWitt's reliance on anti-Asian stereotypes:* DeWitt sees Japanese sabotage as inevitable. His belief that “the very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken” comes from his racist assumptions about Japanese sneakiness, and implies that Japanese Americans are simply trying to make Americans complacent so that they can do even more damage.

2. How do the Kikuchi diary and the oral histories of life in the camps describe the meaning of internment for the detainees? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Negative elements:* The oral history and the Kikuchi diary both show elements of the confusion, degradation, and sense of betrayal the subjects felt as a result of internment and their experiences in the camps. In the oral history, Kazue Yamane is particularly upset by the way her family was separated and her communications with her husband censored.

- *Positive elements:* Kikuchi's diary reveals that, for him, at least, the internment experience had some positive elements. Kikuchi says that the experience strengthened his family bonds and let him get to know his family for the first time. His conversations with his friends about democracy also reveal that he found friends and an intellectual community in the camp.

3. Despite the internment of their families and friends in concentration camps, the Japanese American army unit in Italy earned a larger number of citations for combat heroism than any comparable army group. What hints in the documents here might help explain this combat record? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Kikuchi's patriotism:* Kikuchi clearly recognizes the existence of anti-Japanese attitudes but he assumes that he'll be drafted and talks about how it is the best time for Japanese Americans to prove their Americanism. He says, “we can't remain on the fence, and a positive approach must be taken if we are to have a place in fulfilling the Promise of America.”

- *Japanese American appreciation of democracy:* In his discussion with his friends about democracy it's clear that Kikuchi and most of his friends value it and that some of them are willing to make personal sacrifices to maintain it.

4. How did the internment camp experience influence the detainees' attitudes about their identity as Americans of Japanese descent? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Reinforcement of American identity:* Despite the insult of detainment, most of the Japanese Americans in these selections seem to hold on to their pride in being Japanese and American.

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Patriotic Women on the Home Front (p. 926)

**Reading the Image:** According to the illustration, what jobs does the patriotic woman have? To what degree has the woman compromised her femininity, if at all? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Women's jobs:* The woman in the picture illustrates the wide variety of jobs taken on by women during the war, including nurse, farmer, gardener (for victory gardens) signalman, milkman, photographer,

and repairman, as well as traditional women's jobs such as domestic service.

- *Femininity:* This woman does not appear to have compromised her femininity, despite the heavy workload and traditionally male role she has assumed. Although her body is covered with gear and her patriotic clothes are both practical and symbolic, she still has her hair done in a stylish way and has taken the time to apply her makeup.

**Connections:** What important contributions of women to the war effort did Rockwell fail to capture in this illustration? How might American women have responded to this picture in September 1943? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Contributions:* While Rockwell has accounted for many of the avenues through which women contributed to the war effort, he has overlooked the roles that went against traditional conceptions of femininity. He has little equipment here to represent the heavy machinery that women operated in defense plants during the war, and nothing about women's direct contributions to the military through organizations such as the Women's Auxiliary Corps (WACs).

- *Response:* While American women might have been proud of this positive representation of their contributions to the war effort, at least some of them might have resented Rockwell's exclusion of women's contributions that were difficult to align with traditional American conceptions of femininity. Rockwell's depiction of women's efforts during the war does not significantly make mention of the efforts of most married women who elected to remain in the household but still contributed to the war through the Victory Gardens movement and recycling objects to be used in the construction of war materials.

### The Eastern Front and the Allied War Effort (p. 937)

**Reading the Image:** What does the depiction of Hitler on the Russian poster suggest about his leadership and character? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Hitler's leadership:* This poster presents Hitler as a scrawny, frightened, ineffective leader who has been disabled by the combined might of the Allied forces. He appears as a coward, seeming to tip-toe away from the death and carnage he wrought over Europe. His limp hold on his pistol further suggests that his strength is almost gone and eerily foreshadows his own suicide.

**Connections:** What does the poster suggest about the importance of the alliance between the major Allied powers? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Alliance:* The cartoon suggests that it is the combined strength of the Alliance that is tightening the

noose around Hitler's neck. Additionally, the carnage of men and Nazi machinery at the bottom of the picture reflect the power the Allied military is imposing on the Nazi military machine and the overwhelming belief that once Russia allied with Britain and the United States, Hitler's downfall was inevitable.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 25.4 The European Theater of World War II, 1942–1945 (p. 933)

**Reading the Map:** By November 1942, which nations or parts of nations in the European theatre were under Axis control? Which had been absorbed by the Axis powers before the war? Which nations remained neutral? Which ones were affiliated with the Allies? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *European Alliances before the outbreak of World War II:* By 1942, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, parts of France, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Morocco, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, Tunisia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Libya, Italy, Sardinia, Sicily, Germany, East Prussia, and parts of the Soviet Union were under Axis control. Libya, Albania, Sardinia, Sicily, Italy, Austria, Czechoslovakia, East Prussia, and Germany were absorbed prior to the outbreak of World War II. Sweden, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Switzerland remained neutral. Iceland, Great Britain, French North Africa, Egypt, Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Cyprus, and the Soviet Union were members of the Allies.

**Connections:** What were the three fronts in the European theater? When did the Allies initiate actions on each front, and why did Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt disagree on the timing of the opening of these fronts? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Three Fronts:* The eastern front, the western front, and the front in Italy were the three European fronts.

- *The eastern front:* The Allies initiated action in each of the fronts for different reasons. The eastern front was a response to the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union.

- *The front in Italy:* The front in Italy was initiated by Franklin Roosevelt, who felt that the timing was not right to open a western front but wanted to bring substantial damage to the Axis nonetheless.

• *The western front:* The western front was opened on D Day and was meant to fracture the ability of the Nazi army to fight on two fronts. Stalin wanted the other Allied leaders to open a western front much earlier than late 1944 because the Soviet people were absorbing tremendous losses by fighting the brunt of the Nazi army alone. Winston Churchill and Roosevelt felt that the Allied forces were not strong enough to open a western front, so they decided to attack North Africa and Italy while forces gained strength and massed in Great Britain.

### Map 25.5 The Pacific Theater of World War II, 1941–1945 (p. 938)

**Reading the Map:** What was the extent of Japanese control up until August 1942? Which nations in the Pacific theater sided with the Allies? Which nations remained neutral? *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Japanese control of the Pacific:* In 1942, the Japanese controlled territory all over the Pacific and throughout East Asia. The southern limit of Japanese authority was New Guinea, which it contested with the Allies. To the east, it possessed the Dutch East Indies, the European colonies of southeast Asia, and south China. On the Asian mainland, Japan also controlled central and northern China and the Korean Peninsula. In the northern Pacific, it held half of Sakhalin Island and occupied the easternmost islands in the Aleutian chain. Japan also occupied hundreds of small islands in the central Pacific that lay to the east of Hawaii.

• *Allies in the Pacific Theatre:* Japan was stopped in its expansionist plans by the Allied nations of Australia, China, France, Great Britain, and the United States.

• *Neutral countries in the Pacific Theatre:* The Soviet Union remained neutral until the very end of the war, which explains why Japan did not occupy Soviet territory in northeast Asia.

**Connections:** Describe the economic and military motivations behind Japanese domination of the region. How and when did they achieve this dominance? Judging from this map, what strategic and geographic concerns might immediately have prompted Truman and his advisers to consider using the atomic bomb against Japan? *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Japanese Domination in the Pacific:* Japan sought to bring under its control the main population centers of East Asia and the region's vital raw materials. Japan had a thriving industrial economy on its home islands that drew its fuel, iron, plant fibers, and workers from China, Korea, and southeast Asia. Military motivations also influenced Japanese expansion. The

Japanese government came to power by emphasizing martial honor and military conquest. This government hoped that a string of stunning triumphs over the European colonial powers would secure its power for years to come. The 1941 U.S. embargo on oil, tin, and iron and other essential goods gave Japan economic and political incentives to use war again. By 1945, Japan had been weakened but not defeated. It still controlled much of the East Asian mainland and all of its home islands.

• *The decision to drop the bomb:* Truman and his advisers might have looked at a map of the war and decided that a conventional invasion of Japan would be costly. By dropping the atomic bomb on two Japanese cities, the United States delivered a knockout blow to an enemy that made tenacious fighting part of its ideological creed.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in “Additional Resources for Chapter 25.”*

### LECTURE 1

#### U.S. Foreign Policy during the Interwar Years

Start this lecture by conveying Roosevelt's reluctance to abandon America's policy of isolationism. Make the point that although FDR entered the White House just as a rising tide of violent nationalism was sweeping across Asia and Europe, he continued the course of isolationism that the country had pursued since the 1920s. Three main factors contributed to FDR's commitment to isolationism. First, the economic exigencies of the depression made the cries of isolationists seem plausible. Second, the findings of the Nye Senate committee—which concluded that bankers, financiers, and munitions manufacturers had goaded the United States into World War I—convinced most Americans of the virtues of isolationism. Third, in order to ensure the support of the isolationists in Congress for New Deal initiatives, FDR abandoned his inclination to help the League of Nations check the fascist aggression of Japan, Italy, Spain, and Germany. Here, you might have students take a look at Map 25.1, “Axis Aggression through 1941” (p. 908). Make clear to your students that, as early as 1934, FDR and American policymakers were well aware of the dangers the Nazis posed and of their plans to dominate Europe, if not the entire world. In any case, the United States signed a series of neutrality acts between 1935 and 1937.

Next, explain that FDR's commitment to neutrality ended when German troops marched into Poland and

France and when England declared war. FDR immediately set out to persuade Congress to repeal the arms embargo. Congress abandoned neutrality only gradually, first granting selected belligerents the right to buy U.S. weapons on a cash-and-carry basis and later granting lend-lease privileges to Great Britain and, later still, to the Soviet Union.

You may wish to close this lecture by demonstrating that although the United States teetered on the brink of war in Europe, it clashed first with Japan. As the United States increasingly placed pressure on Japan's economic and territorial ambitions, a military clique tightened its control in Japan and developed a plan to launch a devastating attack on U.S. bases in the Pacific, hoping that the United States would sign a peace treaty and leave Japan alone to pursue its goals. Although the United States was aware that a threat loomed, it was completely unprepared for the December 7, 1941, bombing of Pearl Harbor. You might have your students turn to the spot map on page 912 that depicts the bombing of Pearl Harbor and to the photo of Pearl Harbor on page 914 to give them a sense of the devastation inflicted. Congress declared war on December 8, and three days later, fulfilling their obligations under the Tripartite Pact, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States.

## LECTURE 2

### *The Front Line, 1941–1945*

This lecture falls into two parts and will work especially well if you orient your students visually by referring frequently to maps 25.4, "The European Theater of World War II, 1942–1945" (p. 933), and 25.5, "The Pacific Theater of World War II, 1941–1945" (p. 938). The first part of your lecture should cover the initial phase of the war, 1941–1943, during which the United States focused on stemming the tide of Japanese aggression in the Pacific and on saving Great Britain and the Soviet Union from Nazi defeat in Europe. The United States turned its attention first to Japan, which had already captured Guam, Wake Island, Singapore, and the Philippines by the summer of 1942. By April of that year, the United States was ready to strike back, choosing first to display its military might by launching a bombing raid on Tokyo and then launching a two-pronged attack designed to recapture the Philippines and lesser islands in the mid-Pacific. American forces scored tremendous victories on land and sea and turned their attention to defeating Japanese forces in their homeland. In Europe, U.S. forces first had to contend with the German attempt to starve Great Britain into submission. The United States shipped massive amounts of supplies to the besieged country, and by 1943, the

Allies could focus on stopping Nazi aggression on the European continent. By 1943, the defensive phase of the war was over.

The second part of your lecture should cover the final phase of the war, 1943–1945, during which the United States and its allies went on the offensive, facing the daunting task of battling Germany and Japan on their own territory. Germany remained the top priority. In an effort to divert the Nazi troops that threatened to overtake the Soviet Union, Allied troops struck at North Africa, Sicily, and finally Italy. By June 1944, the Allies were prepared to launch a "true" second front; they landed on the beaches of Normandy, liberated France, and began their final assault on Hitler's Germany. In the Pacific, Allied troops moved slowly, island by island, toward Japan, and by June 1945, the United States had all but secured its victory. While meeting with the Soviets in the summer of 1945, Truman learned that the United States had successfully tested an atomic weapon. Eager to end the war in the Pacific, he ordered bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Tokyo surrendered on August 14, 1945.

## LECTURE 3

### *The Home Front*

Although no battles were fought on American soil, the transformation of a peaceful society to one at war changed the nation. Total war meant the total mobilization of the home front to serve the needs of those fighting overseas. Start by concentrating on the ways in which the conversion to war production lifted the nation out of the Depression. Explain that not only did the factories, military bases, power plants, and transportation facilities thrive, but agriculture prospered as well. The booming economy and the labor shortages engendered by the more than fifteen million adults who served in the military resulted in new levels of prosperity for American workers. Moreover, new workers entered the labor force as African Americans and women filled positions vacated by the men who served. Here, you will want to discuss the tremendously powerful icon "Rosie the Riveter," and you may wish to draw your students' attention to the photograph of the female defense worker on page 925 (tell them not to look at the caption, and see if anyone can figure out that the woman is Marilyn Monroe). Other segments of society were mobilized as well, as the government enforced rationing and price and wage restrictions and encouraged folks to buy savings bonds, grow victory gardens, and collect scrap metal—all to aid the war effort. Here could might wish to point out the *Saturday Evening Post* cover on p. 926, which illustrates the multiple ways that women—and men—were encouraged to participate in the war effort.

You will also need to demonstrate that the war against Nazism brought America's racial prejudices to the forefront. Although most Americans repudiated Hitler's plans for the "master race," few were in favor of lifting the bar against Jewish immigration into the United States. African Americans waged the "Double V" campaign (whose motto was "Democracy: Victory at Home, Victory Abroad"), though not always successfully. Japanese Americans suffered a wholesale attack on their civil liberties, as tens of thousands were imprisoned in remote internment camps. Here, have your students discuss Japanese internment using the feature *Documenting the American Promise*: "Japanese Internment" on pp. 916–917. Also have them consider the ideological repercussions of the FBI searching Japanese American homes. In the end, you will want to emphasize that no segment of society escaped the impact of World War II.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. Americans and the Holocaust

Be prepared to answer questions about U.S. policy toward European Jews and the Holocaust. Certainly, Hitler's hatred of the Jews was well known in the United States by the late 1930s. In 1938, Roosevelt called a conference of thirty-two nations at Evian-les-Bains, France, in response to Hitler's burning of Munich's Great Synagogue and subsequent deportation of fifteen thousand Jews to the Buchenwald concentration camp. The president wanted to discuss what countries could accept Jews as émigrés. Roosevelt maintained that the depression and immigration quotas prohibited the United States from taking more than a token number. Only Holland, already densely populated, agreed to take Jews in large numbers. Capitalizing on the world's reluctance to harbor refugees, the Nazis, in late 1938, launched *Kristallnacht* (a night of attacks against Jews throughout Germany), and Hitler devised the "final solution" in 1941. The Germans tried to hide reports of their plan, but news stories leaked to the United States as early as 1942, and the Roosevelt administration confirmed that two million Jews had already been exterminated. U.S. newspapers continued to bury stories of the atrocities in back pages, and the United States did little to bomb the railways running to the concentration camps' gas chambers or to allow more Jews into the United States. Historians have suggested a number of reasons for U.S. reluctance to act. First, Americans were hostile to any immigration into the United States during the depression, fearing the effects of competition on the already drained economy. Second, anti-Semitic

fueled efforts to keep Jews out of the United States. Third, the stories of the Holocaust seemed too horrible to be true. Finally, the Jewish community itself was divided on the issue. Zionists wished to give priority to the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, and other Jewish Americans feared alienating the already anti-Semitic State Department.

### 2. The Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb

Be prepared to answer questions about Harry S. Truman's decision to drop the atomic bomb on Japan. U.S. efforts to develop an atomic weapon began in 1939 when two refugees, Albert Einstein and Leo Szilard, told Roosevelt that it would be possible to develop such a weapon. By the time the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, American, British, and Canadian scientists had already begun work on the project. Information suggested that German scientists were working on a similar project, and American scientists assumed from the beginning that the bomb had to be built and ready to use. Germany surrendered before it finished its bomb and before the United States had successfully tested its own. But while meeting at Potsdam, Germany, to discuss the shape of the postwar world, Truman learned of the explosion at the Alamogordo Air Force Base in New Mexico. Truman's secret Interim Committee of scientists and government officials had originally considered how the bomb could be used to manage the Soviet Union. If the bomb were dropped on Japan, certainly the Soviet Union would not be needed to fulfill its promise of joining the United States in the war against Japan and would thus be prevented from gaining a foothold in Korea and Manchuria. Truman also wanted to save American lives. Intelligence reports suggested that the invasion of Japan scheduled for the fall of 1945 would be a bloodbath. Truman favored using the bomb if it would mean saving American lives. Calling forth memories of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Truman allayed any moral qualms U.S. officials may have harbored about dropping the bomb.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

There are a number of good documentaries about the interwar years and World War II. Episode 4 of *The People's Century*, "1919: The Lost Peace," gives a good overview of the failure of the Treaty of Versailles to end all wars and the rise of fascism in Europe. *The Good Fight: The Abraham Lincoln Brigade*, distributed by First Run/Icarus Films, demonstrates that although FDR maintained a position of neutrality during the 1930s, many Americans considered the rise of fascism

under Franco in Spain intolerable and volunteered to fight for the Spanish republicans. You might also consider showing one of the episodes from Frank Capra's series for the U.S. army, *Why We Fight*, which was designed to give American servicemen a crash course in the virtues of American democracy and the evils of German, Italian, and Japanese fascism and militarism. You might follow this with the episode from *A Walk through the Twentieth Century with Bill Moyers*, titled "World War II: The Propaganda Battle," in which Moyers interviews Capra and his German counterpart Fritz Hippler. PBS has produced a number of documentaries on strategic battles: *Pearl Harbor: Surprise and Remembrance*, *D-Day*, and *The Battle of the Bulge* are especially noteworthy. You could show portions from PBS's biography *FDR*, or *George Marshall and the American Century*, distributed by Direct Cinema Limited.

There are a number of good documentaries about the home front as well. *We Were So Beloved: The German Jews of Washington Heights*, distributed by First Run/Icarus Films, chronicles the lives of German Jews who fled Nazi Germany in the 1930s and resettled in New York City's Washington Heights neighborhood; it would fit in well with a class discussion on America's response to Jewish refugees. Alternatively, the PBS documentary *America and the Holocaust: Deceit and Indifference*, explores the factors that shaped America's response to the Holocaust and asks the question "Why didn't America do more?" *The Homefront*, distributed by Churchill Films Inc., emphasizes the changes America underwent during World War II, especially regarding agriculture, industry, labor, and the status of minorities. *The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter*, distributed by Direct Cinema Limited, covers the government's propaganda campaign to draw women into wartime industries and details the experiences of these "Rosies." Consider showing the segment from the PBS video *Lindbergh* that covers Lindbergh's involvement with the America First Committee and fits in very well with the chapter's opening vignette. Or, you might show the segment from California Newsreel's documentary *A. Philip Randolph* that covers Randolph's proposed march on Washington, D.C., and Roosevelt's signing of Executive Order 8802.

You might also consider showing Hollywood films so students can see what Americans who remained on the home front were watching. Remind your students that World War II was the most profitable period in Hollywood's history. *Casablanca* (1942) remains a classic. *Stage Door Canteen* (1943) offers a campy romance story between an officer and a hostess of New York's famed nightspot. *Mission to Moscow* (1943) gives Hollywood's take on the U.S.–Soviet alliance during the war. *Thirty Seconds over Tokyo* (1944) allowed those at home to experience the action of the war. Alfred Hitchcock's thriller *Lifeboat* (1944) is the story of

shipwrecked survivors, including one Nazi, set adrift on a lifeboat during World War II. You might also want to show segments from other World War II-era favorites, such as *Citizen Kane* (1941) or *Mrs. Miniver* (1942).

## Class Discussion Starters

Ask your students if the United States would have entered World War II had the Japanese not bombed Pearl Harbor. If they say yes, ask when they believe America would have entered. Ask how the war would have progressed had the United States not entered when it did. How would the nature of the battles changed?

## Historical Debates

Students often think that only totalitarian or dictatorial regimes disseminate propaganda. After reviewing Office of War Information posters, and perhaps viewing an episode from Capra's series *Why We Fight*, have your students debate the role of propaganda in a democracy.

## Reading Primary Sources

Using the feature *Documenting the American Promise: "Japanese Internment"* on pp. 916–917, have your students discuss the reasons for DeWitt's arguments in favor of the internment of Japanese Americans on the West Coast. How did the Japanese Americans profiled in the oral history and the diary respond to the internment? Why did they go with so little protest or resistance? Is there a relationship between DeWitt's attitudes and assumptions and Yamane's and Kikuchi's cooperation with their "evacuation"? If so, what is it?

## Additional Resources for Chapter 25

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 25 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 25.1: Axis Aggression through 1941 (p. 908)
- Map 25.2: Japanese Aggression through 1941 (p. 913)
- Map 25.3: Western Relocation Authority Centers (p. 915)

- Map 25.4: The European Theater of World War II, 1942–1945 (p. 933)
- Map 25.5: The Pacific Theater of World War II, 1941–1945 (p. 938)
- Global Comparison: Weapons Production by Axis and Allied Powers during World War II (p. 920)
- D Day Invasion (p. 932)

### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps and figure from chapter 25 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 25.1: Axis Aggression through 1941 (p. 908)
- Map 25.2: Japanese Aggression through 1941 (p. 913)
- Map 25.3: Western Relocation Authority Centers (p. 915)
- Map 25.4: The European Theater of World War II, 1942–1945 (p. 933)
- Map 25.5: The Pacific Theater of World War II, 1941–1945 (p. 938)
- Global Comparison: Weapons Production by Major Belligerents in World War II (p. 920)
- Figure 25.1: World War II and the Economy, 1942–1945 (p. 925)
- Pearl Harbor Attack (p. 914)
- D Day Invasion (p. 932)
- Yalta Conference (p. 934)
- Marine Pinned Down on Saipan (p. 939)
- “Fat Man,” the bomb dropped on Hiroshima (p. 941)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor's Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 25 include:

- *The Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Brief History with Documents*, by Richard Polenberg
- *America Views the Holocaust, 1933–1945: A Brief History with Documents*, by Robert H. Abzug

- *Pearl Harbor and the Coming of the Pacific War: A Brief History with Documents and Essays*, by Akira Iriye
- *What Did the Internment of Japanese Americans Mean?*, by Alice Yang Murray

## For Students

### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 25 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- President Franklin D. Roosevelt Requests Declaration of War on Japan: *Speech to Congress*, December 8, 1941
- A Japanese-American War Hero Recalls Pearl Harbor: Grant Hirabayashi, *Oral Histories*, 1999
- The Holocaust: A Journalist Reports on Nazi Massacres of Jews: Varian Fry, *The Massacre of the Jews*, December 21, 1942
- Soldiers Send Messages Home: Sergeant Irving Strobing, *Radio Address from Corregidor, Philippines*, May 5 or 6, 1942; John Conroy, *Letter*, December 24, 1942; Allen Spach, *Letter*, February 1943; James McMahon, *Letter*, March 10, 1944; David Mark Olds, *Letter*, July 12, 1945
- The War between the Sexes: Willard Waller Foresees the Coming War on Women, 1945

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 25:

### Map Activities

- Map 25.4: The European Theater of World War II, 1942–1945 (p. 933)
- Map 25.5 The Pacific Theater of World War II, 1941–1945 (p. 938)

### Visual Activities

- Patriotic Women on the Home Front (p. 926)
- The Eastern Front and the Allied War Effort (p. 937)

### Reading Historical Documents Activity

- Japanese Internment (pp. 916–917)

# Cold War Politics in the Truman Years

## 1945–1953

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### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. How did U.S. foreign policy shift from grand alliance to containment? What were the origins of the Cold War, and what was Truman's initial response to it? How did the United States seek to build a national security state, and what were the effects of superpower rivalry on U.S. foreign policy?
2. What was President Truman's Fair Deal program? How were his policy recommendations shaped by postwar reconversion and economic concerns? Why did the Fair Deal flounder?
3. Why did the United States commit ground troops in Korea, and what were the consequences of the military implementation of containment? Describe the fate of U.S. efforts in Korea, and explain the war's influence on the presidential election of 1952. What were the costs of the Korean War?
3. At the war's end, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin wanted to make Germany pay for the rebuilding of the Soviet economy, to expand Soviet influence in the world, and to have friendly governments on the Soviet Union's borders in Eastern Europe.
4. In contrast, the United States emerged from the war with a vastly expanded productive capacity and a monopoly on atomic weapons, making it the most powerful nation on the planet.
5. Fearing a return of the depression, U.S. officials believed that a healthy economy depended on opportunities abroad.
6. Both United States leaders and citizens regarded their foreign policy not as a self-interested campaign to guarantee economic interests but as the means to preserve national security and bring freedom, democracy, and capitalism to the rest of the world.
7. Recent history also shaped postwar foreign policy; many Americans believed World War II might have been prevented had Hitler's initial aggression been resisted rather than appeased.
8. Soviet and American interests first clashed in Eastern Europe; Stalin considered U.S. officials hypocritical for demanding democratic elections in Eastern Europe while supporting dictatorships friendly to U.S. interests in Latin American countries.
9. In 1946, wartime Allies also contended over Germany's future, resulting in the division of Germany.

### Annotated Chapter Outline

#### I. From the Grand Alliance to Containment

##### A. The Cold War Begins

1. Although the Allies overcame a common enemy, the prewar mistrust and antagonism between the Soviet Union and the West resurfaced over their very different visions of the postwar world.
2. The Western Allies' delay in opening a second front in Western Europe aroused Soviet suspicions during the war.

10. Early in 1946, Truman, with Winston Churchill, traveled to Fulton, Missouri, where the former prime minister denounced Soviet suppression of the popular will in Eastern and central Europe and famously declared that an “iron curtain” had descended across the continent.
  11. In February 1946, career diplomat George F. Kennan wrote a comprehensive rationale for a foreign policy of containment—the idea that Soviet expansion could be checked “in the face of superior force.”
  12. Not all public figures accepted the toughening line, but those who criticized the administration’s policy met stiff resistance from Truman’s cabinet.
- B. The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan
1. In 1947, the United States implemented the policy of containment that would guide foreign policy for the next forty years.
  2. Crises in Greece and Turkey triggered the implementation of containment through U.S. military and economic aid.
  3. Outlining what would later be called the domino theory, Truman warned that if Greece fell into the hands of leftist rebels, “confusion and disorder” would spread throughout the entire Middle East and eventually would threaten Europe.
  4. According to what came to be called the Truman Doctrine, the United States would not only resist Soviet military power but also “support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.”
  5. Congress authorized aid for Greece and Turkey and later followed with a much larger assistance program for Europe.
  6. In March 1948, Congress approved the European Recovery Program—the Marshall Plan—and over the next five years, the United States spent \$13 billion to restore the economies of sixteen Western European nations.
  7. While Congress debated the Marshall Plan, in February 1948, the Soviets staged a brutal coup against the government of Czechoslovakia, installing a Communist regime, blockading Berlin.
  8. In 1949, after the United States and Britain had airlifted goods to West Berliners for over nearly a year, Berlin was divided into East Berlin, under Soviet control, and West Berlin, which became part of West Germany; the Soviet abandonment of the blockade lent credence to the containment policy.
- C. Building a National Security State
1. Advocates of the new policy of containment quickly developed a defense strategy to back it up, the first aspect of which was the development of atomic weapons.
  2. After learning that the Soviets had successfully detonated an atomic bomb, thus ending the U.S. monopoly on nuclear weapons, Truman approved development of an even deadlier weapon, a hydrogen bomb; the Soviets soon followed with their own hydrogen bomb.
  3. From the 1950s to the 1980s, deterrence formed the basis of American nuclear strategy.
  4. The second component of U.S. defense strategy was to beef up its conventional military power by forming the National Security Council, to advise the president, making women’s military branches permanent, renaming the War Department the Department of Defense, enacting a peacetime draft, and increasing defense expenditures in order to deter Soviet threats that might not warrant nuclear retaliation.
  5. Collective security, the third prong of postwar military strategy, also developed during the Berlin showdown, a year after which the United States joined NATO to counter the Soviet threat to Western Europe, a further element of defense strategy involving foreign assistance programs to strengthen friendly countries.
  6. The fifth element of containment was development of the government’s espionage capacities and the means to deter communism through covert activities through the creation of the Central Intelligence Agency.
  7. Lastly, the government intensified propaganda efforts to win hearts and minds throughout the world.
  8. By 1950, the United States had abandoned its age-old tenets of foreign policy.
- D. Superpower Rivalry around the Globe
1. Efforts to implement containment moved beyond Europe to Africa, Asia, and the Middle East where liberation movements against weakened imperial powers were surging.

2. The United States promoted the idea of self-determination, granted independence to the Philippines, and encouraged European nations to withdraw from their Asian and African empires; the United States and the U.S.S.R. both strived to cultivate relationships with emerging nations' governments that were friendly to their own interests.
  3. Leaders of many liberation movements, impressed with the rapid economic growth of Russia, adopted socialist or Communist ideas, although few had formal ties with the Soviet Union.
  4. Civil war raged in China, where Communists led by Mao Zedong fought the corrupt and incompetent official Nationalist government under Chiang Kai-shek.
  5. After providing almost \$3 billion in aid to the Nationalists, Truman's advisers believed that further aid would prove fruitless given the ineptness of Chiang's government; in October 1949, Mao established the People's Republic of China.
  6. With China in turmoil, the administration reconsidered its plans for postwar Japan; by 1948 United States policy had shifted from decentralizing Japan's economy to a focus on reindustrializing it.
  7. The one area where cold war considerations did not control American policy was Palestine, where Truman committed the U.S.'s support to the new state of Israel despite his administration's experts' insistence that American-Arab friendship was critical to protect against Soviet influence in the Middle East and to secure access to Arabian oil.
- II. Truman and the Fair Deal at Home**
- A. Reconversion to a Peacetime Economy
1. Despite certain deprivations during World War II, most Americans had enjoyed a higher standard of living than ever before.
  2. Worried about both sustaining that standard and providing jobs for millions of returning soldiers, Truman asked Congress to enact a twenty-one-point program of social and economic reforms.
  3. Congress approved only one of Truman's key proposals—full-employment legislation—and even that was watered down.
  4. Inflation, not unemployment, turned out to be the most severe problem in the early postwar years.
5. Labor relations also troubled Truman's administration as workers, especially women who had joined the workforce during the war, saw their wages decline.
  6. Unions sought to preserve wartime gains with the one weapon they had relinquished during the war—the strike.
  7. Although most Americans approved of unions in principle, they became fed up with strikes, blamed unions for rising prices and shortages of consumer goods, and called for more government restrictions on organized labor.
  8. Despite these problems, by 1947 the nation had survived the strains of reconversion and avoided a postwar depression.
  9. The nation's gratitude to its returning soldiers provided yet another economic boost, resulting in the only large welfare measure passed after the New Deal, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act.
- B. Black and Mexican American Push for their Civil Rights
1. Black veterans as well as civilians resolved that the return to peace would not be a return to the racial injustices of prewar America.
  2. In the postwar years, individual African Americans broke through the color barrier, achieving several "firsts," but, in most respects little had changed, especially in the South, where violence greeted African Americans' attempts to assert their rights.
  3. The cold war heightened American leaders' sensitivity to racial issues, as the United States and Soviet Union competed for the allegiance of newly independent nations with nonwhite populations.
  4. Wrestling with the Democrats' need for northern black and liberal votes as well as white southern votes, Truman acted more boldly on civil rights than any previous president.
  5. Like with much of his domestic program, the president failed to follow up aggressively on his bold words that all Americans should have equal rights to housing, education, employment, and the ballot.
  6. Nonetheless, Truman broke sharply with the past and used his office to set a moral agenda for the nation's longest unfulfilled promise.
  7. Although discussions of race and civil rights initiatives were usually linked to African Americans, Mexican Americans

- endured similar injustices, such as the routine segregation of children in the public schools, and they too raised their voices after World War II.
- C. The Fair Deal Flounders
1. Republicans capitalized on public frustrations with economic reconversion in the 1946 congressional elections, accusing the administration of “confusion, corruption, and communism.”
  2. The Republican-dominated Eightieth Congress weakened some reform programs and enacted tax cuts favoring higher-income groups.
  3. In 1947, organized labor took the most severe attack, when, over Truman’s veto, Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act, reducing the power of unions and making it more difficult to organize workers.
  4. As the 1948 elections approached, Truman faced not only a resurgent Republican Party headed by its nominee, Thomas E. Dewey, but also two revolts within his own party, Henry Wallace on the left and Strom Thurmond on the right.
  5. Nearly alone in believing he could win, Truman crisscrossed the country by train and gained supporters, stunning the country with his election victory.
  6. However, Truman failed to turn his election victory into success for his Fair Deal agenda.
  7. With southern Democrats often joining the Republicans, Congress rejected Truman’s civil rights measures and proposals for a federal health care program, aid to education, and a new agricultural program to benefit small farmers and consumers.
  8. Although Truman blamed political opponents for defeating his Fair Deal, the president chose to devote much more energy to foreign policy than to his domestic proposals.
- D. The Domestic Chill: McCarthyism
1. Truman’s domestic program also suffered from a wave of anti-Communist hysteria that weakened both left and liberal forces.
  2. Republicans who had attacked the New Deal as a plot of radicals, now jumped on revelations of Soviet espionage and cold war setbacks, such as the Communist triumph in China, to accuse Democrats of fostering internal subversion.
  3. Senator Joseph McCarthy’s influence was so great that McCarthyism became a term synonymous with the anti-Communist crusade.
4. At the peak of the hysteria, the U.S. Communist Party counted only about 20,000 members and took part mostly in activities that had already been taking place before the cold war had made the Soviet Union an enemy.
  5. In 1947, Truman issued Executive Order 9835 establishing loyalty review boards to investigate federal employees; hundreds of employees were fired or resigned over accusations of disloyalty or “sexual perversion.”
  6. The House Un-American Activities Committee investigated government employees and the movie industry; targets of the investigations often lost their jobs and suffered public ostracism.
  7. The administration also went directly after the Communist Party, prosecuting its leaders under the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which made it a crime to “advocate the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence.”
  8. The domestic cold war spread beyond the nation’s capital to state and local governments, which investigated citizens, demanded loyalty oaths, fired individuals suspected of disloyalty, banned books from public libraries, and more.
  9. Overall, McCarthyism caused untold economic and psychological harm to individuals innocent of breaking any law.
- III. The Cold War Becomes Hot: Korea
- A. Korea and the Military Implementation of Containment
1. After World War II, Korea was divided into two occupation zones at the thirty-eighth parallel: the north, supported by the Soviet Union, and the south, supported by the United States.
  2. Skirmishes between North and South Korean troops had occurred since 1948; in June 1950, however, 90,000 North Koreans swept into South Korea.
  3. On June 30, six days after learning of the invasion, Truman decided to commit ground troops, assuming that the Soviet Union and/or China had instigated the attack.
  4. Sixteen nations, including many NATO allies, sent troops to Korea, but the United States furnished most of the personnel and weapons, deploying almost 1.8 million troops and dictating military strategy.

5. By mid-October, UN forces had pushed the North Koreans back to the thirty-eighth parallel; the United States was faced with the decision of whether to invade North Korea and seek to unify the country.
- B. From Containment to Rollback to Containment
  1. Transforming the military objective from containment to elimination of the enemy and unification of Korea enjoyed popular and official support.
  2. With UN approval, U.S. forces moved beyond the thirty-eighth parallel; by December 1950, the North Koreans, with help from the Chinese, had recaptured Seoul.
  3. Under the leadership of General Matthew B. Ridgway, the Eighth Army turned the tide, again, pushing North Korean forces back to the thirty-eighth parallel.
  4. Truman favored a negotiated settlement, but General Douglas MacArthur, commander of the UN forces, challenged this plan.
  5. MacArthur took his case to the public, in effect challenging the president's authority to make foreign policy and violating the principle of civilian control over the military.
  6. Fed up with MacArthur's insubordination, Truman fired him in April 1951; but many people sided with MacArthur, reflecting American frustration with containment.
- C. Korea, Communism, and the 1952 Election
  1. Popular discontent with Truman's war gave the Republicans a decided edge in the election of 1952.
  2. General Dwight D. Eisenhower, popular with the American public following World War II and current commander of NATO forces, defeated Robert Taft for the Republican Party's nomination.
  3. Eisenhower chose Richard M. Nixon as his running mate to help appease the Republican right wing and ensure that anticommunism would be a major theme of the campaign.
  4. Truman decided not to run for reelection and the Democrats nominated Adlai E. Stevenson, a popular governor of Illinois, acceptable to both liberals and southern Democrats.
  5. Republicans harped on communism at home and failure to achieve victory in Korea and voters registered their confidence in Eisenhower's ability to end the war.
- D. An Armistice and the War's Costs
  1. Eisenhower made good on his pledge to end the Korean War; the armistice left Korea divided at the 38th parallel, with North and South separated by a 2.5-mile-wide demilitarized zone.
  2. The war took the lives of 36,000 Americans and wounded more than 100,000; South Korea lost more than 1 million people to war-related deaths; North Korea and China had 1.8 million killed or wounded.
  3. The Truman administration judged the war a success for containment, because the United States had supported its promise to help nations that were resisting communism; despite both presidents' threats to use nuclear bombs, the war had been limited to conventional weapons.
  4. The war had an enormous effect on defense policy and spending, leading to a huge increase in defense spending and a tripling of the armed forces.
  5. The Korean War convinced the Truman administration to expand its role in Asia by increasing aid to the French, who were fighting to hang on to their colonial empire in Indochina.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 26, the *Questions for Analysis* and *Debate* following the feature *Documenting the American Promise*, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 26.

## Review Questions

1. Why did relations between the United States and the Soviet Union deteriorate after World War II? (pp. 949–960) *Answer would ideally include:*
  - *Absence of a common enemy:* Only opposition to a common threat had suppressed conflict between the Soviet Union and the West. After defeat of the Axis powers, ideological and political differences reemerged dramatically. (pp. 949–951, 954)

• *Differing experiences of the war itself:* The Soviet Union had suffered massive human and economic losses during the war and wanted to both punish Germany and protect its borders. The United States in contrast had not endured extended fighting on its shores and emerged from the conflict with new strength. These different perspectives added to conflict about how to approach the postwar world, especially in Eastern Europe and Germany. (pp. 949–951, 954)

• *Economic pressures:* After the war, the United States perceived access to foreign markets and goods as crucial to forestalling an economic depression and continuing American economic expansion. The desire to have politically and economically sympathetic partners abroad added to competition and tension with the Soviet Union. (pp. 949–950)

• *Containment and Global Politics:* George F. Kennan's analysis of the Soviet threat gave rise to the policy of containment that attempted to restrain Soviet power by combating socialism and communism around the globe. He maintained that Soviets' insecurity at home led them to pursue aggressive, expansionist policies abroad, which made negotiations impossible. Using arms and dollars, the United States tried to cultivate friendly regimes and markets around the world. This approach, manifest in the Marshall Plan and later in the Point IV Program providing aid to newly liberated third world countries, confirmed and expanded conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. (pp. 951, 954)

2. Why did Truman have limited success in implementing his domestic agenda? (pp. 960–972) *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Thumbnail of the Fair Deal:* Truman's domestic agenda proposed initiatives in employment (Employment Act of 1946), civil rights (Committee on Civil Rights), housing (Housing Act of 1949), education (GI Bill), and health care. (pp. 961–968)

• *Reconversion:* Converting the American economy from wartime to peacetime production in the short term produced inflation, worker dislocation, and labor conflict. (pp. 961, 964)

• *Republican control of Congress:* Dissatisfaction with the economy contributed to Republican electoral gains in 1946. Republicans opposed much of Truman's legislative agenda and enacted laws such as the Taft-Hartley Act that eroded organized labor's power over Truman's veto. (pp. 968–970)

• *Fractures within the Democratic Party:* Truman faced opposition within his own party as members broke off and formed splinter parties on the left (Progressive Party) and the right (States' Rights Party or Dixiecrats). After his surprise victory in 1948, Truman

often lost votes on policy initiatives such as civil rights as southern Democrats voted with Republicans. (pp. 968–970)

• *Virulent anticommunism:* This weakened liberals and provided Republicans such as Joseph McCarthy a platform for attacking the Democratic Party, particularly following failures in containment abroad. This movement diverted Truman from advancing the Fair Deal. (pp. 970–972)

• *Foreign Affairs:* Matters abroad consumed much of Truman's energy and political capital. Failures in Korea and criticisms by popular General Douglas MacArthur, eroded the president's standing and his ability to advance his domestic agenda. (pp. 970, 975)

3. How did the Korean War shape American foreign policy in the 1950s? (pp. 972–977) *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Thumbnail of the conflict:* After World War II and the ejection of the Japanese, the United States and the Soviet Union created two occupation zones separated by the thirty-eighth parallel. North of the line became Communist North Korea, and south of the line, anti-Communist South Korea. In June 1950, North Koreans made significant military incursions into the South. The United States led a UN sponsored effort to repel the attack. (pp. 972–974)

• *Korea as a case study in containment:* The war ended in an armistice and the restoration of the old boundary. Although Truman judged the war a success for containment, it had exposed Americans' frustrations with the policy. Many had supported General MacArthur's desire to push beyond restoring the integrity of South Korea's border to facilitate the unification of Korea and the elimination of communist influence on the peninsula. (pp. 974–975)

• *Expansion of military spending:* Following the Korean War, the National Security Council warned that the security of the United States depended on an enormous expansion of the nation's capacity to act as a military world power. Their proposal to expand the military met with approval, and by 1953, 60 percent of the federal budget went to defense spending, and the armed forces had tripled in size. This military expansion confirmed commitment to containment and expanded the resources for pursuing such policy. (p. 977)

• *Ambiguous legacy for American involvement in Asia:* Although some, including MacArthur's successor, General Matthew Ridgway, took away the lesson that the United States should never again pursue a land war in Asia, the conflict contributed to American involvement in Indochina. (p. 977)

## Making Connections

1. Containment shaped American actions abroad for almost half a century. Why did it become the dominant feature of American foreign policy after World War II? In your answer, discuss both proponents and opponents of the policy. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Legacy of World War II:* When the Grand Alliance, born of sharing a common enemy, broke apart, the ideological and strategic conflicts between the United States and the Soviet Union reemerged. In the disputes over how to manage the political reorganization of the world, particularly land held or conquered by the Axis powers, the United States perceived the Soviet Union as an enormous threat. Further, American critique of the policy of appeasement first adopted in responding to Hitler's aggression led to pursuing a more aggressive policy toward Stalin and the Soviet Union. (pp. 949–954)

- *Thumbnail of containment:* George F. Kennan asserted that domestic weaknesses, more than ideology, led the Soviets to overstate foreign threats in order to expand their power. He argued that this meant that negotiations were impossible and only American demonstration of superior force would weaken Soviet power. This policy attempted to restrain Soviet power by combating the expansion of socialism and communism around the globe. The policy of containment represented a dramatic departure from earlier U.S. policy in its global reach, and dependence on deploying American troops and dollars in quantity. (pp. 951, 954)

- *Implementing containment:* Leftist pressure against the governments in Greece and Turkey gave Truman the opportunity to implement this new policy and convince the American public of its wisdom. Truman explained the need for American intervention to help these countries resist such pressures by arguing that the fall of one of these countries could lead the whole of Europe and the Middle East into chaos. Truman cast American intervention abroad as protecting Americans at home. A similar understanding of the need to forestall the expansion of leftist governments in Europe informed the implementation of the Marshall Plan. (pp. 954–958)

- *Opponents of containment:* Containment faced some opposition even within Truman's government. Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace openly criticized the policy for failing to take the Soviet Union's concerns about security seriously, as well as its compromise of the idea of regional spheres of influence. Republicans, particularly the vocal Robert Taft, opposed containment and the enormous defense spending and ongoing American presence in Europe

it authorized. When containment moved from theory to practice, as in the Korean War, many Americans expressed frustration at the costliness of a policy that intended only to ensure the status quo rather than defeat the enemy once and for all. (pp. 954, 975)

2. How did returning American servicemen change postwar domestic life in the areas of education and civil rights? In your answer, discuss how wartime experiences influenced their demands. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Economic impact:* The return of soldiers, combined with the end of wartime production levels and overtime, reduced incomes of many working Americans. Women, who had entered the industrial workforce during the war, were forced back into the service sector and other low-paying jobs. Unions, whose membership had expanded dramatically during the war, worked to preserve wartime gains. Despite short-term economic constrictions after the war, the reconversion of the economy was successful and most Americans enjoyed new prosperity in the postwar economy. The benefits former soldiers received through the Servicemen's Readjustment Act (the GI Bill) enabled many to buy houses and go to school, further strengthening the economy. (pp. 961–964)

- *Civil rights demands:* Black migration north during wartime strengthened African American political clout. For many African American servicemen, the experience of fighting fascism abroad and serving the nation strengthened their resolve to resist discrimination at home. Some even appealed to the United Nations to pressure the U.S. government to act on their behalf. Mexican Americans also cited their military service in their demands for equal treatment. (pp. 964–965, 968)

3. Why did anti-Communist hysteria sweep the country in the early 1950s? How did it shape domestic politics? In your answer, be sure to consider the influence of developments abroad and at home. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Collapse of the Soviet-American alliance:* The collapse of the Grand Alliance and the emergence of the Soviet Union as the United States' primary international rival reignited American anticomunism. (pp. 949–954, 970–972)

- *Expansion of communism abroad:* The establishment of the People's Republic of China demonstrated that communists could succeed abroad and was evidence that American foreign policy had limits in its ability to restrict the expansion of communism. (p. 959)

- *Revelations of Soviet espionage:* Testimony from former Communists that they and others had assisted the Soviet Union gave the revelations some degree of credibility. (pp. 970–971)

• *Domestic political maneuvering:* Republicans used the Communist triumph in China to accuse Democrats of fostering internal subversion at home. Both parties strained to demonstrate that they were the most stridently anti-Communist with chilling effects. Senator Joseph McCarthy led the Congress in investigations of accused communists often under the flimsiest of pretexts. President Truman introduced a “loyalty program” that required every federal employee to be investigated for communist ties, which cost many Americans their jobs. (pp. 970–972)

### Documenting the American Promise: The Emerging Cold War (pp. 952–953)

1. What lessons did these three leaders draw from World War II? What did they see as the most critical steps to preventing another war? *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Joseph Stalin:* Stalin declares that one of the causes of war in the world is the unevenness of capitalist development; the implication of this statement lies in Stalin’s idea that war would not happen in a communist world. He also remarks that the Soviet victory in the war demonstrates its strength and power in the world. Taken together, he implies that the spread of Soviet power and a communist system throughout the world would prevent another war.

• *Winston Churchill:* Following World War II, Churchill’s view of world affairs places the United States at the pinnacle of world power and urges the Soviet Union to secure its western borders. He depicts the Soviet Union as a country that admires strength and has no respect for military weakness, but also portrays Stalin and the Soviet Union as expansive, proselytizing, and aggressive in Eastern Europe. His speech suggests that the United States, along with Great Britain and Canada, needs to show strength to protect the world against the spread of communist influence and totalitarianism at the hands of the Soviet Union.

• *Henry Wallace:* Wallace suggests that the lessons of the war are that strong weapons do not guarantee peace, and that the U.S. should not rely on the British for information about affairs in Europe and Asia. He also says that, in order to prevent further war, the United States needs to study and understand Russian character, politics, and foreign policy. The solution, he says, is not a “get tough” policy, but recognizing that the United States has no business in the political affairs of Eastern Europe and that the United States can only get cooperation from the U.S.S.R. if both countries engage in respectful, friendly competition and mutual understanding.

2. What differences did these men see between the political and economic systems of the Soviet Union on the one hand and the United States and Western Europe on the other? How do their predictions about these systems differ? *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Joseph Stalin:* Stalin believes capitalist economies as prone to uneven development and crisis and their political systems as inadequate to deal with emerging crises except by use of force. He views the Soviet economy as a more consistent producer and a fairer distributor of goods that can uniformly improve living standards for everyone, and suggests that the Soviet political system is popularly supported, more stable than others, and will eventually predominate.

• *Winston Churchill:* Churchill views the economies and governments of the United States and Western Europe as free, democratic, fair, and rational. He sees the government of the U.S.S.R. as totalitarian, aggressive, authoritarian, and controlling, but also warns that the U.S.S.R. will predominate the world unless the United States and Western European nations do their duty and resist its efforts.

• *Henry Wallace:* Wallace does not really address differences in the economic systems of the two sides except to say that the United States is a free enterprise system. He implies that the political systems on both sides are different from one another, and calls the United States a democracy, but does not argue forcefully that one is superior to the other. He states that, with mutual respect and friendly competition, the two will become more alike with the United States doing more to solve the problems of social and economic justice, and the U.S.S.R. doing more to protect individual freedoms.

3. What motives did these three men ascribe to Soviet actions? How do Churchill’s and Wallace’s proposals for the Western response to the Soviet Union differ? *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Joseph Stalin:* Stalin lays out Soviet plans for the post-war world as if the country is proceeding to use its superior social and economic system to rebuild itself and to increase the quality of life and standard of living for everyone. He also believes that the country will continue to develop itself so that it will “be insured against any eventuality.”

• *Winston Churchill:* Churchill ascribes Soviet actions to the country’s expansive and proselytizing tendencies, its efforts to obtain totalitarian control in Eastern Europe, and the Communist center’s demands of unity and absolute obedience.

• *Henry Wallace:* Wallace describes the Soviet Union’s actions as a defensive response based on its history as a country in a strategic location that has

been invaded many times. He suggests, too, that the U.S.S.R. has misinterpreted some of the actions of the United States and England and that, once the Soviets understand the real agenda of the West, they will back down.

4. Which leader do you think was most optimistic about the prospects for good relationships between Russia and the West? Which was most correct? Why? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Most optimistic:* Henry Wallace is clearly the most optimistic of the three about the potential for good relations between the two superpowers. He suggests that it is possible for the two powers to understand one another, cooperate with one another, and to become more alike over time.

- *Most correct:* There is no one right answer to this question. Answers will depend on students' political perspectives. Make sure that students are clear on the ways that each of these speakers is projecting his own interpretation of the events that were unfolding at the time, and not expressing some objective truth.

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Women's Role in Peacetime (p. 960)

**Reading the Image:** The ad promotes an iron, toaster, a waffle maker, and a roaster. Which of these are not in widespread use today? Why do you think this is so? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Appliances in use today:* The grill/oven combination and, to a lesser extent, the automatic toaster are not in great use today because newer technologies have produced faster or easier products to replace them.

**Connections:** Why do you think a woman was featured in this ad? What message about women's employment during and after the war is conveyed here? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Reasons for depicting a woman in the advertisement:* The ad features a woman because, despite the advances women had made in the workplace during the war, household chores such as cooking and laundry were still seen as women's work.

- *Womens' employment during and after the war:* The message conveyed about women's employment

might be viewed as ambiguous. While the most prominent woman in this advertisement is clearly a housewife, the women in the background might be viewed as the workers on the assembly line producing the Proctor products for homemakers. Alternatively, the suggestion might be that the women who were on the assembly lines during wartime have left the workplace and returned to the home, as some many women did after the war.

### Truman's Whistle-Stop Campaign (p. 969)

**Reading the Image:** This photo was taken one month before the election. Do you think Thomas Dewey had second thoughts on seeing such large crowds gather in support of Truman? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Dewey v. Truman:* If Dewey had noticed the photograph, he might have become somewhat concerned, but no pollster predicted that Truman had a chance to win the election. Dewey was immensely popular in the Northeast, and he would have noticed that the photo was from a rally in Bridgeport, Pennsylvania—one of the states where Dewey won a large number of electoral votes. Perhaps the Republican candidate might have thought that such a large crowd always was present wherever a president travels. Nonetheless, it was Truman's hard campaigning that outshone the more reticent Dewey on election day.

**Connections:** President Truman was under attack by the Republicans and could not enact the Fair Deal. Almost everyone thought he would lose the election. Why do you think the American people responded so well to his campaign? In what ways have presidential campaigns changed since Harry Truman's time? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *America's response to Truman:* Truman was a great campaigner, and no doubt many Americans responded to his fiery rhetoric and determination to win. Truman's victory also attests to the still-powerful New Deal coalition. Although he lost parts of the Deep South to the States' Rights candidate, J. Strom Thurmond, Truman remained strong in the western states that benefited from the growth of the defense industry. The booming economy certainly also helped Truman's cause, as there have been few times in American history when a sitting president has lost in a strong economy.

- *Political campaigns in the 1950s vs. campaigns today:* Presidential candidates still tour the country visiting voters, much like Truman did in his whistle-stop campaign, but the campaign process has been most transformed by the advent of television and, later, of the Internet.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 26.1 The Division of Europe after World War II (p. 951)

**Reading the Map:** Is the division of Europe between NATO, Communist, and neutral countries about equal? Why would the location of Berlin pose a problem for the Western allies? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Division of Europe:* In terms of a simple numerical count, the division of Europe seems almost equal between NATO, Communist, and neutral countries. There are eight Communist countries, ten NATO countries, and nine neutral countries. Simple counting, however, does not address the concept of equality in terms of economic power, industrial base, military power, and landmass.

- *Berlin:* The location of Berlin was problematic for the Western allies because West Berlin was entirely surrounded by Communist-controlled areas. This made the process of getting essential goods and services into the city difficult. The allies' determination to retain control of Berlin was evident during the Berlin airlift. After Stalin announced a blockade of West Berlin in June 1948, prohibiting food, fuel, and other essential items from entering the city, Truman supplied the city with an airlift. Over 2.3 million tons of goods were flown into the city, causing Joseph Stalin to lift the blockade in 1949.

**Connections:** When was NATO founded, and what was its purpose? How did the postwar division of Europe compare with the wartime alliances? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Establishment of NATO:* The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was founded in 1949. NATO was a regional military alliance between the United States, Canada, and Western European countries that was designed to counter the perceived expansionist aims of the Soviet Union.

- *Division of postwar Europe:* The division of Europe compared with wartime alliances is striking. The Axis powers primarily became part of the Western bloc. The majority of Germany and all of Italy became NATO countries. Norway and Finland were controlled by Axis powers, but only Norway became a NATO country, and Sweden chose neutrality. Turkey switched from neutrality to a NATO country after the war, and all of the Eastern European countries

occupied by the Axis powers became part of the Communist bloc.

### Map 26.3 The Korean War, 1950–1953 (p. 973)

**Reading the Map:** How far south did the North Korean forces progress at the height of their invasion? How far north did the UN forces get? What countries border Korea? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Progress of North Korean soldiers:* In September 1950, at the height of their advance into the south, North Korean forces occupied all of the Korean Peninsula except for a wedge of territory in the southwest around the city of Pusan. Within two months of their counterattack, sparked by the amphibious landing at Inchon, UN troops had pushed the North Koreans almost entirely off the peninsula.

- *UN occupation of Korea:* In November 1950, the UN troops occupied a line that ran close to the Chinese border from east to west. The UN forces occupied the land above the major northern city of Pyongyang as well as the Chosin Reservoir, and at one point on the line, they were within forty miles of the Chinese border.

- *Location of Korea:* China and the Soviet Union border Korea.

**Connections:** What dangers did the forays of MacArthur's forces to within forty miles of the Korean-Chinese border pose? Why did Truman forbid MacArthur to approach that border? What political considerations on the home front influenced Truman's policy and military strategy regarding Korea? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Threat posed by MacArthur's troops:* By approaching the Chinese border with North Korea, General MacArthur threatened to make the Korean War a wider struggle, pitting the United States and its allies against the Communist powerhouses of China and the Soviet Union. MacArthur found support from many Americans when he risked such a conflict. He believed that mere containment of communism, rather than an aggressive war to wipe it out, was tantamount to defeat.

- *Truman vs. MacArthur:* Truman authorized MacArthur to cross the thirty-eighth parallel (the pre-war boundary between North and South Korea) to destroy North Korean forces, but he also prohibited MacArthur from approaching the Chinese and Soviet borders. If UN forces were to appear on the verge of entering China, President Truman realized that China would probably enter the war.

- *Political factors influencing Truman's decision:* Political factors also influenced Truman's order to avoid

conflict with China. By failing to seek a congressional declaration of war, Truman had allowed the conflict, which critics called “Mr. Truman’s War,” to become identified with his administration. If the war were to last longer and cost more lives, Truman and his supporters would pay a price at the polls. Both of Truman’s fears were realized when MacArthur violated Truman’s orders and moved troops to within forty miles of the Chinese border. China subsequently sent 150,000 troops southward in an action that prolonged the war, cost thousands more American lives, and helped secure a Republican Party triumph over Truman’s Democrats in the 1952 elections.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in “Additional Resources for Chapter 26.”*

### LECTURE 1

#### *The Policy of Containment*

This lecture on the cold war introduces the policy of containment. You might begin by having students discuss Secretary of State George C. Marshall’s warning about the need for postwar military preparedness. Remind students that the United States, fortified by a successful wartime alliance with the Soviet Union, had agreed to a Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe at the Yalta conference. (It might be helpful to have students look at Map 26.1, “The Division of Europe after World War II,” on page 951.) The Soviets’ brutal method of installing Communist governments in Poland and Bulgaria and their occupation of eastern Germany immediately following the war forced the United States to reevaluate its policy toward the Soviet Union, however. Here, perhaps, bring in George F. Kennan’s “The Long Telegram,” which outlines the policy of containment and provides a framework for using United States’ power to check the spread of Soviet influence. Have students look at the feature *Documenting the American Promise: “The Emerging Cold War”* (pp. 952–953) to impress upon them the swiftness with which the cold war began.

Next, cover the ways in which Truman sought to implement the policy, first by offering military and economic aid to politically unstable Greece and Turkey, warning the American public that if those countries fell to communism, “confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.” Truman’s warning carried sufficient weight, and Congress passed an appropriations bill. Your lecture should then demonstrate that advocates of containment turned

their attention to securing the passage of the Marshall Plan, a massive infusion of economic aid to war-torn Europe. The Soviet takeover of Czechoslovakia and blockade of Berlin seemed to confirm the fears of U.S. policymakers, and the United States hunkered down to create a national security state. Be sure to cover the five-pronged defense strategy, which advocated the development of atomic weapons, conventional military power, military alliances, programs of economic and military aid to friendly nations, and extensive espionage networks to subvert Communist expansion. Demonstrate that the United States tested its new foreign policy in the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America as national liberation movements swept across the third world.

You should end your lecture with a discussion of the reasons why proponents of containment experienced their greatest challenge in China, where the Communists, led by Mao Zedong, waged war against the corrupt Nationalist government, headed by Chiang Kai-shek. The United States supported the tremendously unpopular Nationalists, but even the massive amounts of aid might not have been sufficient to provide a realistic chance of defeating the Communists. In December 1949, Mao established the People’s Republic of China, prompting Republicans to charge the Democrats with “losing China.” Truman’s assurance that the United States had the power to check Communist aggression suddenly rang false with the American public.

### LECTURE 2

#### *Truman at Home*

This lecture covers Truman’s domestic policy. Begin by making the point that Truman, besieged by problems overseas, received no respite on the home front. He first had to oversee the conversion of the economy from military to peacetime production; then he had to cope with an increasingly militant labor movement. Next, present Truman’s efforts to deal with an increasingly vocal African American civil rights movement. The president created the Committee on Civil Rights and charged it with investigating incidents of racial discrimination. The committee’s final report recommended measures to protect voting rights and eliminate segregation. Republicans and southern Democrats continually thwarted Truman-sponsored civil rights legislation, but a more sympathetic Supreme Court was able to effect changes in the areas of housing and higher education. Truman faced an uphill battle in the election of 1948: Both the Republicans and the Dixiecrats were threatening the Democrats. Although Truman won a surprising victory and the Democrats regained Congress, he failed to get Congress to support most of his Fair Deal.

Congress continued to vote down measures in education, health care, and civil rights.

Finally, discuss the Red scare of the late 1940s and early 1950s. Truman's domestic program faced its biggest threat from a wave of anti-Communist hysteria that swept the nation. Many Americans seemed unwilling to believe that the United States could suffer setbacks abroad without the help of internal subversives, so the attacks made by Senator Joseph McCarthy and others against domestic Communists seemed reasonable to some. It is important to stress that anticomunism infiltrated nearly every aspect of American society, as members of the entertainment industry, academia, the State Department, civil rights organizations, and average citizens found themselves ostracized and discredited by the Communist witch hunt. To give students a sense of the pervasiveness of anticomunism in popular culture and the media, have them examine the cold war comic book that opens the chapter. Ask them to consider what impact this image might have had on viewers.

## LECTURE 3

### Korea

Although the United States had tested its policy of containment by offering economic aid to those European countries battling Communist incursions during the immediate postwar years, it actually went to war to implement the policy for the first time in 1950 in Korea. Begin by discussing the reasons behind Truman's decision to implement containment in Korea. The United States decided to send ground troops to protect the conservative government of South Korea after forces of Communist North Korea crossed over the artificial divide at the thirty-eighth parallel. Moreover, the United States convinced the United Nations to sponsor a collective effort to repel the North Korean attack. By mid-October 1950, UN forces were able to push North Korea back to the thirty-eighth parallel. Explain that Truman now faced the decision of whether to settle for the status quo—a divided Korea—or to launch an invasion into North Korea. Several factors influenced Truman's decision. Vulnerable to attacks of being soft on communism, confronted by a wave of anticomunism at home, and sensitive to charges that he had "lost" China, Truman abandoned containment and sought the elimination of the Communists from the Korean peninsula. Despite assurances by General Douglas MacArthur that neither the Chinese nor the Soviets would intervene, the Chinese did in fact join the war. And by the end of 1950, Chinese–North Korean forces had pushed UN forces below the thirty-eighth parallel

and had recaptured Seoul. Here, it might be helpful to refer students to Map 26.3, "The Korean War, 1950–1953" (p. 973). The United States had to revert to seeking containment.

You may wish to close your lecture by suggesting that Truman's inability to end the war, coupled with MacArthur's denunciation of containment, gave the Republicans the advantage in the 1952 election. Indeed, the Republicans, headed by Dwight D. Eisenhower, sailed into office by associating the Democrats unfavorably with "Korea, communism, and corruption." Shortly after the election, Eisenhower flew to Korea and negotiated an armistice that left Korea divided, as it had been three years earlier.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. The Marshall Plan

Students may ask how leaders expected that economic aid to foreign countries would help our economy. The lessons of the Depression had taught American policymakers that a healthy economy depended on the export of American goods. Foreign trade, however, was hampered by the war-torn economies of Western Europe, which were too weak and lacked the resources to purchase American products. They also seemed vulnerable to communism, especially in Italy and France, where Communist parties were strong. By 1947, the United States had granted or loaned out about \$9 billion to Europe but still failed to secure peace and prosperity overseas. Moreover, Europe's multibillion-dollar deficit meant that it could not afford to buy American goods. Secretary of State George C. Marshall proposed a massive infusion of capital—about \$13 billion from 1948 to 1952—to European nations, requiring that some of the aid be spent in America and on American goods, thus maintaining the U.S. flow of exports to the European continent.

### 2. How Could the Red Scare Happen in the United States, and Why Didn't People Stand Up to McCarthy?

Some students will invariably ask how the Red scare could happen in America. Remind them that the 1950s Communist witch hunt was not the first episode of Red-baiting in the country's history, prodding them (if necessary) to recall the suppression of civil liberties during World War I and the subsequent Palmer raids and purges. Explain that most Americans felt a heady sense of optimism after World War II. The setbacks the United States experienced with regard to the Soviet

Union in Eastern Europe, the fall of China, and Truman's inability to win the war in Korea shattered this notion of American superiority. It was much easier to believe that internal subversion was responsible for American setbacks than to believe that the United States was not all-powerful. In addition, Joseph McCarthy was a master dissembler. He told so many lies, with so many different parts, and told them so rapidly that no one could keep track of the allegations. In his Wheeling, West Virginia, speech, McCarthy charged that there were 205 known Communists in the State Department. When pushed for evidence, he changed the figure to 81, then to 57, and finally to "a lot." Only when he attacked the U.S. army, an institution most Americans believed above infiltration, did the public tire of his accusations and allow the purges to die down. You should debunk any existing notions that somehow McCarthy alone was responsible for the anti-Communist furor during this period, noting that Truman established his own loyalty-security program. Point out that the violations of civil liberties and repressions of this era could not have taken place without the collaboration of the country's political and social elites, especially Republicans, who benefited from McCarthy's attacks on the Democrats. However, mention that not all Republicans supported McCarthy. Margaret Chase Smith, a Republican senator from Maine, and six other moderate Republicans bravely stood up to McCarthy on the Senate floor by circulating the "Republican declaration of conscience," which stated that Americans have the right to criticize ideas, hold unpopular beliefs, protest, and engage in independent thought.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

Consider showing part of the PBS biography *Truman*, especially the segments that cover the president's attempts to deal with the expanding Soviet threat. You might also consider showing *Hollywood on Trial*, a 1970s documentary that covers the House Un-American Activities Committee's investigation of Hollywood. Episode 12 of Bill Moyers's series *A Walk through the Twentieth Century*, "Postwar Hopes, Cold War Fears," gives students a good overview of the origins of the cold war. You might also consider showing "The Race for the Superbomb," part of the PBS series *American Experience*, to offer a more in-depth look at the origins of the cold war.

There are a number of Hollywood films that examine anticomunism. Consider showing an example of

Hollywood's overt response to the HUAC investigations, such as *I Was a Communist for the FBI* (1951) or *Walk East on Beacon Street* (1952), both of which suggest a Hollywood that was sympathetic to and compliant with federal investigations of communism. *High Noon* (1952), a classic Western starring Gary Cooper, and the science fiction classic *The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951) also reflect American values and fears during the cold war. When discussing the difficult transition that returning American soldiers faced, consider showing *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946). Remind students that Hollywood did produce films that countered the image of World War II as "the good war" before *Saving Private Ryan* (1998).

### Class Discussion Starters

Have students consider what the postwar political world would have looked like if FDR had not replaced Henry Wallace with Harry S. Truman as his vice president in 1944. Remind students that Wallace advocated greater cooperation with the Soviets, including sharing controlled information on atomic energy. Refer students to Wallace's speech featured in *Documenting the American Promise: "The Emerging Cold War"* (pp. 952–953). Mention that Wallace was eventually dismissed as secretary of commerce because of his controversial views. What would have happened if he had been vice president when FDR died?

### Historical Debates

The textbook notes that files opened in the 1990s showed that the Soviet Union did receive secret documents from Americans, including Julius Rosenberg. A number of documents pertaining to the Rosenberg case appear in *The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents*, edited by Ellen Schrecker. Have students debate whether the subsequent knowledge of Rosenberg's guilt justifies the United States' case against him and his wife. Was their execution the correct response?

### Reading Primary Sources

Have students read through the feature *Documenting the American Promise: "The Emerging Cold War"* (pp. 952–953). Ask them to comment on the ways in which politically charged rhetoric contributed to postwar tensions. Have them think about how these leaders' words, not just their actions, shaped the cold war. Extend their responses into a discussion of the role of ideas in politics and culture.

## Additional Resources for Chapter 26

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 26 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 26.1: The Division of Europe after World War II (p. 951)
- Map 26.2: The Election of 1948 (p. 970)
- Map 26.3: The Korean War, 1950–1953 (p. 973)
- Cold War Spying (p. 957)
- Segregation (p. 965)

#### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 26 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 26.1: The Division of Europe after World War II (p. 951)
- Map 26.2: The Election of 1948 (p. 970)
- Map 26.3: The Korean War, 1950–1953 (p. 973)
- Figure 26.1: Women Workers in Selected Industries, 1940–1950 (p. 961)
- Cold War Comic Book (p. 946)
- Women's Role in Peacetime (p. 960)
- Truman's Whistle-Stop Campaign (p. 969)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor's Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 26 include:

- *Postwar Immigrant America: A Social History*, by Reed Ueda
- *The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents*, by Ellen Schrecker

- *American Cold War Strategy: Interpreting NSC 68*, by Ernest R. May

### For Students

#### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 26 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- General Marshall Summarizes the Lessons of World War II: *For the Common Defense*, 1945
- George F. Kennan Outlines Containment: *The Long Telegram*, February 22, 1946
- Cold War Blueprint: NSC 68: *United States Objectives and Programs for National Security*, 1950
- Senator Joseph McCarthy Hunts Communists: *Speech Delivered in Wheeling, West Virginia*, February 9, 1950
- A South Korean Soldier Remembers the Korean War, Hon An, *An Interview*, 1997

#### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map, visual, and document activities are available for chapter 26:

#### Map Activities

- Map 26.1: The Division of Europe after World War II (p. 951)
- Map 26.3: The Korean War, 1950–1953 (p. 973)

#### Visual Activities

- Women's Role in Peacetime (p. 960)
- Truman's Whistle-Stop Campaign (p. 969)

#### Reading Historical Documents Activity

- The Emerging Cold War (pp. 952–953)

# The Politics and Culture of Abundance

## 1952–1960

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### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. How did the Eisenhower administration represent the politics of the “Middle Way,” and how did Eisenhower seek to convey the message of moderate Republicanism? What were the dominant issues of the 1956 election, and what obstacles did the president face during his second term?
2. What was the rhetoric of liberation, and in what ways did the Eisenhower administration continue the policies of containment? What was the “New Look” in foreign policy, and how did it influence the president’s handling of events in Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America? What factors contributed to an escalation of the nuclear arms race?
3. What created the economy of abundance? How did technology transform agriculture and industry? Explain the growth of suburbs and the decline of cities. What contributed to the growth of the Sun Belt?
4. How did the economy of abundance affect American society and culture? What role did consumption, religion, domesticity, and television play in this culture? What was the counterculture, and what were the criticisms it levied?
5. Describe the origins of the modern civil rights movement, and note the ways in which activists appealed to the courts and relied on mass protest to end racial segregation in America.

### Annotated Chapter Outline

- I. **Eisenhower and the Politics of the “Middle Way”**
  - A. Modern Republicanism

1. In contrast to the Old Guard conservatives in his party who wanted to repeal much of the New Deal and preferred a unilateral approach to foreign policy, Eisenhower preached “modern Republicanism,” maintaining the course charted by both Roosevelt and Truman.
  2. Eisenhower attempted to distance himself from the anti-Communist fervor that plagued the Truman administration, but refused to publicly denounce Senator McCarthy, who finally destroyed himself by going after the U.S. army.
  3. Eisenhower sometimes echoed the conservative Republican conviction that government was best left to the states and economic decisions to private business; however, during his administration, the welfare state actually grew and the federal government took on new projects.
  4. In 1954, Eisenhower signed laws expanding Social Security and continuing the federal government’s modest role in financing public housing.
  5. Eisenhower’s greatest domestic initiative was the Interstate Highway and Defense System Act of 1956.
  6. In other areas, Eisenhower restrained federal activity in favor of state governments and private enterprise, stubbornly resisting a larger federal role in health care, education, and civil rights.
- B. Termination and Relocation of Native Americans
1. Eisenhower’s efforts to restrict federal activity also helped shape a new direction

- in Indian policy, reversing the emphasis on strengthening the tribal governments and preserving Indian culture established by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.
2. By 1960, the government had implemented a three-part program of compensation, termination, and relocation.
  3. In 1946, Congress established a commission to discharge, once and for all, any claims by Native Americans for lands taken from them by the government; by 1978 it had settled 285 cases with compensation exceeding \$800 million.
  4. Beginning in 1953, Eisenhower signed bills transferring jurisdiction over tribal lands in several states to state and local governments; the loss of federal hospitals, schools, and other special arrangements devastated Indian tribes.
  5. The government encouraged Indians to move to cities, providing one-way bus tickets and relocation centers to help with housing, job training, and medical care.
  6. About one-third of the Indians who were relocated eventually went back to the reservation, and those who stayed faced great difficulties, such as racism, lack of adequately paying jobs for which they had skills, poor housing in what became Indian ghettos, and above all, the loss of their traditional culture.
  7. The few who overcame these obstacles applauded the program, but most urban Indians remained in or near poverty.
- C. The 1956 Election and the Second Term
1. Although not everyone in the United States was living the American dream, with the nation at peace and the economy booming, Eisenhower easily defeated Adlai Stevenson in the election of 1956.
  2. The Democrats, however, won significant gains in the midterm election of 1958, and because of this resurgence, Eisenhower faced more serious leadership challenges in his second term, including a major recession.
  3. In the end, the first Republican administration after the New Deal left the size and functions of the federal government intact, though it tipped policy somewhat more in favor of corporate interests.
- II. Liberation Rhetoric and the Practice of Containment**
- A. The “New Look” in Foreign Policy
1. In order to meet his goals of balancing the federal budget and cutting taxes,
- Eisenhower was determined to control military expenditures.
2. Eisenhower’s defense strategy concentrated United States military strength in nuclear weapons along with the planes and missiles needed to deliver them; additionally, the United States, instead of spending huge amounts for large ground forces of its own, gave friendly nations American weapons.
  3. Nuclear weapons could not stop a Soviet nuclear attack, but in response to one, they could inflict enormous destruction on the USSR; this nuclear standoff became known as mutual assured destruction, or MAD.
  4. Nuclear weapons were useless, however, in rolling back the iron curtain because they would destroy the very peoples that the United States had promised to liberate, and when Hungarian freedom fighters revolted against the Soviet-controlled government, the United States did not offer support.
- B. Applying Containment to Vietnam
1. A major challenge to the containment policy came in Southeast Asia, where in 1945 a nationalist coalition called the Vietminh, led by Ho Chi Minh, proclaimed Vietnam’s independence from France.
  2. Eisenhower viewed communism in Vietnam much as Truman had regarded it in Greece and Turkey, an outlook known as the “domino theory.”
  3. Although the United States was contributing 75 percent of the cost of France’s war, Eisenhower resisted a larger role, refusing to send American ground troops to aid the French.
  4. The Vietminh defeated French forces at Dien Bien Phu in May 1954; two months later, France signed a truce that temporarily divided Vietnam at the seventeenth parallel, separating the Vietminh in the north from the puppet government established by the French in the south.
  5. Some officials warned against United States involvement in Vietnam; nonetheless, Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles moved to join the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) to defend Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam.
  6. Between 1955 and 1961, the United States provided \$800 million to the South Vietnamese army.

7. Even with U.S. dollars, the Army of the Republic of Vietnam was grossly unprepared for the guerrilla warfare that began in the late 1950s.
  8. Unwilling to abandon containment, Eisenhower handed over the deteriorating situation—along with a firm commitment to defend South Vietnam against communism—to his successor.
- C. Interventions in Latin America and the Middle East
1. While buttressing friendly governments in Asia, the Eisenhower administration, through the increasingly important foreign policy work of the CIA, also worked to topple unfriendly ones in Latin America and the Middle East.
  2. The Eisenhower administration employed clandestine activities in Guatemala, where the government was not Communist or Soviet controlled but accepted support from the local Communist Party.
  3. In 1954, when the reformist president Jacobo Arbenz sought to nationalize land owned but not used by the United States corporation, the United Fruit Company, Eisenhower authorized the CIA to carry out covert operations destabilizing Guatemala's economy and assisting in a coup, that ultimately led to decades of destructive civil wars.
  4. The United States tried to pursue a similar policy in Cuba, working against rebel Fidel Castro, who in 1959 drove out the U.S.-supported dictator Fulgencio Batista.
  5. In the Middle East, as in Guatemala, the CIA intervened to support an unpopular dictatorship in order to help American corporations.
  6. For a variety of reasons, Eisenhower authorized CIA agents to instigate a coup against the nationalist head of Iran, Mohammed Mossadegh, by bribing army officials and paying Iranians to demonstrate against the government.
  7. Elsewhere in the Middle East, the Eisenhower administration shifted from Truman's all-out support for Israel to fostering friendships with Arab nations.
  8. In 1955, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles began talks with Egypt about American support to build the Aswan Dam on the Nile River.
  9. But in 1956, Egypt's leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser, sought arms from Communist Czechoslovakia, which had formed a military alliance with other Arab nations, recognizing the People's Republic of China.
10. Unwilling to tolerate such independence, Dulles called off the deal for the dam; Nasser responded by seizing the Suez Canal, then owned by the British and the French and Israel responded by attacking Egypt with the help of France and Britain.
11. Eisenhower opposed the intervention, recognizing that the Egyptians had claimed their own territory.
  12. Although the United States remained out of the Suez crisis, Eisenhower made it clear that the United States would actively combat communism in the Middle East, invoking the "Eisenhower Doctrine."
- D. The Nuclear Arms Race
1. While Eisenhower's foreign policy centered on countering perceived Communist inroads abroad, a number of events encouraged the president to seek reduction of superpower tensions.
  2. Eisenhower and Khrushchev, Stalin's more moderate successor, met in Geneva in 1955 at the first summit conference since the end of World War II.
  3. In August 1957, the Soviets test-fired their first intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) and two months later beat the United States into space by launching *Sputnik*, the first artificial satellite to circle the earth.
  4. Eisenhower insisted that the United States possessed nuclear superiority, and tried to diminish public panic by creating the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and signing the National Defense Education Act, providing assistance for students in math, foreign languages, and science.
  5. American nuclear superiority did not guarantee security because the Soviet Union possessed sufficient nuclear weapons to devastate the United States.
  6. By 1960, the two sides were within reach of a ban on nuclear testing; to avoid jeopardizing the summit, Eisenhower cancelled espionage flights over the Soviet Union, but his order came one day too late, as a Soviet missile shot down a U-2 spy plane over Soviet territory, dashing prospects for a nuclear arms agreement.
  7. Eisenhower's "more bang for the buck" defense budget enormously increased the U.S. nuclear capacity, more than

- quadrupling the stockpile of nuclear weapons.
8. As he left office, Eisenhower warned about the growing influence of the “military industrial complex” in American government and life.

### III. New Work and Living Patterns in an Economy of Abundance

- A. Technology Transforms Agriculture and Industry
  1. Between 1940 and 1960, the output of American farms greatly increased, while the number of farmworkers declined by nearly one-third.
  2. Farmers achieved nearly miraculous productivity through greater crop specialization, more intensive use of fertilizers, and, above all, mechanization.
  3. The decline of family farms and the growth of agribusinesses were both causes and consequences of mechanization.
  4. Many of the small farmers who hung on constituted a core of rural poverty often overlooked in the celebration of affluence.
  5. Southern landowners replaced sharecroppers with machines, forcing them off the land; as a result, thousands of African Americans moved to cities and faced urban poverty.
  6. New technology, cheap oil, ample markets abroad, and little foreign competition also increased industrial production.
  7. Labor unions enjoyed their greatest success during the 1950s, and real earnings for production workers shot up 40 percent.
  8. Workers who were not represented by unions were severely disadvantaged and did not enjoy many of the benefits and programs guaranteed to union members.
  9. The percentage of unionized workers began to decline as the economy shifted in the 1950s from production to service, as most service industries resisted unionization.
  10. The demand for female workers grew as clerical and service jobs became more widely available.
- B. Burgeoning Suburbs and Declining Cities
  1. Although suburbs had existed since the nineteenth century, nothing symbolized the affluent society more than the tremendous expansion in the 1950s.
  2. The government subsidized home ownership with low-interest mortgage guarantees through the Federal Housing Administration, the Veterans

- Administration and by making interest on mortgages tax deductible.
3. By the 1960s, suburbs came under attack for bulldozing the natural environment, creating groundwater contamination, disrupting wildlife patterns, and further adding to the polarization of society, especially along racial lines.
  4. As white residents joined the suburban migration, blacks moved to cities in search of economic opportunity, increasing their numbers in most cities by 50 percent during the 1950s.
  - C. The Rise of the Sun Belt
    1. Americans were on the move westward as well as to the suburbs.
    2. A pleasant natural environment drew new residents to the West and Southwest, but nothing proved stronger than the promise of economic opportunity.
    3. So important was the defense industry to the South and West that those regions later were referred to as the “Gun Belt.”
    4. Surging population and industry soon raised environmental concerns; providing water to cities and agribusinesses necessitated building dams and reservoirs on previously free-flowing rivers.
    5. The high-technology basis for postwar economic development drew well-educated, highly skilled workers to the West, but the economic promise also attracted the poor.
    6. The Mexican American population also grew, especially in California and Texas.
    7. At the same time, Mexican American citizens gained a small victory in their ongoing struggle for civil rights in *Hernandez v. Texas*, in which the Supreme Court ruled that the systematic exclusion of Hispanics from juries violated the constitutional guarantee of equal protection.
  - D. The Democratization of Higher Education.
    1. California’s school system was the largest element in a spectacular transformation of higher education.
    2. More families could afford to keep their children in school longer, and tax dollars spent on higher education more than doubled from 1950 to 1960.
    3. Though enrollments of black students and white female students increased modestly through the 1950s, the increase did not nearly match that of white males.

**IV. The Culture of Abundance****A. Consumption Rules the Day**

1. Although the purchase and display of consumer goods had always been a part of American life, by the 1950s, consumption became a reigning value, vital for economic prosperity and essential to individuals' identity and status.
2. Several forces, including a population surge and consumer borrowing, spurred this unparalleled abundance.
3. Women's presence in the labor force increased due to the need to support themselves and their families, but also because of the desire to secure some of the new consumer products.

**B. The Revival of Domesticity and Religion**

1. As married women took jobs in unprecedented numbers, the dominant ideology celebrated traditional family life and conventional gender roles.
2. The emphasis on home and family life reflected, to some extent, anxieties about the cold war and nuclear menace.
3. Writer and feminist Betty Friedan gave a name to the idealization of women's domestic roles in her book *The Feminine Mystique*.
4. Although the glorification of domesticity clashed with married women's increasing participation in the labor force, most Americans did embody the family ideal.
5. Along with a renewed emphasis on family life, the 1950s witnessed a surge of interest in religion.
6. Religion offered reassurance and peace of mind in the nuclear age; ministers such as Billy Graham turned the cold war into a holy war, labeling communism "a great sinister anti-Christian movement masterminded by Satan."

**C. Television Transforms Culture and Politics**

1. The new medium of television offered Americans a welcome respite from cold-war anxieties.
2. Viewers especially tuned in to watch comedies that projected the family ideal and the feminine mystique into millions of homes.
3. Television began to affect politics in the 1950s, as viewers tuned in to debates and candidates were forced to spend huge sums of money for TV spots.
4. In 1961, Newton Minow, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, called television a "vast wasteland," but it came to dominate Americans' leisure time,

influence their consumption patterns, and shape their perceptions of the nation's leadership.

**D. Countercurrents**

1. Pockets of dissent underlay the complacency of the 1950s.
2. Some intellectuals took exception to the politics of consensus and to the materialism and conformity celebrated in popular culture.
3. Critics of the consumer culture showed concern about the loss of traditional masculinity; *Playboy* began publication in 1953 and demonstrated that consumption, traditionally associated with women, could also be masculine.
4. Alfred Kinsey's studies on sexual behavior showed that men's and women's sexual conduct frequently departed from the family ideal of the postwar era.
5. Less direct challenges to mainstream standards, such as rock and roll music, appeared in the everyday behavior of large numbers of Americans, especially youth.
6. The most blatant revolt against cultural conventionality came from the self-proclaimed Beat generation, a small group of literary figures based in New York City's Greenwich Village and in San Francisco.
7. Bold new styles in the visual arts also showed the 1950s to be more than a decade of bland conventionality.

**V. Emergence of a Civil Rights Movement****A. African Americans Challenge the Supreme Court and the President**

1. Black migration from the South to areas where they could vote and exert political pressure, cold war concerns raised by white leaders, and an organizational structure for blacks in the segregated South all spurred black protest in the 1950s.
2. The legal strategy of the major civil rights organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), reached its crowning achievement with the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954.
3. Ultimate responsibility for enforcement of the decision lay with Eisenhower and he refused to endorse *Brown*, choosing instead to keep his distance from civil rights issues.
4. Such inaction fortified southern resistance to school desegregation and fueled the gravest constitutional crisis since the Civil War.

5. The crisis came in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957, when the state's governor, Orval Faubus, ordered National Guard troops to block the enrollment of nine black students at Central High School.
  6. Eisenhower was forced to send regular army troops to enforce desegregation at Little Rock—it was the first federal military intervention in the South since Reconstruction.
  7. Eisenhower ordered the integration of public facilities in Washington, D.C., and on military bases, and he supported the first federal civil rights legislation since Reconstruction.
- B. Montgomery and Mass Protest
1. From slave revolts and individual acts of defiance through the legal and lobbying efforts of the NAACP, black protest had a long tradition in American society.
  2. What set the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s apart were the masses of people involved, their willingness to confront white institutions directly, and the use of nonviolence and passive resistance to bring about change.
  3. The first sustained protest to claim national attention began in Montgomery, Alabama, on December 1, 1955, when Rosa Parks violated a local segregation ordinance, triggering a city-wide boycott of buses.
  4. Parks had long been active in the local NAACP; such local individuals and organizations laid critical foundations for the black freedom struggle throughout the South.
  5. The Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) organized a bus boycott and leading the MIA was Martin Luther King Jr., a pastor at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church.
  6. Montgomery's blacks summoned their courage and determination in abundance, demonstrating that blacks could sustain a lengthy protest and would not be intimidated.
  7. In January 1957, black clergy from across the South met to coordinate local protests against segregation and disenfranchisement.
  8. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), NAACP, and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) developed centers in several southern cities, paving the way for a mass movement that would revolutionize the racial system in the South.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 27, the *Questions for Analysis* and *Debate* following the feature *Documenting the American Promise*, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 27.

## Review Questions

1. How did Eisenhower's domestic policies reflect his moderate political vision? (pp. 984–988)  
*Answer would ideally include:*

- *Continuity with the New Deal:* Unlike conservative Republicans who wanted to roll back the New Deal, Eisenhower preserved many of its programs and even expanded the social welfare function of the state, creating the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, for example. Eisenhower was also responsible for the Interstate Highway and Defense System Act of 1956, which authorized enormous federal spending to create a national highway system. (pp. 984–985)

- *Restricting the federal government:* Eisenhower wanted to avoid creating new bureaucracies and refused to expand the federal role in health care, education, and civil rights programs, deferring to state governments and private enterprise. For example, Eisenhower transferred federal jurisdiction over tribal lands to state and local governments. (pp. 986–988)

2. Where and how did Eisenhower practice containment? (pp. 989–991, 994–995)  
*Answer would ideally include:*

- *Containment in Vietnam:* Despite Republican criticisms of containment for failing to attack the existing Soviet sphere of control, Eisenhower continued to believe, as did Truman, that if one nation fell to communism, it would set off a domino effect in a given region. In responding to the threat of communism in Vietnam, Eisenhower tried to balance containment with the desire to avoid American involvement in a ground conflict in Asia with concern about the spread of communism. In 1954, he elected to supply the South Vietnamese army with funds, weapons and military advisors to help them resist communist rebels and Ho Chi Minh's government. (pp. 989–990)

- *Containment in Latin America:* In this region, Eisenhower used the CIA and covert actions to undermine governments the administration found

objectionable. For example, Eisenhower used the CIA to destabilize the elected government in Guatemala because its reformer president tried to nationalize land held by an American company. (pp. 990–991)

- *Containment in the Middle East:* In this region as well, the CIA intervened to protect American political and economic interests, sometimes helping prop up dictators and undermine elected governments. For example, in Iran, the CIA helped remove Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh who tried to nationalize oil production facilities, and reinstall the Shah, a hereditary leader friendly to Iranian elites and American economic interests. (p. 991)

3. How did technology contribute to changes in the economy, suburbanization, and the growth of the Sun Belt? (pp. 996–1002) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Impact on agriculture:* Mechanization made American farmers astonishingly productive and contributed to the decline of family farms and the rise of agribusiness. Small farmers suffered the most from these changes. (pp. 996–998)

- *Impact on industry:* Mechanization and new technology also increased the productivity of American industry. Favorable conditions for production at home and markets abroad helped fuel economic expansion. Unionized workers gained strength in the booming postwar economy, but mechanization would undermine workers' bargaining power. (pp. 997–998)

- *Suburbanization:* The application of mass production techniques to building houses contributed to the growth of suburbs, and in examples such as Levittown, affordable housing. The expansion of the highway system in the 1950s also fostered the expansion of suburbs. (pp. 998–999)

- *Growth of the Sun Belt:* The expansion of highways, the availability of automobiles and airplanes, and the promise of economic opportunity fueled the movement of population into the West and Southwest. Defense-related industry was a crucial source of employment in the Sun Belt, while air conditioning eased living and industrial production in the region. (pp. 999–1002)

4. Why did American consumption expand so dramatically in the 1950s and what aspects of society and culture did it influence? (pp. 1003–1009) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Economic expansion:* The median family income and the gross national product grew by 25 percent between 1950 and 1960. While this economic expansion did not touch all Americans, many enjoyed more disposable income to acquire goods. (pp. 1003–1004)

- *Population surge:* The postwar baby boom expanded demand for goods, which in turn stimulated industry. (pp. 1003–1004)

- *Expanded borrowing:* Americans in the 1950s assumed new levels of personal debt that enabled them to acquire durable goods otherwise beyond their reach. (p. 1003)

- *Effects:* The desire to participate in the new abundance drew more women into the workforce to help families have enough income to buy new goods. Some of the goods that Americans bought such as cars and televisions contributed to new patterns of population distribution and communication. Television influenced American culture, commerce, and politics by offering a new medium for mass communication. (pp. 1003–1006)

5. What were the goals and strategies of civil rights activists in the 1950s? (pp. 1010–1011) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Goals:* African Americans wanted to overthrow the legal and extralegal practices that deprived them of full citizenship, including segregation, voting manipulation and disfranchisement, and employment discrimination. (pp. 1010–1011)

- *Strategies:* Organizations such as the NAACP used the courts to challenge the legality of segregation, for example in *Brown v. Board of Education*. The civil rights movement also adopted nonviolence and passive resistance as tools in their mass protests against discrimination, for example in the Montgomery bus boycott. (pp. 1010–1011)

## Making Connections

1. Both President Truman and President Eisenhower perceived a grave threat in the Soviet Union and the spread of communism around the world. How did these two presidents approach foreign policy during the cold war? In your answer, consider their similarities and differences. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Containment:* George F. Kennan's rationale for a hard-line policy (containment) toward the Soviet Union enjoyed support from key advisors and Truman himself. To implement the policy, Truman's administration pursued the development of atomic weapons, increased traditional military power, international military alliances, military and economic support for politically sympathetic countries, and covert efforts to subvert Communist expansion. (See chapter 26, especially pp. 951, 952)

- *Differences in rhetoric:* Truman's administration had articulated and sold the policy of containment to the American public. Republicans, particularly Eisenhower's Secretary of State John Foster Dulles,

criticized containment for its refusal to attack Soviet power directly and its acceptance of the status quo. (p. 989)

- *Agreement in practice:* Both presidents believed communism threatened national military and economic security and both adopted the strategies of containment to combat it. For example, fears of the “domino effect” influenced Eisenhower’s effort to support anti-Communist forces against Vietnam as well as Truman’s decision to intervene in Greece. (pp. 989–990; *see also* chapter 26)

- *Defense spending:* Truman oversaw an enormous expansion in defense spending and the size of the military. Eisenhower tried to limit the growth of defense spending and the military, criticizing its effects in diverting resources away from people in need, and, he feared, ultimately undermining the national economy. Consequently Eisenhower called for limiting the expansion of the U.S. armed forces and instead helping to arm friendly nations, and further, backing up conventional troops with a large nuclear arsenal. This approach contributed to a policy of brinksmanship. (p. 989; *see also* chapter 26, pp. 956–957)

- *Willingness to commit troops:* Truman had committed troops in Korea as part of his containment policy with mixed results. Many Americans were dissatisfied with the high cost of protecting the status quo. When Eisenhower confronted the challenge of communism in Asia, memories of American intervention in Korea made him refuse to commit troops. (pp. 989–990; *see also* chapter 26)

- *Soviet relations:* While Truman’s endorsement of containment hinged on the belief that negotiation with Stalin was impossible, the pressure of the nuclear arms race and the emergence of a new, more moderate leader in the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, led Eisenhower to pursue diplomacy. (p. 994; *see also* chapter 26, pp. 951, 954)

2. The 1950s brought significant changes to their everyday lives of many Americans. Discuss the economic and demographic changes that contributed to the growth of suburbs and the Sun Belt. How did these trends shape the culture of abundance? In your answer, consider both Americans who participated in these trends and those who did not. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Expanded economy:* Many Americans’ incomes grew significantly as a result of the booming postwar economy. (p. 996)

- *Demographic changes:* Prosperity led many Americans to marry earlier and have more children, producing what became known as the baby boom. (p. 1003)

- *Consumption:* Accelerated production, technological advances, a population surge, and higher

borrowing fueled American consumption. Many families were able to own refrigerators, televisions, and cars for the first time. (pp. 1003–1005)

- *Growth of suburbs:* Accelerated production of affordable housing stock and the availability of roads and cars drew many Americans out of cities and into suburbs. (pp. 998–999)

- *Growth of the Sun Belt:* Improved transportation via automobiles and airplanes facilitated the movement of population westward. Americans moved west to take on new jobs provided by large defense contractors in the region. Air conditioning also contributed to the expanded industry in the region. (pp. 999–1000)

- *Countertrends:* As whites moved out to the suburbs, African Americans moved into the city in large numbers in pursuit of economic opportunity. Some Americans, particularly small farmers, did not share in the nation’s new affluence. (pp. 997, 999)

- *Cultural impact:* Anxieties about communism and nuclear war along with demographic trends contributed to celebration of domesticity and households headed by a male breadwinner and a full-time homemaker. The television became central to American entertainment, marketing, and politics. (pp. 1003–1006)

3. During the 1950s, actions by the federal government and the courts had a significant impact on African Americans, Native Americans, and Mexican Americans. Discuss how new policies and court actions came about and how laws affected these groups for better and for worse. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *African Americans:* In 1954, the NAACP enjoyed a legal triumph in the Supreme Court decision, *Brown v. Board of Education* which held that separate schools were inherently unequal, overturning *Plessy v. Ferguson* which upheld segregation. Despite the victory, President Eisenhower declined to endorse the decision and was reluctant to enforce the integration of schools that should have followed from the decision. The passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 also held promise, but lacked provisions for enforcement, leaving many African Americans vulnerable to discrimination. Civil rights activists used individual resistance and mass protest to push the nation toward honoring their full citizenship. (pp. 1010–1011, 1014–1015)

- *Native Americans:* Eisenhower continued and expanded Indian policies adopted by his predecessor: compensation (settling Native American claims to federally seized lands), termination (ending the trustee relationship between Native Americans and the federal government), and relocation (encouraging Native Americans to leave reservations to live in

cities). Eisenhower's policy of transferring Indian lands from federal to state and local jurisdiction cost many tribes vital support such as federal hospitals and schools. The policy of termination, which promoted assimilation by removing Native Americans from reservations to American cities, produced social and cultural hardship for many. (pp. 986–988)

- *Mexican Americans:* The surging agricultural economy of California and elsewhere in the Sun Belt depended on Mexican migration for much of its workforce. Nevertheless, in 1954 the government initiated "Operation Wetback" to locate and deport illegal immigrants. Mexican Americans enjoyed a civil rights victory in the Supreme Court decision, *Hernandez v. Texas*, which held that systematically excluding Hispanics from juries was unconstitutional. (pp. 1000–1002)

4. Eisenhower was the first Republican president since the New Deal had transformed the federal government. How did his "modern Republicanism" address Roosevelt's legacy? How did the shape and character of government change, or not change, during Eisenhower's administration? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Continuities with the New Deal:* Eisenhower continued many New Deal programs and accepted the contention that the federal government had an important part to play in cultivating the national economy and extending some components of social welfare to its citizens. (pp. 984–986)

- *Continuities, social welfare measures:* In 1954 Eisenhower expanded Social Security. He also enlarged the federal government's role in health care by establishing the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and using federal funds to help combat the spread of polio. (pp. 985–986)

- *Continuities, economy and infrastructure:* Citing national defense and economic growth, Eisenhower authorized construction of a national highway system using federal dollars through the Interstate Highway and Defense System Act of 1956. (p. 985)

- *Departures from the New Deal:* Wary of the expansion of the federal government, Eisenhower's policies encouraged states and private enterprise to take on responsibilities Roosevelt and his supporters would have preferred to be held by the federal government. For example, he passed tax cuts that favored industry and the wealthy. He also authorized private concerns to produce and sell nuclear power. (pp. 985–986)

- *Departures, reducing federal responsibilities:* Eisenhower's policies removed Indian lands from federal jurisdiction and transferred them to state and local governments. Despite the dramatic decisions of the Supreme Court, Eisenhower declined to use the

federal government to strengthen civil rights except in extraordinary circumstances. (pp. 986–988)

### Documenting the American Promise: The Brown Decision (pp. 1012–1013)

1. What reasons did the Supreme Court give in favor of desegregation? What reasons did black students give for wanting to attend integrated schools? How do these reasons differ?

- *Supreme Court:* The court states in its decision that segregation in schools deprives black children of equal educational opportunities, that such segregation generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that can never be undone, and that separate facilities can never be equal ones.

- *Black students:* Students want to attend desegregated schools because they feel that the integrated schools will offer them greater educational opportunities and help them to feel more a part of the community. The facilities and extracurricular activities are better at the white schools.

- *Differences:* The Court's opinion suggests that the facilities and other "tangible factors" at black schools and white schools under segregation had been exactly the same, but it is clear from the black students' documents that the black schools were inferior to the white ones in many ways.

2. What arguments did southern legislators make against the Supreme Court decision? Did they question its power to make the decision or the content of the decision itself?

- *Southern legislators' arguments:* The legislators argue that the Supreme Court has abused its judicial power and encroached upon the rights of the states, that the Constitution makes no mention of education, and that the justices are enforcing their opinions on others rather than interpreting the Constitution.

- *Basis for their objections:* The objections stated by the legislators refer primarily to the Supreme Court's power to make the decision. They do say, however, that neither the Constitution nor its Fourteenth amendment make any reference to education, which does refer to the fact that the case rested on questions about schools.

3. What obstacles remained for African American students to confront once they had been admitted to integrated schools?

- *Violence:* Some of the students, such as the girl in document 5, experience physical and verbal violence from whites in and around the schools they attend.

- *Racist attitudes:* All of the documents from students mention encounters with racist attitudes. Some of them talk about the difficulty of being seen as a

representative for all African Americans, some talk about being excluded from sports and other activities, some talk about unfriendliness from white students.

- *Lack of preparation in black schools:* Several of the documents from students make reference to white schools being harder and requiring them to study more in order to do well.

4. What conditions do you feel would be worth enduring to obtain a better education?

Students' answers will vary tremendously here, depending on their particular backgrounds and the value they place on education.

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Indian Relocation (p. 987)

**Reading the Image:** Which features on this leaflet do you think would be the most appealing to Native Americans living on reservations? Which might have evoked little interest? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Most appealing features of relocation:* The features listed on this leaflet that would probably have appealed to Indians would be the pragmatic ones: homes, jobs, training. The promise of good jobs and vocational training might have tempted them to leave the reservations, where employment and educational opportunities were very limited. Additionally, the idea of living in a community may have appealed to Native Americans looking for a new start. The optimistic tone of the leaflet presented Native Americans with a hopeful ideal that moving to urban areas would greatly improve their lives.

• *Disadvantages of relocation:* The cultural aspects of Denver celebrated in this leaflet probably would have proven less interesting to Native Americans. Churches, shopping centers, zoos, and museums probably enticed few Indians to leave their homes, families, and culture. The list of cultural attractions on the leaflet speaks to the United States' efforts towards assimilation, but ultimately most Native Americans who chose to leave the reservations did so to find a better life, not to enjoy the 350 days of Colorado sunshine.

**Connections:** In what ways did the government's plan to assimilate Native Americans succeed? In what ways did it fail? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Successes of relocation:* The most notable success of this program was that it convinced so many Indians

to leave their reservations. Between 1950 and 1970 the number of Native Americans living in urban areas rose from 13 to 63 percent.

- *Failures of relocation:* Many of the Native Americans who moved to urban cities lived below or near the poverty line because they had difficulty adjusting to urban life despite the institutions created by the government to assist with this process. They often faced racism and discrimination and in the end one-third of the Native Americans who relocated returned to the reservations. Additionally, the efforts to culturally assimilate the Indians largely failed by the 1960s, when many Native Americans proudly reasserted their heritage and their cultural distinctness.

### The Age of Nuclear Anxiety (p. 995)

**Reading the Image:** What does the image of schoolchildren preparing for nuclear attack and the pamphlet from the Massachusetts Civil Defense Agency tell you about cold war propaganda? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Nuclear War pamphlet:* The pamphlets and the classroom lessons on how to survive a nuclear attack show that only a few years after the end of World War II the American people were alarmed by the threat of another war, this time against the Soviet Union. These types of drills increased the anxiety of children and made them worry about stability in their lives. In addition to school drills and pamphlets, the Civil Defense Agency instructed the public on how to prepare for an attack. Permanent alarm was integral to the inescapable cold war propaganda demonstrating the need for effective defense. People confident of surviving an atomic assault would be more supportive of the Eisenhower administration's increasing demand for military investment.

**Connections:** Is there any irony in the fact that civilians learned how to get ready for a nuclear attack? How effective do you think the strategy pictured here would have been in the event of a nuclear attack? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Preparing for an attack:* The irony of the image and the pamphlet is that both school drills and pamphlets teaching self-defense strategies were supposed to be effective means against a possible attack, but in fact, they were useless against nuclear weapons. Moreover, the nation's nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union did not guarantee the security of the civil population. To the contrary, a Soviet nuclear assault could have inflicted immense destruction on the United States. So the real purpose of disseminating survival information was not to protect human lives but rather to provide people with hope and

make them believe that they had control over their own lives.

- *Effectiveness:* The strategy that the schoolchildren practice to help them prepare for a nuclear attack would absolutely not have been successful in protecting the general public.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 27.1 The Interstate Highway System, 1930 and 1970 (p. 986)

**Reading the Map:** What regions of the United States had main highways in 1930? What regions did not? How had the situation changed by 1970? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Highways in 1930 and 1970:* In 1930, highways were restricted to the Northeast and the West Coast. Few interstate highways existed outside of these regions. By 1970, highways covered the entire country and connected all regions to each other. Although highways were more concentrated in high-population areas, like the East Coast, even the less heavily populated states of the mountain West and the Plains had highways.

**Connections:** What impact did the growth of the interstate highway system have on migration patterns in the United States? What benefits did the new interstate highways bring to Americans and at what costs? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Changing migration patterns:* The interstate highway system influenced American migration patterns by making travel to the Sun Belt states of the South and West faster and more affordable. In the 1950s, the Sun Belt grew rapidly as defense spending created jobs, and an attractive climate and the technology of air-conditioning made the region more desirable for migrants.

- *Advantages and disadvantages of the Interstate system:* By cutting the cost of long-distance shipment and travel, interstate highways helped the Sun Belt to compete with the industrial Northeast, which had a more compact pattern of settlement. Highways also facilitated the growth of suburbs by creating links between cities and quick access between central cities and commuter suburbs. Despite the benefits of making road travel cheaper and faster, the interstate highway system also imposed long-term costs on the

country. Highways made Americans reliant on automobiles and fossil fuels. The dominance of car travel diminished rail service and in the long run cut down on competition between shippers and passenger carriers. Americans' rising consumption of gasoline led to air pollution and a dependence on oil that affected consumers and foreign policy for generations to come.

### Map 27.2 The Rise of the Sun Belt, 1940–1980 (p. 1000)

**Reading the Map:** What states experienced population growth of more than 20 percent? What states experienced the largest population growth? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Population growth:* California, Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, Louisiana, Michigan, Ohio, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland experienced over 20 percent growth in population. The population growth in Alaska, Nevada, Arizona, and Florida was the largest; in all four states, it was over 70 percent.

**Connections:** What stimulated the population boom in the Southwest? What role did the cold war play in this boom? What role did African Americans play in the western population boom? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Reasons for the population boom in the Southwest:* The West and Southwest were those regions in the United States that experienced the postwar population growth most intensely. Undoubtedly, the beauty of the natural environment and the warm climate were attractive to newcomers, but the promise of economic opportunity was the most enticing factor. The airplane and automobile provided efficient transportation for the postwar population surge to the area, but even more crucial was the technology of air-conditioning, which cooled Sun Belt homes and work spaces and made economic development possible.

- *Impact of the cold war on the Southwest:* Nicknamed the "Gun Belt," cold war defense investments were key components to the boom.

- *Impact of African American migration to the Southwest:* The transformation of agriculture—replacing human labor with machinery—spurred the exodus of African Americans to the cities of the Southwest as well.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in "Additional Resources for Chapter 27."*

## LECTURE 1

### *The Politics of the Middle Way*

This lecture introduces Dwight D. Eisenhower's tactics of leadership. First, suggest that Eisenhower entered the White House presenting himself as a leader who stood above partisan politics and selfish interests. He surrounded himself with formal and informal advisers but remained firmly in charge, prompting some historians to refer to him as the "hidden-hand" president. Although he championed himself as a moderate Republican, his Middle Way was shaped as much by the Democratic Congress that fought to maintain the course charted by the New Deal and Fair Deal as by his dedication to moderation.

Cover Eisenhower's domestic policies on McCarthyism, the economy, and civil rights. The president refused to censure Senator Joseph McCarthy publicly, confident that the tide of anticommunism would eventually roll back. He also refused to reverse the growing federal involvement in economic development, attempting instead to rein in the growth. Finally, Eisenhower reluctantly supported the Supreme Court decisions in the area of civil rights, sending federal troops to Little Rock, Arkansas, to enforce school desegregation only after events gave him no choice. Here, you might have students discuss the *Brown* decision and its profound ramifications.

Next, turn your attention to Eisenhower's foreign policy. His administration pursued containment but modified it and devised the New Look in foreign policy. Rather than spending huge amounts of money on a standing army, Eisenhower gave weapons to friendly nations and backed those gifts with a nuclear arsenal. Eisenhower tested this New Look in Latin America and the Middle East, where his administration tried to oust unfriendly regimes covertly, but the New Look especially guided policy in Vietnam, where the United States sought to aid the French against the Vietminh but refused to commit ground troops. Eisenhower also concentrated his efforts on reducing tension between the United States and the Soviet Union. You can close the lecture with a discussion of Eisenhower's farewell address, in which he warned the nation of a growing military-industrial complex. Use the images of school-age children ducking for a bomb drill and the *Protection from the Atomic Bomb* pamphlet (both on page 995) as you discuss Eisenhower's address.

## LECTURE 2

### *The Economy of Abundance*

Use this lecture to emphasize that economic productivity increased dramatically in the 1940s and 1950s.

American prosperity was on the rise because of increased government spending, especially in the defense industry; a population explosion that expanded demand for consumer goods; and consumer borrowing. Here, you will need to stress that prosperity did not affect all regions of the economy equally; the West and Southwest experienced the greatest economic boom. In agriculture, increased crop specialization, better fertilizers, and greater mechanization led to the decline of the family farm and the rise of agribusiness.

A rapidly growing economy meant higher rates of employment, and women and African Americans entered the workplace in unprecedented numbers. Emphasize that, above all, the economy was shifting away from one based on production to one based on service industries, an area in which labor unions traditionally had a hard time organizing. The rise of the suburbs and the decline of the city perhaps best symbolize America's growing prosperity, and here you will wish to introduce the rise of a middle-class, suburban culture. Be sure to cover those segments of American society left out of this "economy of abundance."

You might close this lecture by having students look at the chapter-opening artifact—a 1956 Cadillac convertible, which symbolized both corporate and personal prosperity of the 1950s.

## LECTURE 3

### *The Culture of Abundance*

This lecture allows you to discuss how dominant values of the 1950s—family, religion, consumption, and conformity—went hand-in-hand with the economy of prosperity and Eisenhower's politics of consensus and moderation. The entrance of women into the workforce in unprecedented numbers was matched by a heightened celebration of women's traditional roles within the home and family—what Betty Friedan called "the feminine mystique." Your lecture should also convey that concomitant with the renewed emphasis on family life was a religious revival, as membership in churches and synagogues soared, although critics charged that attendance at religious services stemmed more from a desire to conform than from a profound belief in God.

Discuss the role of television and popular culture in disseminating and reinforcing traditional American values. Have students look at the television screen with an image from *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* on page 1006 when discussing television's cultural influence in the 1950s. By the end of the decade, television dominated Americans' leisure time, influenced their consumption patterns, and shaped their

formulations about the nation's leaders and the nature of government.

You can end by mentioning the critics of the culture of abundance, citing both the intellectuals who found that it rang hollow and the African Americans who charged that it did not include them.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. Eisenhower and the CIA

Students may question why and whether Eisenhower abused presidential power to defeat unfriendly leaders in Latin America and the Middle East. Take this opportunity to make it clear to students how and why the Central Intelligence Agency got involved in covert operations. The CIA began in wartime as the Office of Strategic Services, an intelligence-gathering organization. During the Eisenhower administration, it outgrew its original mandate. Eisenhower reasoned that covert operations handled by the CIA would offer numerous advantages. The operations would be less expensive than traditional forms of deterrence, they would be secret (and therefore not subject to public backlash or threats by Congress), and they would be fast. Policymakers believed that the ends—defeating communism—justified the means. Eisenhower, along with Allen Dulles, brother of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, directly supervised the operations of the CIA. Under Eisenhower and Dulles's leadership, the CIA ousted several foreign leaders, including Mohammed Mossadegh in Iran and Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala. In early 1997, the *New York Times* reported that recently uncovered CIA files indicated that before the coup against Arbenz in 1954, the agency had created a list of fifty prominent figures to be assassinated by CIA-trained Guatemalans. Students should understand that this kind of extralegal covert activity in the name of national security did not begin with Oliver North and the Iran-Contra affair but instead occurred throughout the postwar period from Eisenhower through Kennedy and the Bay of Pigs, Nixon and Watergate, Reagan and Nicaragua, and so on.

### 2. The 1950s Was an Age of Prosperity and Contentment

You might start a discussion by asking students what ideas or symbols they associate with the 1950s. As you did with regard to the 1920s, point out the difficulties inherent in generalizing about any decade, and explain how we often superimpose our own interpretations on the past. Many students' impressions of the 1950s may have been shaped by television shows such as *Happy Days* or movie musicals such as *Grease*.

Students who read Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*, J. D. Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye*, or Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*, or who saw the movie *Rebel without a Cause*, starring James Dean, may wonder how these works fit into the dominant culture of the 1950s. Use this opportunity to discuss the social alienation many Americans felt and to debunk the myth of nationwide prosperity during this period. The central theme in many plays and novels of the postwar years is the overriding loneliness the individual experiences amid the oppressive, suffocating mass culture. Some critics lambasted authors who offered a bleak portrayal of American life, but most championed them for exposing the ugly underside of the crass commercialism of the culture of abundance. The artists themselves believed their works to be more reflective of society than the more celebratory and optimistic works of the period. Here, you may wish to introduce the Beat poets, who defiantly rejected the dominant culture. You also might want to counter the myth of security represented by television sitcoms of this era that portrayed family ideals. This fictionalized domestic contentment allayed the public's fears as the federal government amassed a huge nuclear arsenal, as the CIA engaged in efforts to destabilize foreign governments, and as cold war tensions grew. Ask your students if the decade of the 1950s was really a time of security.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

When discussing the culture of television, consider showing the PBS documentary *Big Dream, Small Screen: "The Age of Anxiety,"* episode 8 of PBS's *American Vision* series, chronicles the works of avant-garde artists and will complement a discussion of countercultural currents in the 1950s. The documentary *Atomic Café* scathingly depicts the culture of nuclear anxiety in the 1950s. "Awakenings," episode 1 of *Eyes on the Prize*, the highly acclaimed PBS series on the civil rights movement, covers the *Brown* decision, the lynching of Emmett Till, and the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott. The first part of episode 2, "Fighting Back," details the desegregation struggle in Little Rock, Arkansas. "The Murder of Emmett Till," part of PBS's *Eyes on the Prize*, works well in the classroom. These documentaries are quite useful for conveying the ways in which civil rights activists used the burgeoning medium of television to their advantage. You will want to emphasize, however, that television did not "create" the movement. As the textbook notes, African Americans were committed to fighting

racism from the time they were brought to America's shores. The first episode of the PBS series *Vietnam: A Television War*, "Roots of a Conflict, 1945–1954," gives students a good overview of U.S. involvement in the region from Ho Chi Minh's declaration of an independent Vietnam to the fall of French forces at Dien Bien Phu. PBS's biography *Eisenhower* allows students to explore the hidden-hand president.

There are a number of good Hollywood films that relate to the politics and culture of abundance. *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* (1956) brilliantly depicts the frustrations of the middle-class work world and the cult of domesticity in the 1950s. *The Apartment* (1960) offers a cynical look at corporate culture in the age of prosperity. *On the Waterfront* (1954) is a vehicle that allowed Elia Kazan, the famed Hollywood director who cooperated with the House Un-American Activities Committee's investigations of the film industry, to defend his actions. *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1956) also sheds light on the anti-Communist hysteria of the 1950s, linking the dangers of communism with an invasion of alien pod-people. *Rebel without a Cause* (1955), *The Defiant Ones* (1958), and *The Man with the Golden Arm* (1955) stand as examples of Hollywood's treatment of countercultural trends in the 1950s. Finally, a segment from *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1956) may exemplify Hollywood excess in the 1950s (lavish scenery, a lush musical score, and a "cast of thousands") as the film industry tried to combat the growing popularity and influence of television.

### Class Discussion Starters

Ask your students how the modern civil rights movement might have fared without the growth of television. Would activists have been able to "reach the conscience of America" had TV news not brought compelling images into the living rooms of millions of Americans? What strategies might the activists have employed to gain widespread support?

### Historical Debates

Consider playing music for your students. Refer them to the passage in the textbook defining rock-and-roll music as a combination of black rhythm and blues, country twang, and western swing. Point to the statement about "race music" on page 1007 and the rise of Elvis Presley, and then play the original Big Mama Thornton version of "Hound Dog" followed by Elvis's version. Ask if the two performers are singing about the same thing. Play Joe Turner's rock anthem "Shake, Rattle, and Roll" followed by Bill Haley and the Comets' cleaned-up version. See if your students can

notice the differences in the recordings. To tie this music in with a lecture on civil rights, explain white parents' fear of race-mixing at the time, citing the opposition to the *Brown* decision, and the fear of "race music," citing the opposition to the rise of rock and roll. Both fears stemmed from the underlying fear of miscegenation. Ask if these fears seem legitimate and if parents still fear rock music.

### Reading Primary Sources

Using the feature *Documenting the American Promise* (pp. 1012–1013) ask your students to compare the experiences of the black students from the upper south (documents 3 and 4) to those from the deep south (documents 5 and 6). If there are differences, what factors help to explain them? To what degree do these documents represent the general experiences and opinions of black students experiencing desegregation in the 1950s and 1960s?

## Additional Resources for Chapter 27

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 27 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 27.1: The Interstate Highway System, 1930 and 1970 (p. 986)
- Map 27.2: The Rise of the Sun Belt, 1940–1980 (p. 1000)
- Global Comparison: The Baby Boom in International Perspective (p. 1005)
- 1956 Cadillac Convertible (p. 983)
- The Age of Nuclear Anxiety (p. 995)

#### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 27 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 27.1: The Interstate Highway System, 1930 and 1970 (p. 986)
- Map 27.2: The Rise of the Sun Belt, 1940–1980 (p. 1000)

- Figure 27.1: The Postwar Economic Boom: GNP and Per Capita Income, 1945–1970 (p. 1003)
- Global Comparison: The Baby Boom in International Perspective (p. 1005)
- The Age of Nuclear Anxiety (p. 995)
- “Come to Denver!” Indian Relocation (p. 987)
- Poverty in an Era of Abundance (p. 997)
- International 455 Drill Corn Planter Brochure (p. 996)
- Advertising Home Air-Conditioning (p. 1001)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor's Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 27 include:

- *Postwar Immigrant America: A Social History*, by Reed Ueda
- *Women's Magazines, 1940–1960: Gender Roles and the Popular Press*, by Nancy A. Walker
- *American Social Classes in the 1950s: Selections from Vance Packard's "The Status Seekers,"* edited with an introduction by Daniel Horowitz
- *Brown v. Board of Education: A Brief History with Documents*, by Waldo E. Martin Jr.

## For Students

### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 27 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- Edith M. Stern Attacks the Domestic Bondage of Women: *Women Are Household Slaves*, 1949
- Vance Packard Analyzes the Age of Affluence: *The Status Seekers*, 1959
- Rosa Parks Says “No”: A Memoir: *My Story*
- Civil Defense in the Nuclear Shadow: North Dakota Civil Defense Agency, *How You Will Survive*, 1960
- President Dwight D. Eisenhower Warns about the Military-Industrial Complex: *Farewell Address*, January 1961

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 27:

### Map Activities

- Map 27.1: The Interstate Highway System, 1930 and 1970 (p. 986)
- Map 27.2: The Rise of the Sun Belt, 1940–1980 (p. 1000)

### Visual Activities

- Indian Relocation (p. 987)
- The Age of Nuclear Anxiety (p. 995)

CHAPTER  
**28**

# Reform, Rebellion, and Reaction 1960–1974

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## Chapter Learning Objectives

1. Why do some historians consider the early 1960s the high tide of liberalism? What were the promises of Kennedy's New Frontier, and to what extent were those promises met? How did President Johnson seek to fulfill Kennedy's promise through the Great Society?
  2. Why is the civil rights movement of the 1960s called the "second Reconstruction"? What role did civil disobedience and grassroots activism play during the 1960s? What was Washington's response to the black freedom struggle? Explain the rise of the black power movement, and describe its influence on American society.
  3. How did the civil rights movement of the 1960s inspire other movements, including Native American protests, Latino struggles for justice, student rebellions, the New Left? What were the criticisms of the counterculture? How did the movement to save the environment fit into this larger culture of "movements"?
  4. What were the origins of the feminist movement? What different strategies and criticisms of society were offered by mainstream and radical feminists? What were the achievements of feminism, and how did it provoke a backlash during the early 1970s?
  5. In what ways did liberalism persist during the Nixon administration?
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- ## Annotated Chapter Outline
- I. **Liberalism at High Tide**
- A. The Unrealized Promise of Kennedy's New Frontier
1. John F. Kennedy's record in Congress was unremarkable, but with a powerful political machine, his family's fortune, and a handsome and dynamic appearance, Kennedy won the Democratic presidential nomination in 1960.
  2. Kennedy defeated his Republican opponent, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, in an excruciatingly close election.
  3. Although his administration projected energy, idealism, and glamour, Kennedy was a cautious, pragmatic politician.
  4. At his inauguration, Kennedy declared that a "new generation" was assuming leadership, calling on Americans to cast off complacency and self-indulgence and serve the common good.
  5. Though Kennedy's idealism inspired many, he failed to redeem these campaign promises to expand the welfare state.
  6. Moved by the desperate conditions he saw when he campaigned in Appalachia in 1960, Kennedy helped push poverty on to the national agenda.
  7. Kennedy won support for a \$2 billion urban renewal program, legislation that offered incentives to businesses to locate in depressed areas, and established a training program for the unemployed.
  8. Kennedy promised to make economic growth a key objective; economic advisers argued that infusing money into the economy by reducing taxes would increase demand, boost production, and decrease unemployment.

9. Congress passed Kennedy's tax cut bill in 1964, ushering in the greatest economic boom since World War II, but some liberal critics of the tax cut pointed out that it favored the wealthy and that economic growth alone would not eliminate poverty.
  10. Kennedy's economic efforts were in their infancy when he fell victim to an assassin's bullet on November 22, 1963; the murder of the president touched Americans as had no other event since the end of World War II.
  11. President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed a commission headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren, which concluded in September 1964 that Lee Harvey Oswald, acting alone, assassinated Kennedy, and that Jack Ruby, who killed Oswald two days later, had also acted alone.
  12. Debate continued over how to assess Kennedy's domestic record, which had been unremarkable in his first two years, but had suggested an important shift in 1963 with his proposals on taxes, civil rights, and poverty.
- B. Johnson Fulfills the Kennedy Promise
1. Lyndon B. Johnson assumed the presidency with a wealth of political experience and fierce ambition, but his coarse wit, extreme vanity, and Texas accent repulsed those who preferred the sophisticated Kennedy style.
  2. Johnson excelled behind the scenes, where he could entice or threaten legislators into support of his objectives.
  3. Johnson's goal was to fulfill Kennedy's vision for America, and he secured the passage of Kennedy's proposed tax cut and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the strongest such measure since Reconstruction.
  4. Fast on the heels of the Civil Rights Act came a response to Johnson's call for "an unconditional war on poverty."
  5. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 authorized ten programs under a newly created Office of Economic Opportunity, allocating \$800 million for the first year.
  6. The most novel and controversial part of the law, the Community Action Program (CAP), required "maximum feasible participation" of the poor themselves in antipoverty programs and spurred organizing by the poor in order to take control of their neighborhoods.
- C. Policymaking for a Great Society
  1. Having steered the nation through the trauma of President Kennedy's assassination and established his capacity for national leadership, Johnson projected stability and security in the midst of a booming economy and easily won the election of 1964.
  2. Johnson wanted to usher in the "Great Society," and succeeded in doing so given the sheer amount and breadth of new laws passed during his administration.
  3. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was Johnson's first step in the War on Poverty.
  4. Targeting depressed regions that the general economic boom had bypassed, Johnson sought to help the poor indirectly by stimulating economic growth and providing jobs through road building and other public works programs.
  5. Other antipoverty efforts, such as a new food stamp program and rent supplements, provided direct aid.
  6. A second approach, embodied in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Higher Education Act of 1965, endeavored to equip the poor with the skills necessary to find jobs.
  7. Other programs such as Medicare and Medicaid provided the elderly and the poor with medical care.
  8. Great Society programs fulfilled New Deal and Fair Deal promises but also broke with tradition by expanding liberalism to address the rights and needs of racial minorities; the Civil Rights Act of 1964 made discrimination illegal in employment, education, and public accommodations while the Voting Rights Act of 1965 banned literacy tests and ensured federal intervention to protect black voting rights.
  9. Another form of discrimination fell with the Immigration and National Act of 1965, which abolished quotas for immigrants from regions outside northern and western Europe.
  10. Great Society benefits reached well beyond the poverty-stricken and victims of discrimination; Johnson's programs addressed the needs of the elderly and consumers, funded the work of artists and musicians, and obtained measures to control pollution.
  11. The flood of reform legislation dwindled after 1966, when midterm elections

- trimmed the Democrats' majorities in Congress and a backlash against government programs arose.
12. Despite backlash against some of Johnson's policies and an antiwar movement that crippled his leadership, in 1968 Johnson pried out of Congress a civil rights law that banned discrimination in housing and jury service, and the National Housing Act of 1968, which authorized an enormous increase in construction of low-income housing for the poor.
- D. Assessing the Great Society
1. Measured by statistics, the reduction in poverty in the 1960s was considerable, but certain groups fared much better than others.
  2. Large numbers of the aged and members of male-headed families rose out of poverty; but African Americans escaped poverty at a slower rate than whites and the plight of female-headed families actually worsened.
  3. Conservative critics charged that Great Society programs discouraged initiative by giving the poor "handouts"; liberal critics argued that the emphasis on training and educational unjustly placed the responsibility for poverty on the poor themselves and not on the structure of the economy.
  4. Government funds allotted for medical care, urban renewal, and housing greatly benefited physicians, construction contractors, real estate developers and investors, and moderate income families as well.
  5. Some critics argued that ending poverty would require a redistribution of income—raising taxes and using those funds to create jobs, overhaul social welfare systems, and rebuild slums.
- E. The Judicial Revolution
1. A key element of liberalism's ascendancy in the 1960s emerged in the Supreme Court under Chief Justice Earl Warren, who presided from 1953 to 1969.
  2. In contrast to the Progressive era and the New Deal, when federal courts blocked reform, the supreme Court in the 1960s expanded the Constitution's promise of equality and individual rights, made decisions supporting an activist government to prevent injustice, and provided new protections to disadvantaged groups and accused criminals.
3. Chief Justice Warren considered *Baker v. Carr* (1963), which established the principle of "one person, one vote," his most important decision.
  4. The egalitarian thrust of the Warren Court also touched the criminal justice system, ensuring the right to public counsel when the accused could not afford to hire lawyers, and tightening police procedures to conform to rights guaranteed to the accused under the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution.
  5. As Supreme Court decisions overturned judicial precedents and often moved ahead of public opinion, critics accused the justices of obstructing law enforcement and letting criminals go free.
  6. The Court's decisions on prayer and Bible reading in public schools provoked even greater outrage.
  7. Two or three justices who believed that the Court was overstepping its authority often issued sharp dissents, but the Court's major decisions stood the test of time.
- II. The Second Reconstruction
- A. The Flowering of the Black Freedom Struggle
1. The Montgomery bus boycott of 1955–1956 gave racial issues national visibility, produced a leader in Martin Luther King Jr., and demonstrated the effectiveness of mass organization.
  2. Massive direct action began in February 1960, when four African American students in Greensboro requested service at the whites-only lunch counter at a Woolworth's store.
  3. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) initially embraced civil disobedience and the nonviolence principles of Martin Luther King Jr.
  4. In May 1961, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) organized Freedom Rides to integrate interstate transportation in the South.
  5. Encouraged by Kennedy administration officials who viewed voter registration as less controversial than civil disobedience and more likely to benefit the Democratic Party, SNCC and other groups began a Voter Education Project in the summer of 1961.
  6. Violence also met King's 1963 campaign in Birmingham, Alabama, to integrate public facilities and open jobs to African Americans.

7. The largest demonstration drew 250,000 blacks and whites to the nation's capital in August 1963, where King put his indelible stamp on the day, delivering his "I have a dream" speech.
  8. The euphoria of the March on Washington quickly faded as activists returned to continued violence in the South.
  9. In 1964, the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project mobilized more than a thousand northern black and white college students to conduct voter education classes and a voter registration drive; resistance was fierce, but still the movement persisted.
  10. In March 1965, Alabama troopers used such fierce force to turn back a march from Selma to the state capitol in Montgomery that the incident became known as "Bloody Sunday" and forced President Johnson to call up the Alabama National Guard to protect the marchers.
- B. The Response in Washington
1. Both the Kennedy and the Johnson administrations acted more in response to the black freedom struggle than on their own initiatives, moving only when events gave them little choice.
  2. In June 1963, Kennedy finally made good on his promise to seek strong antidiscrimination legislation.
  3. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 guaranteed access for all Americans to public accommodations, public education, employment, and voting, thus sounding the death knell of the South's system of segregation and discrimination.
  4. In August 1965, Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act, which empowered the federal government to intervene directly to enable African Americans to register and vote, transforming southern politics.
  5. Johnson issued an executive order in 1965 that required employers with government contracts to take affirmative action to ensure equal opportunity.
  6. The Civil Rights Act of 1968 banned racial discrimination in housing and jury selection and authorized federal intervention when states failed to protect civil rights workers from violence.
- C. Black Power and Urban Rebellions
1. By 1966, black protest extended from the South to the entire nation, demanding not just legal equality but also economic justice, no longer holding nonviolence as its basic principle.
2. In part, the new emphases resulted from a combination of heightened activism and unrealized promise.
  3. Integration and legal equality did little to improve the material conditions of blacks, and black rage at oppressive conditions erupted in waves of riots from 1964 to 1968.
  4. In the North, Malcolm X drew on a long tradition of black nationalism and posed a powerful new challenge to the ethos of nonviolence; ideas that especially resonated with younger activists.
  5. SNCC chairman Stokely Carmichael gave named these new principles, "black power," which quickly became the rallying cry in SNCC and CORE.
  6. Carmichael rejected integration and assimilation because both implied white superiority.
  7. According to black power advocates, nonviolence only brought more beatings and killings.
  8. After police killed an unarmed black teenager in San Francisco in 1966, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale organized the Black Panther Party for Self- Defense and armed its members for self-defense against police brutality.
  9. The press paid considerable attention to black radicals, and the civil rights movement encountered a severe white backlash.
  10. Martin Luther King Jr. agreed with black power advocates on the need for "a radical reconstruction of society," yet he clung to the ideals of nonviolence and integration; on April 4, 1968, Dr. King was assassinated.
  11. Although black power organizations made headlines, they failed to capture the massive support that African Americans gave King and other earlier leaders.
- III. A Multitude of Movements**
- A. Native American Protest
1. Native American activism took on fresh militancy and goals in the 1960s.
  2. In 1961, a new, more militant generation of Native Americans expressed growing discontent with the government and with the older Indian leadership, forming the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC).
  3. Native Americans demonstrated and occupied land and public buildings, claiming rights to natural resources and territory that they had owned collectively before European settlement.

4. In Minneapolis in 1968, two Chippewa, Dennis Banks and George Mitchell, founded the American Indian Movement (AIM) to attack problems in cities, where about 300,000 Indians lived.
  5. AIM sought to protect Indians from police harassment, secure antipoverty funds, and establish “survival schools” to teach Indian history and values.
  6. AIM leaders helped to organize the “Trail of Broken Treaties” caravan to the nation’s capitol, when some of the activists took over the Bureau of Indian Affairs to express their outrage at the bureau’s policies.
  7. A much longer siege occurred on the Lakota Sioux reservation in South Dakota, where conflicts between AIM militants and older tribal leaders led AIM to take over the village of Wounded Knee.
  8. Although these occupations failed to achieve their specific goals, the wave of Indian protest produced the end of relocation and termination policies; greater tribal sovereignty and control over community services; enhanced health, education, and other services; and protection of Indian religious practices.
- B. Latino Struggles for Justice
1. An extraordinarily varied population encompassing people of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Caribbean, and other Latin American origins, Latinos, or Hispanic Americans were the fastest-growing minority group in the 1960s was.
  2. Latino organizing dated back to 1929 but, in the 1960s, young Mexican Americans, such as African Americans and Native Americans, increasingly rejected traditional polices in favor of direct action.
  3. Chicano protest drew national attention to California, where Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta organized a movement to improve the wretched conditions of migrant agricultural workers.
  4. In 1962, they founded the United Farm Workers (UFW), believing that a labor union was the key to progress.
  5. UFW strikes gained widespread support, and a national boycott of California grapes helped the union win a wage increase for the workers in 1970.
  6. Chicanos mobilized elsewhere to end discrimination in employment and education, gain political power, and combat police brutality.
  7. With blacks and Native Americans, Chicanos continued to be overrepresented among the poor but gradually won more political offices, more effective enforcement of antidiscrimination legislation, and greater respect for their culture.
- C. Student Rebellion, the New Left, and the Counterculture
1. Although materially and legally more secure than their African American, Indian, and Latino counterparts, white youth joined them in expressing dissent, supporting the black freedom struggle and launching student protests, the antiwar movement, and the new feminist and environmental movements; student movements also arose in Mexico, Germany, Turkey, Czechoslovakia, Japan, and other nations across the globe.
  2. The central organization of the white student protest was Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), formed in 1960 from a remnant of an older socialist-oriented student organization.
  3. The first large-scale white student protest arose at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1964, when university officials banned student organizations from setting up tables to recruit support for various causes.
  4. Hundreds of student rallies and building occupations followed on campuses across the country, with opposition to the Vietnam War activating the largest number of students; some students also demanded and won several college-related reforms, among them a larger voice in campus decision making.
  5. Student rebels came from the “baby boom” generation and, as children of the middle class, had the luxury of attacking the very system that made their rebellion possible.
  6. Often overlapping the New Left and student movements was the counterculture, which drew on the ideas of the Beats of the 1950s.
  7. Cultural radicals, or “hippies,” rejected many mainstream values, such as the work ethic, materialism, rationality, order, and sexual control.
  8. Rock and folk music, which during the 1960s often carried insurgent political and social messages, defined both the counterculture and the political left.

9. Hippies faded away in the 1970s, but many elements of the counterculture—from rock music to jeans and long hair—filtered into the mainstream.
  - D. Gay Men and Lesbians Organize
    1. More permissive sexual norms did not include tolerance of homosexuality, so many gay men and lesbians kept their sexuality hidden.
    2. The 1950s saw the beginning of gay and lesbian organization and, in 1965, a picket line formed outside the White House with signs calling discrimination against homosexuals “as immoral as discrimination against Negroes and Jews.”
    3. A routine police raid at The Stonewall Inn, a Greenwich Village gay bar in 1969 sparked resistance that ignited a larger movement.
    4. After Stonewall new organizations arose; the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force was founded in 1973 to provide sustained professional and national attention to gay issues.
    5. The gay rights movement struggled longer and harder to win the recognition that other social movements achieved; it would take decades to improve conditions for most homosexuals, but by the mid-1970s gay men and lesbians had established a movement through which to claim equal rights and express pride in their sexual identities.
  - E. A New Movement to Save the Environment
    1. Environmentalism also contributed to the redefinition of liberalism in the 1960s.
    2. Environmentalists dramatically broadened the agenda of the conservationists, focusing on the ravaging effects of industrial development on human life and health.
    3. In 1962, biologist Rachel Carson drew national attention to environmental concerns with her bestseller *Silent Spring*, which described the harmful effects of toxic chemicals, particularly the pesticide DDT.
    4. Responding to these concerns, the federal government staked out a broad role in environmental regulation in the 1960s and 1970s, creating the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and passing the Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA) and the Clean Air Act of 1970.
    5. In the late 1970s, when antigovernment sentiment rose and the economy slumped, it was not unusual for the imperative of economic growth to trump environmental concerns; nevertheless, Americans came to recognize that humans had developed the power to destroy life on earth.
- IV. The New Wave of Feminism**
- A. A Multifaceted Movement Emerges
    1. Beginning in the 1940s, large demographic changes laid the preconditions for a resurgence of feminism.
    2. Policy initiatives in the early 1960s reflected these larger transformations and the efforts of small bands of women’s rights activists in the 1940s and 1950s.
    3. The President’s Commission on the Status of Women (PCSW), created by Kennedy in 1961, highlighted a practice that women’s organizations and labor unions had sought to eliminate for two decades: the age-old custom of paying women less than men for the same work.
    4. The black freedom struggle also gave an immense boost to the rise of a new women’s movement, by creating a moral climate sensitive to injustice and providing precedents and strategies that feminists followed.
    5. In 1966, Betty Friedan and others founded the National Organization for Women (NOW), a “civil rights organization for women”; simultaneously, a more radical feminism grew among civil rights and New Left activists.
    6. The women’s liberation movement gained further public attention when dozens of women picketed the Miss America beauty pageant in 1968, protesting against being forced “to compete for male approval [and] enslaved by ludicrous ‘beauty’ standards.”
    7. Radical feminists differed from feminists in NOW and other more mainstream groups in that they emphasized ending women’s subordination in the family and other personal relationships, whereas NOW focused on equal treatment for women in the public sphere.
    8. Groups such as NOW wanted to integrate women into existing institutions, while radical groups insisted that women would never achieve justice until economic, political, and social institutions were totally transformed.
    9. New feminism’s leadership and constituency were predominantly white and middle class; black feminists,

- American Indian feminists, Mexican American feminists and Asian American feminists formed and worked through their own feminist groups.
10. Support for feminism was extremely multifaceted, but common threads underlay the great diversity of organizations, issues, and activities.
- B. Feminist Gains Spark a Countermovement
1. Although more an effect than a cause of women's rising employment, feminism lifted female aspirations and helped lower barriers to jobs and offices monopolized by men.
  2. During the 1970s, feminist activism produced the most sweeping changes in laws and policies affecting women since they had won the right to vote in 1920, but the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) fostered a strong countermovement led by Phyllis Schlafly and fell short of ratification by three states.
  3. Feminists also pressured state legislatures to end restrictions on abortion; *Roe v. Wade* in 1973 spurred even more opposition than the ERA.
  4. Notwithstanding resistance, feminists won many gains, including the passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972, which banned sex discrimination in all aspects of education.
  5. At the state and local levels, radical feminists won passage of laws forcing police departments and the legal system to treat rape victims more justly and humanely.
- V. Liberal Reform in the Nixon Administration
- A. Extending the Welfare State and Regulating the Economy
1. The liberal policies of the Nixon administration reflected a number of factors, including the Democrats' control of Congress and Nixon's desire to preserve support from moderates in his party and increase Republican ranks by attracting some traditional Democrats.
  2. Under Nixon, government assistance programs, such as the new Pell grants for low-income students to attend college, subsidies for low-income housing, food stamp programs, and Social Security benefits, actually grew.
  3. Nixon also acted contrary to his antigovernment rhetoric when economic crises and energy shortages induced him to increase the federal government's power in the marketplace.
4. In the fall of 1973, the United States faced its first energy crisis when Arab nations, furious at the nation's support of Israel during the Yom Kippur War, cut off oil shipments to the United States.
5. Nixon authorized temporary emergency measures allocating petroleum and establishing a national 55 mile-per-hour speed limit to save gasoline.
6. Soaring energy prices worsened already severe economic problems, including high rates of inflation and unemployment.
7. The president's response to these economic problems worked in the short term, allowing Nixon an easy reelection in 1972, but by 1974, the nation faced the most severe economic crisis since the depression of the 1930s.
8. More permanently, Nixon expanded the government's regulatory role with a host of environmental protection measures.
- B. Responding to Demands for Social Justice
1. Nixon's 1968 campaign exploited antipathy to black protest and new civil rights policies in order to woo white Southerners and northern workers away from the Democratic Party, yet his administration had to answer to the courts and Congress.
  2. Nixon was reluctant to use federal power to compel integration of southern schools, but the Supreme Court overruled efforts to delay court-ordered desegregation and compelled the administration to enforce the law.
  3. The Nixon administration also began to implement affirmative action among federal contractors and unions, and awarded more government contracts and loans to minority businesses.
  4. Women as well as minority groups benefited from the implementation of affirmative action and the strengthened Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC); several measures of the Nixon administration specifically attacked sex discrimination.
  5. President Nixon gave more public support for justice for Native Americans than for any other protest group.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 28, the *Questions for*

**Analysis and Debate** following the feature *Documenting the American Promise*, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 28.

## Review Questions

1. How did the Kennedy and Johnson administrations exemplify a liberal vision of the federal government? (pp. 1023–1031) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Thumbnail on liberalism:* The liberalism of the 1960s emphasized the government's pivotal role in regulating the economy and guaranteeing the welfare and rights of all citizens. (pp. 1023–1024)

- *Examples of social welfare legislation:* Both Kennedy and Johnson supported a variety of legislative attempts to advance civil rights (e.g., the Civil Rights Act) and reduce poverty. For example, Kennedy pushed urban renewal programs and training for the unemployed. Johnson pursued the war on poverty through the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and a new food stamp program. (pp. 1025–1027)

- *Examples of legislation aimed at regulating the economy:* In 1963, Kennedy asked Congress to pass a large tax cut to boost the economy and decrease unemployment. Johnson helped push it through Congress after Kennedy's death. (pp. 1024–1025)

2. How did the civil rights movement change in the mid-1960s? (pp. 1031–1039) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Expansion:* The number of protests and protesters expanded dramatically in the 1960s. New organizations such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee helped mobilize protests. Activists also demanded economic justice as well as legal equality. (pp. 1032–1033)

- *Voter registration efforts:* In the summer of 1961 civil rights groups began a Voter Education Project to encourage African Americans to register and vote in parts of the country where their voting rights had been restricted. (pp. 1033–1034)

- *Violent response:* Civil rights activists that pursued civil disobedience and voter registration faced increased violent opposition. (pp. 1033–1034)

- *Increased federal support:* The efforts of civil rights leaders overcame Kennedy and Johnson's reluctance to fight with southern Democrats and led them to use federal powers to help protect civil rights activists and to enforce legislative gains. (pp. 1034–1036)

- *Legislative gains:* The Civil Rights Act of 1964 undermined legal racial segregation and guaranteed access to public accommodations, public education, employment, and voting regardless of race. The Voting Rights Act gave the federal government authority to protect black voting rights. The Civil Rights Act of 1968 and Johnson's executive order requiring affirmative action by employers with government contracts strengthened the government's ability to protect and promote civil rights. (pp. 1034–1035)

- *Turn toward radicalism:* Dissatisfied with the pace and extent of change in minorities' lives as a result of civil rights legislation, some civil rights activists rejected nonviolence and integration and demanded broader societal reform. For example, black nationalism gained support and became a new model for social movements. (pp. 1037–1039)

3. How did the black freedom struggle influence other reform movements of the 1960s and 1970s? (pp. 1039–1049) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Inspiration:* The success of the black civil rights movement encouraged other groups to make concerted demands for changes in their treatment, often adopting the methods of black civil rights activists. (p. 1039)

- *Examples of militant reformist movements:* The National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) rejected assimilation, echoing the demands of black radicals for self-determination. (pp. 1039–1041)

- *Adopting direct action:* Like black civil rights activists, many reformers were skeptical of the effectiveness of slow political change and turned to direct actions such as strikes. For example, the United Farm Workers founded by Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta organized strikes to demand better treatment for Hispanic agricultural workers. Students demonstrated and occupied university buildings to demand reforms such as more financial support for minority students and changes to school curriculum (pp. 1041–1042)

4. Why did a strong countermovement emerge to oppose feminist reform? (pp. 1049–1053) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Successes of the feminist movement:* Women's growing presence in the workforce and in higher education pushed many to organize and demand reforms. Feminists enjoyed some legislative successes, such as the Equal Pay Act of 1963 that helped lessen the gap between men and women's pay. (pp. 1051–1052)

- *Radical turn:* Like other civil rights groups, many feminists grew frustrated at the slow pace of reform and demanded more radical change in their pursuit of equality. (p. 1051)

- *Countermovement:* The success of feminists, the popularity of many of their demands for reform, and the prospect of the Equal Rights Amendment stimulated a countermovement. Phyllis Schlafly mobilized grassroots protest by arguing that feminism devalued women's traditional roles as mothers and wives. The Supreme Court decision *Roe v. Wade*, which protected women's access to abortion, also provoked a powerful reaction. (pp. 1052–1053)

5. Why and how did Republican president Richard Nixon expand the liberal reforms of previous administrations? (pp. 1053, 1056–1057) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Pressure on the president:* The Democrats continued to control Congress during Nixon's administration and resisted his attempts to roll back government assistance. Grassroots movements and economic circumstances also pushed the president to continue funding for many liberal reforms. (pp. 1053, 1054)

- *Examples of expansion of social welfare:* Nixon's administration expanded the food stamps program, subsidies for low-income housing, social security benefits, and funding to help low-income students get a college education (p. 1056)

- *Examples of intervention in the marketplace:* Americans' enormous consumption of fossil fuels left the country vulnerable to constrictions on supply. When Arab nations cut off shipments of fuel to the United States, costs skyrocketed and shortages became the norm. Nixon intervened by establishing a national speed limit to save gasoline and by authorizing temporary emergency measures for allocating petroleum. Nixon responded to "stagflation" by trying to stimulate the economy without creating inflation by freezing wages and prices and establishing a surcharge on most imports. (pp. 1056–1057)

Johnson was expanding an existing liberal government in the midst of a booming economy. (pp. 1026–1028; *see also* chapter 24, particularly pp. 868–869, 872–877)

- *Continuities:* Many of Johnson's programs that had their roots in the New Deal. For example, both presidents used public works projects to reduce unemployment and stimulate economic growth. They both provided direct aid through food stamps. Johnson expanded Roosevelt's attempts to lessen the poverty of the elderly through Social Security by creating Medicare. (pp. 1027–1028; *see also* chapter 24, pp. 873–875)

- *Differences:* Johnson's concern with poverty as an endemic problem rather than an historical crisis led him to also pursue programs whose effects would only be felt well into the future, such as authorizing federal funds for schools through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. (p. 1027)

- *Evaluation:* Both programs made important inroads against poverty. Both provided assistance unevenly along racial and gender lines. Yet, Roosevelt's gains were limited by the ongoing depression and high unemployment. It would take the massive mobilization for the Second World War to stabilize the shaky economy. Johnson's programs made great strides in reducing poverty, but he, like Roosevelt, was unwilling to undertake the redistribution of income that many thought necessary to end poverty definitively. (pp. 1028–1029; *see also* chapter 24, pp. 883–884)

2. During the 1960s, African Americans made substantial gains in asserting their freedoms and rights. Discuss how the civil rights movement produced significant social change. Were there limits to its success? What part did government play in this process? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Strategies of the movement:* The civil rights movement of the 1950s had successfully challenged segregation and discrimination in the courts. In the 1960s, civil rights activists expanded the use of mass protest by organizing direct confrontations with the people and institutions that segregated and discriminated against black Americans. Groups, including the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), organized voter registration drives in the South where they faced brutal violence. The scenes of whites' violent attacks on black demonstrators helped create greater national sympathy for the civil rights movement and eased the way for legislative change. (pp. 1033–1034; *see also* chapter 27)

- *Role of the federal government:* Despite a disinclination to alienate southern white voters, the federal government was pushed into action to support the efforts of civil rights activists because of the

## Making Connections

1. Both Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and Lyndon Johnson's Great Society attacked poverty. How was Johnson's approach different from the New Deal? Which was more successful, and what contributed to the relative successes and failures of each approach? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Context:* Roosevelt's New Deal addressed poverty as part of the fallout from an economic cataclysm, the Great Depression. In passing New Deal reforms, Roosevelt had to overcome opposition to the unprecedented expansion of the federal government and stimulate a depressed economy. In contrast,

effectiveness of their demands for reforms. Kennedy reluctantly sent federal troops to protect James H. Meredith during his integration of the University of Mississippi. Johnson shepherded civil rights legislation through the Congress, including the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act, and the Civil Rights Act of 1968. These legislative successes ended legal segregation and strengthened black voting rights. (pp. 1034–1036)

• *Limits of reform:* Even the dramatic successes of the 1960s did little to change the material conditions of blacks. Outrage over continuing discrimination and hardship exploded in urban riots. Some black leaders urged African Americans to give up looking for justice within the American system and instead advocated black nationalism (p. 1038)

3. Women participated in various ways in the feminism that emerged in the 1960s. How can we explain the rise of this movement? What assumptions and goals were held in common in this diverse movement? *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Historical roots of the movement:* American advocates for women had pushed for greater rights for women for over a century and had enjoyed important successes such as winning woman suffrage. Economic trends in the mid-twentieth century, particularly women's growing presence in the workforce, undermined the idea that all women were dependents restricted to the household. These developments set the stage for the vigorous feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s. (pp. 1049–1051)

• *Contemporary influences:* The black civil rights movement had made Americans more sensitive to the problems of discrimination and provided a model on how to pursue political and social change. Many feminists had direct experience in other reform movements of the era. (p. 1051)

• *Divisions and commonalities:* Feminists differed on which goals they thought should take priority as well as on questions of means. For example, groups such as the National Organization for Women focused on demands for equality in the public sphere while women's liberation focused on private equality. Still, all feminists supported an end to gender discrimination in public arenas including politics and in economic matters such as wages and employment opportunities. They also wanted recognition of the range of possibilities for women in their private lives alongside respect and equality. (pp. 1051–1052)

4. Most of the reform movements of the 1960s sought equality as one of their key priorities, but significant differences existed among Americans in general about what equality meant. Should equality be limited to equal treatment under the law, or should it

extend to economic welfare, education, sexual relations, and other aspects of life? Examining two reform movements, discuss how different ideas of equality contributed to the accomplishments and disappointments of each movement. *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Black civil rights movement, equality before the law:* Although they faced fierce and even violent opposition from some quarters, the mass protests of black civil rights leaders helped produce a legal and legislative revolution. For example, a commitment to ensuring that discriminatory laws should not abridge the Constitution's promise of equality characterized the Warren Court's decisions, including *Baker v. Carr*. A related expectation—that the federal government should be used to protect legal equality—along with the force of activists, led to adoption of legislation to insulate constitutional promises of equality against discriminatory laws and practices. (pp. 1031, 1034–1036)

• *Black civil rights movement, equality and change:* Despite judicial and legislative successes, many civil rights leaders recognized that these measures did relatively little to address material inequalities, particularly the poverty that many African Americans faced. When the powerful civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr. expanded his demands to include economic justice, he found less support from the government and American public. Some leaders, including Malcolm X, criticized the movement's commitment to nonviolence and integration and argued that true equality could only be realized through separation, independence and autonomy. (pp. 1037–1039)

• *Feminism and demands for legal equality:* Women's demands for judicial and legislative remedy for inequality in the workplace received moderate government support, for example, through the President's Commission on the Status of Women, which confirmed the reality of discrimination and the Equal Pay Act. Demands for a more expansive understanding of equality, for example through the Equal Rights Amendment, which would have outlawed differential treatment of men and women under all state and federal laws, met with fierce and ultimately successful opposition. (pp. 1050–1053)

• *Divisions within feminism:* Feminists differed on whether equality could best be achieved through changes in the public sphere (e.g., access to work, equal pay, political voice, etc.) or changes in private lives (e.g., in familial and sexual relationships). These differences sometimes developed into questions of whether equality could be achieved within existing political and social organizations, or whether radical social reorganization was necessary. Feminists also had to negotiate how other differences, such as race and class, should be addressed in the demands for women's rights. (pp. 1051–1052)

### Documenting the American Promise: Student Protest (pp. 1044–1045)

1. How do the statements by Edward Schwartz and the Columbia SDS chapter differ in the issues they address? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Statement by Schwartz:* Schwartz's statement addresses primarily the experiences of students on campuses. He talks about the issues of student life, curriculum development, college/university governance, and articulates the idea that students should play a larger role in shaping the campus community and its policies.

- *Statement by Columbia SDS:* Columbia SDS's statement, unlike Schwartz's, focuses less on student life at the university, and more on the role that Columbia and other institutions play in their larger communities and in the world. This document suggests that Columbia is an institution that oppresses its employees, its tenants, and—through its ROTC program and work for the IDA and the CIA—the people of Vietnam.

2. What did Counterthrust see as the biggest problem with student protesters? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Militancy and radicalism:* Counterthrust argues that the biggest problem with student protesters is that they do not advocate democracy, but the takeover of the university by a minority of students who advocate a radical and militant agenda and who do not want to preserve any part of the status quo.

3. Do you agree or disagree with the Columbus SDS chapter's assertion that it is impossible for a university to be neutral or value free? Why or why not? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Sample arguments for the possibility for neutrality:* Students making this argument might suggest that the university should be a neutral place where professors and students aim for objectivity and search for the truth. Some might focus on the university as a place to learn, to gather information, and to consider a variety of possible solutions to social problems. Perhaps they will suggest that no individual can be neutral, but that competing interests within a university can make its overall effect a neutral one.

- *Sample arguments for the impossibility of neutrality:* Some students might focus on the political viewpoints of faculty, administration and students, arguing that no one is really objective and that, therefore, neutrality is impossible. Others will probably focus on the economic and political relationships that universities have with their donors, with governments in the case of public institutions, and with other funders.

4. To what extent do your own campus policies and practices suggest that student protest during the 1960s and 1970s made a difference? What changes that the protesters demanded are not evident at your college or university? Should they be? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Typical changes that came as a result of student protests:* Student protesters won many of the changes they demanded such as: an end to *in loco parentis* policies, co-ed dormitories, more student input into curricular policies, more student input in college and university governance, programs in women's studies and black studies, and courses that question the status quo rather than perpetuating it.

- *Typical unmet student demands:* Most colleges and universities never became as democratic as students in the 1960s wanted them to be. While students were granted more input into curricula, policy-making, and hiring decisions, for example, they did not get as much influence as they desired. Many institutions have decreased student input in their decision-making processes and have reinstated distribution requirements that were abolished in response to student demand. Many institutions have also begun to monitor student life to a greater degree in recent years, chipping away at some of the freedoms students gained in the wake of 1960s protests.

### Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Advertising the Pill (p. 1047)

**Reading the Image:** What are two clues to determining the audience to which this ad is directed? What assumptions does it make about women and about physicians? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Audience:* The most prominent clue that this ad is directed toward doctors is the large male hand exhibited wearing the watch calendar that doctors would get as a gift from the drug company. Another clue is that the pills are "for her" while the calendar is "for you," indicating that the product is not marketed toward the audience that would actually consumer the product.

- *Assumptions about Women:* This ad illustrates that the greatest selling point of DialPak and the new pill was the ease with which women would remember to take it. The ad assumes that women would have

difficulty remembering to take a regular course of medicine without a device such as DialPak to assist them. There is also no mention of cost or the relative safety of taking such a pill.

- *Assumptions about Doctors:* By offering doctor's a watch calendar in exchange for recommending DialPak to women the advertisement implies that doctor's decisions regarding new medicine were somewhat swayed by the promise of a gift or new gadget. The "doctor's" hand takes up almost half of the space of the advertisement and is much more prominent than the actual product shot of DialPak. The advantages of using DialPak do not touch at all on cost, function, or any potential dangers in taking the pill, but focus solely on the ease of using DialPak.

**Connections:** How important was control of reproduction to the women's movement that arose the mid-1960s? How might the Pill have been connected to changes in sexual practices and attitudes? Why do you think research focused on a birth control to block women's fertility rather than men's? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Control of reproduction:* The scientific advance of the birth control pill, which offered women the first reliable way to assume control over their own reproduction, was crucial to the rise of the women's movement. Along with the rise of women attending college, the emergence of the pill made many women feel that they were increasingly taking control over their own lives. This shift emboldened some of these women to demand more rights for their gender, sparking the growth of the women's movement.

- *Sexual practices and attitudes during the mid-1960s:* The pill played a central role in changing sexual practices and attitudes during the 1960s. The control that the pill gave women over their own reproduction and sexuality made many of them more willing to engage in sexual experimentation. Additionally, this control made some women feel more confident about expressing their sexual desires that society had previously viewed as unrespectable.

### Lunch Counter Sit-in (p. 1032)

**Reading the Image:** What does the photograph tell you about black civil rights activity of the early 1960s? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Civil Rights activity in the early 1960s:* The picture of the lunch counter sit-in suggests that, in 1963, breaking the rules of segregation at a lunch counter in the South led to hostility and outrage from whites who felt threatened by this form of civil disobedience. People standing near the counter reacted to the sit-in in different ways. Some of them just watched the

scene, others laughed at and ridiculed the protesters, and still other spectators threw food and poured beverages on them. The common reaction, however, was hostility. Sitting in different sections of a restaurant was such a commonly understood and expected behavior that the real issue was not whether white or black people violated segregation; instead, it was the effort by some to resist the rules that automatically created tension between the races and drew aggressive reactions from whites. To challenge segregation was perceived as an assault on the social traditions of southern whites, traditions that would not be easily dissolved.

**Connections:** How would you describe the changes in race relations between African Americans and whites in the United States in the first half of the 1960s? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Race relations during the first half of the 1960s:* During the 1960s, race relations between African Americans and whites went through several different phases. First, the relationship between the federal government and African Americans underwent a radical shift: The Supreme Court tried to stop institutional racism through a series of decisions meant to end legal segregation. These decisions, along with the Civil Rights Act, changed the fundamental relationship between the government and African Americans. However, this did not mean that the hostile attitude that whites had toward African Americans radically changed or that blacks' economic conditions immediately improved.

- *Race relations and civil rights activists:* Second, during the 1960s, black civil rights activity became a mass movement involved in direct actions, such as sit-ins and marches. Due to widespread black civil rights activity, the issues of segregation and discrimination gained high visibility in the national media. Many white liberals participated in the civil rights movement and worked closely with African Americans. The goals of the cooperative effort were aimed at the integration of African Americans into the political, social, educational, and cultural life of mainstream America.

- *Race relations and black power:* Third, as frustrations grew with white-based institutions and the failure of legislation to curb racism or economic inequality on a national level, the concept of black power and separatism grew in urban areas throughout the country. Advocates of black power were nationalists who did not seek the cooperation of white sympathizers or institutions and looked to achieve their goals through confrontation instead. They quickly evoked responses from local and federal authorities, who subsequently used any means necessary to eradicate black power militants from society.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 28.2 The Rise of the African American Vote, 1940–1976 (p. 1036)

**Reading the Map:** When did the biggest change in African American voter registration occur in the South? Which states had the highest and which had the lowest voter registration rates in 1968? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Change in voter registration in the South:* The biggest change in African American voter registration occurred between 1940 and 1964, when the percentage of voting-age blacks who were registered to vote increased from 3 percent to 43.1 percent.

- *Voter registration rates in 1968:* In 1968, Texas and Tennessee had the highest voter registration records, with more than 70 percent of voting-age blacks registered. South Carolina, Mississippi, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Virginia, and Louisiana had the lowest records that year, with less than 60 percent of voting-age blacks registered. South Carolina was the state with the lowest percentage registered in 1968—only 50.8 percent.

**Connections:** What role did African American voters play in the 1960 election? What were the targets of three major voting drives in the 1960s? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *African American voters and the 1960 election:* In the 1960 election, African American voters played a crucial role. The Democratic candidate, John F. Kennedy, won against the Republican Richard M. Nixon in a close race, helped in large part by African American voters. While Nixon received more than 50 percent of the white vote, black voters' preference for Kennedy contributed to his 120,000-vote margin overall and to close victories in key states such as Illinois and Michigan.

- *Voting Drives in the 1960s:* Three major voting drives for African Americans took place in the 1960s. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and other black groups launched a Voter Education Project in the summer of 1961. In 1964, the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project organized northern college students to conduct voter education classes and help blacks to register in Mississippi. In January 1965, the SCLC and SNCC initiated a voting campaign in Selma, Alabama. The goals of these campaigns were to teach African Americans how to fill out voter

registration forms correctly and assist potential voters in the overall procedure.

### Map 28.3 Urban Uprisings, 1965–1968 (p. 1037)

**Reading the Map:** In what regions and cities of the United States were the 1960s uprisings concentrated? What years saw the greatest unrest? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Race uprisings during the 1960s:* Riots were concentrated in cities. Large cities such as Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and San Francisco–Oakland experienced multiple riots. The regions with the most riots were the Northeast and Midwest, although other regions also experienced them. The Northwest had the fewest. Riots were at their peak during the years 1965–1968. The map shows that more riots occurred during the years 1967–1968 than in 1965–1966.

**Connections:** What were some of the causes of racial unrest in America's cities during this period? Whom did whites generally hold responsible for the riots and why? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Causes of racial unrest:* Deeply ingrained injustices in American society interacted with younger African Americans' frustration at the slow pace of change to cause racial unrest in the mid-1960s. The success of civil rights campaigns to end legal discrimination failed to bring about immediate improvement in the lives of African Americans living in large cities, where chronic poverty and police brutality went unaddressed by laws banning segregation.

- *Whites' opinion on the causes of the riots:* Although the Kerner Commission, which investigated the causes of the riots, advocated that Americans work to end segregation in all its facets, many white Americans ignored those requests and instead blamed the violence on the rioters, who, they believed, were prone to looting and lawbreaking.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in "Additional Resources for Chapter 28."*

### LECTURE 1

#### *Liberalism*

This lecture covers the domestic policies of the Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon administrations. First, remind students that John F. Kennedy entered the

White House with the slimmest of victories; from the very beginning, he was acutely aware of the balancing act he would have to perform in order to maintain his coalition. Although Kennedy's administration—the “best and the brightest”—displayed a youthful dynamism, many of his advisers were not especially well versed in practical politics. Suggest that there existed a large gap between what Kennedy proclaimed he stood for and what he accomplished in office. Although the president scored minor victories, he failed to push through key parts of the Democratic platform—health care for the elderly and federal aid for education. By the summer of 1963, he promised major legislation in domestic reform, but he was assassinated before he saw any of his plans come to fruition.

Next, you should mention that within six months of assuming office, Lyndon Johnson had announced the goal of his administration—the Great Society, which would ensure abundance and liberty for all citizens. Introduce Johnson's proposal for the Great Society, and ask students what Johnson believed the promise of America to be. The president scored major victories in antipoverty legislation and civil rights. You will want to cover the programs under his Office of Economic Opportunity, the 1964 tax cut, the Economic Opportunity Act, Medicare and Medicaid, federal aid to education, the Immigrant and Nationality Act, and the Civil Rights and Voting Acts. Ultimately, however, Johnson abandoned his domestic program to fight a war abroad. Note that Democratic losses in the 1966 election stemmed the tide of Great Society legislation. Ask students whether or not the Great Society fulfilled the promise of America.

The last portion of your lecture should discuss the ways in which liberalism persisted during the Nixon administration. Remind students that Democrats still controlled Congress, that Nixon hoped to win over traditionally minded Democratic voters to the Republican Party, and that it would have been impossible for Nixon to ignore the grassroots movements that began earlier in the decade. Note especially the ways in which the welfare state actually expanded during Nixon's two terms in office. Note, too, that Nixon expanded the government's role in the marketplace when his administration faced economic crises and energy shortages. Point out to students that even though Nixon was reluctant to use the power of the federal government to protect the rights of African Americans, the Supreme Court overruled efforts by the Justice Department to block integration efforts. Nixon was much more willing to support legislation to support the efforts of Native Americans to secure justice. End this lecture with a discussion of the achievements and limitations of liberalism.

## LECTURE 2

### *The Civil Rights Movement*

When discussing the civil rights movement, you might emphasize that it was a grassroots movement. By the late 1950s, it had blossomed into a national movement that had garnered a considerable amount of public support. Begin with a brief review of some of the victories African Americans scored during the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, reminding students of Truman's executive order desegregating the armed services, the success of the Montgomery bus boycott, and the major precedent set by the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. Divide the rest of your lecture into three phases of the movement.

First, you should address the civil disobedience phase, discussing the importance of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s philosophy of nonviolence and demonstrating the ways in which this philosophy influenced the sit-ins, the Freedom Rides, the boycotts and marches, and voter registration efforts. Here would be a good time for reviewing photos of the movement as well as the spot map of the Freedom Rides of 1961 on page 1033.

Second, consider the legislative victories of the civil rights movement, reviewing the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts passed during Johnson's administration. Here, you may wish to have your class discuss what difference black voting rights made.

Finally, discuss the failings of nonviolence and legislation—as perceived by some African Americans—and the rise of the black power movement in the mid-1960s. Emphasize the resistance African Americans received from hostile whites, especially but not exclusively in the South. Ask students whether King and his followers, SNCC members, and black power advocates shared the same vision of what the American promise was. Stress the importance of television in bringing the struggles and victories of the civil rights movement into the homes of millions of Americans, but do not overemphasize the case. Many students may wrongly assign too much credit to the media for the success of the civil rights movement. Remind them that savvy leaders were able to manipulate the media to its advantage but that television cameras were largely absent from the daily struggles that activists waged for a just society.

## LECTURE 3

### *Power to the People*

In this lecture, you can demonstrate how the black power movement of the mid-1960s inspired other minorities to vocalize their discontent with the

established culture. You can discuss first the Native American and Chicano rights movements, explaining how both groups were able to secure greater attention and respect from the public; initiate some federal antidiscrimination legislation; and, maybe more importantly, instill in their members a sense of cultural pride. Talk about the lesbian and gay movement and its relationship to movements for racial equality.

Next, discuss student and women activists, who, though generally members of the white middle and upper-middle classes, believed that they were oppressed by the dominant culture. In what ways did these activists take their cues from the civil rights movement? You should also review the Warren Court's support of the rights of the marginal and powerless in American society—minorities, the poor and uneducated, and political dissenters—especially in guaranteeing the rights of the accused, civil and voting rights, and the rights of religious and political freedom.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. The Kennedy Assassination

Be prepared to answer the inevitable questions on the Kennedy assassination. Many of your students have probably seen the Oliver Stone film *JFK* (1991) and may believe that it offers an accurate interpretation of the historical evidence. You will want to emphasize that although conspiracy theories have abounded since the event, there is no direct evidence linking Lee Harvey Oswald with a second shooter or with a larger plot orchestrated by either ultraconservative Texans or Communists. President Johnson appointed a commission headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren to investigate the assassination; and although it came under a barrage of criticism for its inaccuracies and omissions, it found no evidence to support a conspiracy theory. Later investigations have proved inconclusive. You may wish to take this opportunity to discuss the reasons why Kennedy's assassination has generated such a flurry of speculation, suggesting the transformative nature of the event on the consciousness of the nation.

### 2. Malcolm X

Students may have questions about the role of Malcolm X in the civil rights movement, especially if they have seen Spike Lee's movie *Malcolm X* (1992) or read *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. Lee's film clearly implicates the Nation of Islam in the assassination of Malcolm X. You may first wish to cover the reasons for Malcolm's split with Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam and then discuss the assassination

itself. Three members of the Nation of Islam were convicted of the murder of Malcolm X, but because he was such a controversial figure and incurred the wrath of so many, debate has surrounded the conviction. You may wish to broaden your discussion to include Malcolm X's criticisms of the traditional civil rights movement as well as the reformulations he made near the end of his life.

### 3. The Media Created the Modern Civil Rights Movement

Many students may wrongly assume that the media—especially television—created the modern civil rights movement. Some sources perpetuate this view. PBS's documentary series *Eyes on the Prize*, for example, although excellent in many respects, perhaps places too much influence on television's role in the movement. Moreover, students tend to get most of their information from television and may therefore assign it too much credit. Still, you can consider ways in which civil rights activists used the media to their advantage—in other words, demonstrate that activists also had control. You might mention some of the daily struggles that African Americans and their supporters experienced out of view of the television cameras.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

There are a number of good documentaries on the civil rights movement. Spike Lee's film *Four Little Girls* (1997) offers a sensitive treatment of the four girls who died in the bombing of Birmingham's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, the work of white supremacist "Dynamite Bob" Chambliss in 1963. The PBS documentary *Malcolm X: Make It Plain* (1994) offers in-depth treatment of the famed civil rights leader. A number of episodes of the PBS series *Eyes on the Prize* work well in the classroom: "Ain't Scared of Your Jails, 1960–1961" covers the sit-in and Freedom Ride movements; "No Easy Walk, 1961–1963" covers Martin Luther King Jr.'s and the SCLC's Project Campaign in Birmingham and the 1963 March on Washington; "Mississippi: Is This America? 1962–1964" treats the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's bid to be recognized as the legitimate representative of Mississippians at the 1964 Democratic Convention and Bob Moses's 1964 Freedom Summer Project; and "Bridge to Freedom, 1965" covers the 1965 march from Selma to Montgomery and LBJ's signing into law the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which many believe to be the pinnacle of success for the civil rights movement. You might also want to show the

segments from “JFK” and “LBJ” (both part of PBS’s *American Experience* series) that deal with the presidents’ domestic policies.

Some Hollywood films have captured the mood of America during the “turbulent decade.” When covering the civil rights movement, consider screening the five-Oscar winner *In the Heat of the Night* (1967), which deals with a racist Mississippi sheriff who must accept help from a big-city black detective to solve a murder. You might also want to show scenes from the 1964 film *Nothing but a Man*, the first major Hollywood film with an all-black cast and crew. When discussing America’s continuing struggle with communism, consider showing *The Manchurian Candidate* (1962). When discussing rebellion and angst, consider showing *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967) or *The Graduate* (1967). You might also consider showing *Planet of the Apes* (1968) or *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968).

### Class Discussion Starters

Ask students what directions the civil rights movement might have taken had Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. not been assassinated. The question will allow students to explore potential changes in the two men’s outlooks. After his pilgrimage to Mecca, Malcolm X seemed more willing to work with mainstream civil rights organizations than he had been during the early phase of his career. Martin Luther King Jr. began to speak out on issues of economic justice during the later phase of his career. Remind students that King was in Memphis to support a strike by sanitation workers when he was assassinated. The question will also allow students to explore the nature of leadership. How critical were these two men to the people they led? You might want to remind students of the grassroots nature of the movement.

### Historical Debates

Many conservative critics of the Warren Court charge that it exceeded its constitutional authority and made social policy rather than interpreted the law. Ask students if they believe the court overstretched its bounds. Did it extend to disadvantaged groups rights already guaranteed by the Constitution, or did it create new, or “special,” rights?

### Reading Primary Sources

Using the feature *Documenting the American Promise* in chapter 28 (pp. 1044–1045), ask your students to consider the different backgrounds and circumstances of the authors of these writings. How might factors such as race, gender and economic class be important for understanding the viewpoints expressed?

## Additional Resources for Chapter 28

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 28 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 28.1: The Election of 1960 (p. 1023)
- Map 28.2: The Rise of the African American Vote, 1940–1976 (p. 1036)
- Map 28.3: Urban Uprisings, 1965–1968 (p. 1037)
- Freedom Riders Attacked (p. 1033)
- First Issue of Ms. Magazine (p. 1052)

#### Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 28 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 28.1: The Election of 1960 (p. 1032)
- Map 28.2: The Rise of the African American Vote, 1940–1976 (p. 1036)
- Map 28.3: Urban Uprisings, 1965–1968 (p. 1037)
- Lunch Counter Sit-In (p. 1032)
- Birth Control Pill Advertisement (p. 1047)
- Johnson signs the Immigration and Nationality Act (p. 1028)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 28 include:

- *Lyndon B. Johnson and American Liberalism: A Brief Biography with Documents*, by Bruce J. Shulman
- *Cesar Chavez: A Brief Biography with Documents*, by Richard W. Etulain
- *U.S. Environmentalism Since 1945*, by Steve Stoll

## For Students

### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 28 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- President Lyndon B. Johnson Describes the Great Society: *Address at the University of Michigan*, May 22, 1964
- New Left Students Seek Democratic Social change: Students for a Democratic Society, *The Port Huron Statement*, 1962
- Martin Luther King Jr. Explains Nonviolent Resistance: *Letter from Birmingham City Jail*, 1963
- Black Power: *Chicago Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Leaflet*, 1967
- Equal Rights for Women: *National Organization for Women Statement of Purpose*, October 29, 1966

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 28:

### Map Activities

- Map 28.2: The Rise of the African American Vote, 1940–1976 (p. 1036)
- Map 28.3: Urban Uprisings, 1965–1968 (p. 1037)

### Visual Activities

- Lunch Counter Sit-In (p. 1032)
- Birth Control Pill Advertisement (p. 1047)

### Reading Historical Documents Activity

- Student Protest (pp. 1044–1045)

# Vietnam and the Limits of Power

## 1961–1975

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### Chapter Learning Objectives

1. What was John F. Kennedy's New Frontier in American foreign policy? What new approach did his administration take to the third world? What crises with Cuba did his administration face? How did Kennedy deepen U.S. involvement in Vietnam?
2. How did Johnson "Americanize" the war in Vietnam, and how effective was this strategy?
3. In what ways was the nation polarized by the war? What effect did the anti war movement have on American society? Why was 1968 a year of upheaval?
4. How did Nixon move the United States closer to détente with the Soviet Union and China? How did the United States shore up anticomunism in the third world? What was Nixon's policy of Vietnamization, and why did the president initiate a secret war in Cambodia? What was achieved at the peace talks, and why did Saigon fall? What were the legacies of defeat in Vietnam?
3. Although the president exaggerated the actual threat to national security, several developments in 1961 heightened the sense of crisis and provided rationalization for a military buildup.
4. The Soviet Union had aligned itself with independence movements in the third world; nowhere was the perceived threat closer to home than in Cuba, just ninety miles from Florida.
5. On April 17, 1961, about 1,300 anti-Castro exiles who had been trained and armed by the CIA landed at the Bay of Pigs on the south shore of Cuba.
6. Contrary to U.S. expectations, no popular uprising materialized in Cuba to support the anti-Castro uprising, and the invaders quickly fell to Castro's forces, providing a humiliating defeat to the Kennedy administration.
7. Days before the Bay of Pigs invasion, the United States suffered a psychological blow when a Soviet astronaut became the first human to orbit the earth; the Americans followed the year after, and in 1969, became the first to set foot on the moon.
8. In June 1961, Kennedy and Khrushchev held a meeting in which the Soviet premier demanded an agreement recognizing the existence of two Germanys.
9. The massive exodus of East Germans into West Berlin embarrassed the Communists and in order to stop this flow of escapes

### Annotated Chapter Outline

#### I. New Frontiers in Foreign Policy

- A. Meeting the "Hour of Maximum Danger"
  1. Kennedy and other Democrats criticized the Eisenhower administration for relying too heavily on nuclear weapons.
  2. They wanted to build up conventional ground forces as well, to provide the nation a "flexible response" to Communist expansion.

- from behind the iron curtain, East Germany erected a wall between East and West Berlin, shocking the world.
10. Kennedy used the Berlin crisis to add \$3.2 billion to the defense budget and to expand the military by 300,000 troops.
- B. New Approaches to the Third World
1. The Kennedy administration sought to complement its hard-line policy toward the Soviet Union with fresh approaches to the nationalist movements for independence that had convulsed the world since the end of World War II.
  2. More than his other predecessors, Kennedy publicly supported third world democratic and nationalist aspirations.
  3. Kennedy created the Alliance for Progress, designed to thwart communism and hold nations in the American sphere by fostering economic development, promising \$20 billion in aid for Latin America over the next decade.
  4. In 1961, Kennedy launched his most dramatic third world initiative: the Peace Corps.
  5. Kennedy also used direct military means, usually in the form of "special forces," to bring political stability to the third world; nevertheless, Kennedy's foreign aid initiatives fell far short of their objectives.
- C. The Arms Race and the Nuclear Brink
1. The final piece of Kennedy's defense strategy was to strengthen American nuclear dominance.
  2. The superpowers came perilously close to using nuclear weapons in 1962, when Khrushchev decided to install nuclear missiles in Cuba.
  3. Projecting the appearance of toughness was paramount to Kennedy; rather than conducting quiet negotiations with the Soviets he launched a public showdown.
  4. While Americans experienced the most fearful days of the cold war, Kennedy and Khrushchev negotiated an agreement.
  5. Finally, the Soviets removed the missiles and pledged not to introduce new offensive weapons into Cuba; the United States promised not to invade the island and secretly agreed to remove missiles from Turkey.
  6. While the Cuban missile crisis contributed to Khrushchev's fall from power two years later, Kennedy emerged triumphant.
  7. Kennedy worked with Khrushchev to prevent further confrontations by installing a special "hot line" to speed top-level communications, and, in 1963, by signing, along with Great Britain, a limited test ban treaty.
- D. A Growing War in Vietnam
1. Although Kennedy criticized the idea of a "Pax Americana enforced in the world by American weapons of war," he increased the flow of those weapons into South Vietnam.
  2. Two major problems stood in the way of Kennedy's objective of holding firm in Vietnam.
  3. First, the South Vietnamese insurgents, the Vietcong, were an indigenous force whose initiative came from within, not from the Soviet Union or China.
  4. The second problem lay with the South Vietnamese government, a corrupt, repressive government that refused to satisfy the demands of the insurgents but could not defeat them militarily.
  5. When North Vietnam invaded, matters escalated; Kennedy responded with measured steps.
  6. By the spring of 1963 military aid doubled and nine thousand military advisers were in Vietnam, sometimes participating in combat, but the Diem government refused to make good on its promises of reform.
  7. American officials assumed that the military's superior technology and sheer power would win the struggle.
  8. With tacit approval from Vietnam, South Vietnamese military leaders launched a coup on November 2, 1963, brutally executing Premier Diem and his brother who headed the secret police.
  9. Although shocked by the killings, Kennedy indicated no change in policy; by the time of his death 16,000 Americans had served in Vietnam and 100 had died there.
- II. Lyndon Johnson's War against Communism**
- A. An All-Out Commitment in Vietnam
1. Johnson faced a dilemma in Vietnam: his predecessors had made a commitment to stopping Communism there and the public seemed willing to follow his leadership, but some advisers cautioned him against continued American involvement.
  2. Some critics of the war advised the administration to pursue a face-saving way out of Vietnam but Johnson continued to dispatch more advisers, weapons, and economic aid.

3. In 1964 Johnson, believing American credibility was on the line, seized the opportunity to increase the pressure on North Vietnam.
  4. In response to a report that North Vietnamese gunboats had fired on U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin, Johnson ordered air strikes on North Vietnamese targets and requested and received Congress's permission to repel further armed attacks against United States forces.
  5. Johnson's tough stance in the Gulf of Tonkin crisis, just two months before the 1964 elections, helped counter the charges made by his opponent, Arizona senator Barry Goldwater, that he was "soft on communism."
  6. After winning reelection, Johnson widened the war, rejecting peace overtures from North Vietnam and initiating Operation Rolling Thunder, a bombing campaign against them.
  7. Early in 1965, Johnson ordered the first U.S. ground troops to South Vietnam, and in July, Johnson shifted U.S. troops from defensive to offensive operations.
- B. Preventing Another Castro in Latin America
1. Closer to home, Johnson faced perpetual problems in Latin America despite the efforts of the Alliance for Progress.
  2. In 1964, riots erupted in the Panama Canal Zone, which the United States had seized and made a U.S. territory early in the century.
  3. Elsewhere, Johnson's Latin American policy generated new cries of "Yankee imperialism."
  4. In 1961, voters in the Dominican Republic ousted a dictator and elected a constitutional government headed by Juan Bosch. In 1965, when the government was overthrown by a military coup, Johnson sent more than 20,000 troops to quell what he called a "leftist revolt" and to take control of the island.
  5. This was the first outright show of Yankee force in Latin America in forty years and damaged the administration at home and abroad.
- C. The Americanized War
1. The apparent success in the Dominican Republic no doubt encouraged the president to press on in Vietnam.
  2. Over the course of the war, U.S. pilots dropped 3.2 million tons of explosives, more than the United States had launched in all of World War II.
  3. General William Westmoreland's strategy of attrition was designed to search out and kill the Vietcong and North Vietnamese regular army.
  4. In this situation, which emphasized body counts and kill ratios, American soldiers did not always distinguish between military combatants and civilians.
  5. In contrast to World War II, when the average soldier was twenty-six years old, teenagers fought the Vietnam War.
  6. Vietnam was the war of the poor and working class, who constituted about 80 percent of the troops; privileged youth avoided the draft using college deferments or family connections.
  7. Because the United States did not undergo full mobilization for Vietnam, officials did not seek women's sacrifices for the war effort, but between 7,500 and 10,000 women served in Vietnam, the vast majority of them as nurses.
  8. Early in the war, African Americans constituted 31 percent of combat troops, often choosing the military over the meager opportunities in the civilian economy; death rates among black soldiers were disproportionately high until 1966 when the military adjusted assignments to achieve a better racial balance.
- III. A Nation Polarized**
- A. The Widening War at Home
1. Johnson's authorization of Operation Rolling Thunder sparked a mass movement against the war, and in April 1965, chapters of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) sprang up on more than 300 college campuses across the country.
  2. Antiwar sentiment also entered society's mainstream and by 1968 there were many prominent critics of the war.
  3. Opposition to the war took diverse forms: letter-writing campaigns to officials, teach-ins on college campuses, mass marches, student strikes, withholding of federal taxes, draft card burnings, and civil disobedience against military centers and producers of war materials.
  4. Many refused to fight in the war and opponents of the war held far from unanimous views; some opposition was morally based, some practical.

5. The antiwar movement outraged millions of Americans who supported the war and President Johnson tried a number of means to silence critics.
  6. Without the president's specific authorization, the FBI infiltrated the peace movement, disrupted its work, and spread false information about activists; however, even this resort to illegal measures failed to subdue the opposition.
- B. 1968: Year of Upheaval
1. American society became increasingly polarized over the war and grave doubts about the war began to penetrate the administration itself in 1967; Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara now believed that the United States could not defeat the North Vietnamese and left the administration in 1968.
  2. The critical turning point came with the Tet Offensive, which began on January 30, 1968, when the North Vietnamese and Vietcong attacked key cities and every major American base in South Vietnam.
  3. The Tet Offensive underscored the credibility gap between official statements and the war's actual progress.
  4. In the aftermath of Tet, Johnson considered a request from Westmoreland for 200,000 more troops, but advisers persuaded him to take steps to disengage.
  5. On March 31, 1968, Lyndon Johnson announced in a televised speech that the United States would reduce its bombing of North Vietnam and that he was prepared to begin peace talks with its leaders; he then stunned the audience by declaring that he would not run for reelection.
  6. That announcement marked the end of the gradual escalation that had begun in 1965, and the beginning of the shift from increasing American forces to "Vietnamization," a reliance on the South Vietnamese.
  7. Negotiations began in Paris in May 1968, but nothing was settled immediately and the war continued.
  8. At home, the violence escalated; during the spring of 1968 the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Democratic presidential hopeful Robert F. Kennedy both took place.
  9. In August, protesters battled the police in Chicago, where the Democratic Party had convened to nominate its presidential ticket.
  10. Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley issued a ban on rallies and marches, ordered a curfew, and mobilized thousands of police.
  11. On August 25, police responded to jeering protesters with tear gas and clubs, initiating three days of street battles, and culminating in a so-called police riot on the night of August 28 in which police used mace and nightsticks not only on those who had come to provoke violence but also reporters, convention delegates, and peaceful demonstrators.
  12. The bloodshed in Chicago and upheaval across the country had little effect on the outcome of either major party's convention.
  13. A strong third party also entered the electoral scene: staunch segregationist George C. Wallace ran on the ticket of the American Independent Party.
  14. With nearly ten million votes, the American Independent Party produced the strongest third-party finish since 1924, but Republican Nixon managed to edge out Democrat Hubert Humphrey by just half a million popular votes.
  15. The 1968 elections revealed deep cracks in the coalition that, except in the Eisenhower years, had kept the Democrats in power for thirty years.
- IV. **Nixon, Détente, and the Search for Peace in Vietnam**
- A. Moving toward Détente with the Soviet Union and China
1. Working with Henry Kissinger, his national security assistant and key foreign policy advisor, Nixon exploited the deterioration of Soviet-Chinese relations that had begun in the early 1960s.
  2. After two years of secret negotiations, in February 1972, Nixon became the nation's first president to set foot on Chinese soil; although the act was largely symbolic, cultural and scientific exchanges followed.
  3. As Nixon and Henry Kissinger hoped, the warming of U.S.-Chinese relations increased Soviet responsiveness to their strategy of détente.
  4. In May 1972, Nixon visited Moscow, signing several agreements on trade and cooperation in science and space, and concluding arms limitation treaties that had grown out of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) begun in 1969.

5. Gerald Ford, who became president when Nixon resigned, failed to sustain widespread support for détente.
6. Nonetheless in 1975, U.S., Soviet, and European leaders signed a historic agreement in Helsinki, Finland, formally recognizing the post–World War II boundaries in Europe.
- B. Shoring Up Anticommunism in the Third World
  1. In Vietnam and elsewhere, Nixon and Kissinger continued to equate Marxism with a threat to U.S. interests and actively resisted social revolutions that might lead to communism.
  2. The Nixon administration helped to overthrow Salvador Allende, a self-proclaimed Marxist who was elected president of Chile in the 1970s.
  3. In 1973, with the help of the CIA, the Chilean military engineered a coup, killed Allende, and established a brutal dictatorship under General Augusto Pinochet.
  4. In other parts of the world, too, the Nixon administration stood by repressive governments.
  5. Like his predecessors, Nixon pursued a delicate balance between defending Israel's security and seeking the goodwill of Arab nations strategically and economically important to the United States.
  6. Israel won a stunning victory in the Six-Day War in 1967, seizing territory that amounted to twice its original size, but that decisive victory did not quell Middle Eastern turmoil.
  7. The simmering conflict contributed to anti-American sentiment among Arabs who viewed the United States as Israel's supporter.
- C. Vietnam Becomes Nixon's War
  1. Nixon and Kissinger embraced the overriding goal of the three preceding administrations—a non-Communist South Vietnam—but that goal had become almost incidental to the larger objective of maintaining American credibility.
  2. From 1969 to 1972, Nixon and Kissinger pursued a four-pronged approach in Vietnam: (1) to strengthen the South Vietnamese military and government, (2) to disarm the antiwar movement at home, (3) to negotiate with North Vietnam and the Soviet Union, and (4) to conduct a massive bombing campaign.
3. As part of the Vietnamization of the war, ARVN forces grew to over one million, and their air force became the fourth largest in the world.
4. The other side of Vietnamization was the withdrawal of U.S. forces.
5. In the spring of 1969, Nixon began a ferocious air war in Cambodia, carefully hiding it from Congress and the public for more than a year.
6. In April 1970, Nixon ordered a joint U.S.-ARVN invasion of Cambodia, thus turning Vietnam into "Nixon's" war, provoking more outrage at home.
7. Huge antiwar protests followed, including those at Kent State University in Ohio where four students were killed, and at Jackson State College in Mississippi where police killed two students.
8. Congress was increasingly concerned about abuses of Presidential power; the Senate voted to terminate the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and, though the House did not go along, Nixon pulled U.S. soldiers out of Cambodia.
9. The Cambodian invasion failed to break the will of North Vietnam and North Vietnamese presence in Cambodia strengthened the Khmer Rouge and spurred on a brutal civil war in that country.
10. By 1971, Vietnam veterans themselves were a visible part of the peace movement, the first men in U.S. history to organize against a war in which they had fought.
11. After the spring of 1971, there were fewer massive antiwar demonstrations, but protest continued, especially after Americans learned of the My Lai massacre and the government's cover-up of the event.
12. Administration policy suffered another blow in June 1971 with the publication of the *Pentagon Papers*, a secret government study critical of U.S. policy in Vietnam, and military morale sank in the last years of the war.
- D. The Peace Accords and the Legacy of Defeat
  1. Nixon and Kissinger continued to combine military force and negotiation, believing that intensive firepower could bring the North Vietnamese to their knees.
  2. With peace talks stalled, Nixon ordered the most devastating bombing of North

- Vietnam yet; referred to as “jugular diplomacy” by Kissinger, the intense bombing was costly to both sides, but brought about renewed negotiations.
3. Nixon announced that the agreement brought “peace with honor,” but it actually allowed only a face-saving withdrawal for the United States.
  4. Fighting resumed immediately among the Vietnamese, and Nixon’s ability to support South Vietnam, and indeed his ability to govern at all, was increasingly eroded by the Watergate scandals.
  5. On May 1, 1975 the North Vietnamese occupied Saigon and Americans evacuated with 150,000 of their South Vietnamese allies.
  6. During the four years it took Nixon to end the war, he expanded the conflict into Cambodia and Laos and launched a massive bombing campaign; although many legislators criticized the war, Congress never denied the funds to fight it.
  7. Only after the peace accords did the legislative branch stiffen its constitutional authority over the making of war with the passage of the War Powers Act in November 1973.
  8. The dire predictions of three presidents that a Communist victory in South Vietnam would set the dominoes cascading turned out to be false, and in the end, the long pursuit of victory in Vietnam only complicated the United States’ relations with its allies and alienated many countries in the Third World.
  9. Veterans generally expressed two kinds of reactions to the defeat. Many regarded the commitment as an honorable one and felt betrayed by the U.S. government for not letting them and their now-dead comrades win the war; others blamed the government for sacrificing the nation’s youth in an immoral or useless war.
  10. Because the Vietnam War was in large part a civil, guerrilla war, combat was especially brutal.
  11. Most veterans came home to public neglect, while some faced harassment from antiwar activists who did not distinguish the war from the warriors.
  12. The Veterans Administration (VA) estimated that nearly one-sixth of the three million veterans suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder.
  13. The incorporation of the Vietnam War into the collective experience was symbolized most dramatically in the Vietnam Veterans Memorial unveiled in Washington, D.C., in November 1982.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 29, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 29.

## Review Questions

1. Why did Kennedy believe that engagement in Vietnam was crucial to his foreign policy? (pp. 1064–1072) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Kennedy’s commitment to containment:* Kennedy was an ardent cold warrior and committed to maintaining the existing balance of power between the Soviet Union and the United States. He criticized Eisenhower’s reliance on nuclear weapons and attempts to limit defense spending for having weakened U.S. national defense, and called for expanded spending and increased preparedness in a dangerous world. (p. 1065)

- *Appearance of strength:* Kennedy poured American weapons into South Vietnam in order to project strength in the cold war. The Soviet Union had promised to support wars of liberation and Kennedy was at pains to demonstrate that such efforts would be costly. (p. 1070)

- *Implications for domestic politics:* Kennedy was also wary of the political risks of letting a nation fall to communism, having witnessed the damage suffered by the Democratic Party when communists took over China in 1949. (p. 1070)

2. How did American troops serving in Vietnam differ from those who served in World War II, and how were their experiences different? (pp. 1074–1078) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Different measures of success:* Instead of territory, success was often measured in numbers of enemy killed. In a civil war, this contributed to indiscriminate killing of Vietnamese, regardless of political alliance. The vulnerability and moral distress soldiers felt in Vietnam shaped their experiences of war. (pp. 1074–1075)

• *Soldiers who served:* In contrast to soldiers who served in World War II, whose average age was twenty-six years, the soldiers who served in Vietnam were very young, averaging nineteen years of age. Compared to World War II veterans, the poor and working class were disproportionately represented among soldiers in Vietnam. Young men with greater resources found ways to avoid the draft. (pp. 1075, 1078)

• *Personnel policies:* Instead of serving for the duration of a conflict, the U.S. armed forces used one-year tours of duty, compromising cohesion and continuity. (p. 1078)

3. How did the Vietnam War shape the election of 1968? (pp. 1078–1087) *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Johnson's withdrawal:* Poor progress of the war and mounting domestic opposition to it led Johnson not to pursue reelection in the 1968 election. (p. 1083)

• *Democratic turmoil:* Frustrations within the Democratic Party over a variety of policy questions including Vietnam contributed to a fraying of the alliances that had led the party to power and were on display at the 1968 convention. These fractures contributed to Democratic defeat in the 1968 presidential election. (pp. 1083, 1086–1087)

• *Importance of Vietnam policies:* Presidential candidates Hubert H. Humphrey and Richard M. Nixon both tried to find a way to bring American involvement in the war to a close without losing face. Johnson's attempts to help Humphrey by reducing bombing in the North Vietnam proved insufficient to help him win the election. Nixon's promise to "bring an honorable end" to the war must have appealed to voters. (pp. 1086–1087)

4. How did Nixon try to bring American involvement in Vietnam to a close? (pp. 1087–1095) *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Pursuing victory:* Though well aware of the political pitfalls of the war in Vietnam, Nixon, like his predecessors, believed that protecting South Vietnam was crucial to American credibility abroad. He pursued victory by strengthening the South Vietnamese military and government, replacing U.S. forces with South Vietnamese soldiers, beginning negotiations with both North Vietnam and the Soviet Union, and using intensive bombing to persuade North Vietnam to accept American terms for peace. (pp. 1090–1091)

• *Invasion of Cambodia:* Without the knowledge of Congress or the American public, Nixon ordered a ferocious air war in Cambodia to destroy North Vietnamese sanctuaries in the region. The measures were ineffective in countering North Vietnamese power and later produced enormous opposition at home. (pp. 1090–1092)

• *Pursuing peace:* Although Nixon and Kissinger continued to believe that greater force could subdue the North Vietnamese, they pursued a negotiated peace. The United States and the North Vietnamese signed peace accords in Paris in January 1973 that enabled the United States to withdraw, though without victory. (pp. 1093–1095)

## Making Connections

1. Cuba featured prominently in the most dramatic foreign policy actions of the Kennedy administration. Citing specific events, discuss why Cuba was an area of great concern to the administration. How did Cuba figure into Kennedy's cold war policies? Were his actions in regard to Cuba effective? *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Cuba in the cold war context:* Kennedy believed that Eisenhower's policies of restricting military expenditures had weakened the nation's defenses. He also perceived the Soviet Union as becoming more aggressive and compromising the balance that was at the heart of containment. This increased his sense of the danger of the international context. (pp. 1068–1069)

• *Proximity:* Cuba had allied itself with the Soviet Union, bringing the Soviet threat within ninety miles of American shores. (p. 1065)

• *Bay of Pigs:* In April 1961, anti-Castro rebels, authorized by Kennedy and trained by the CIA, invaded Cuba by landing at the Bay of Pigs. No popular uprising met the invaders and Kennedy refused to provide direct military support. The invasion was a disaster that humiliated the president and the nation and strengthened Cuba's ties to the Soviet Union. (p. 1065)

• *Cuban missile crisis:* Strengthening American nuclear dominance was a key component of Kennedy's defense strategy. In October 1962, the CIA showed Kennedy evidence of launching sites under construction in Cuba. Kennedy publicly announced his intention to turn back any Soviet vessel that might be carrying offensive missiles to Cuba and further warned that an attack launched from Cuba would result in a full nuclear attack on the Soviet Union. On the brink of nuclear war, Kennedy placed great value on projecting strength but also pursued a negotiated de-escalation. Kennedy's strategies produced a foreign policy success for the president, and countered the impression of incompetence left by the Bay of Pigs. (pp. 1068–1069)

2. Explain the Gulf of Tonkin incident and its significance to American foreign policy. How did President Lyndon Johnson respond to the incident?

What considerations, domestic and international, contributed to his course of action? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Gulf of Tonkin incident:* In August 1964, two U.S. destroyers reported that North Vietnamese gunboats fired on them during routine espionage efforts in the Gulf of Tonkin off the coast of North Vietnam. Despite confusion about the circumstances, and the provocative nature of U.S. actions in the region, Johnson used the incident as grounds to escalate U.S. involvement in the war. (pp. 1072–1073)

- *Gulf of Tonkin Resolution:* In August 1964, Congress responded to Johnson's appeals and passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which gave the president authority to take "all necessary measures to repel any armed attacks against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression." The resolution paved the way for sending U.S. troops into Vietnam. (p. 1073)

- *Domestic and international influences:* Facing an election in 1964, Johnson's hard line on Vietnam helped counter accusations that he was not a sufficiently committed anticommunist. Johnson followed Kennedy in understanding the Vietnam conflict as having important implications for the cold war as a whole. Both presidents were intent on projecting American strength and determination abroad and wary of what a defeat in Vietnam would mean to Asia and the policy of containment. (pp. 1072–1073)

3. The United States' engagement in Vietnam divided the nation. Discuss the range of American responses to the war. How did they change over time? How did domestic political concerns shape the country's response to the war? How did the war shape domestic politics in the 1960s and early 1970s? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Cold war commitments:* Kennedy's and Johnson's execution of the war in Vietnam had its roots in the cold war vision of Truman and Eisenhower. A combination of confidence in U.S. military superiority and conviction that containment was the way to protect liberty and avoid nuclear war grounded American intervention in the conflict. (pp. 1064–1066, 1070, 1072–1073)

- *Opposition to the war:* Johnson's escalation of the war, in the Operation Rolling Thunder bombings of North Vietnam and in the introduction of U.S. troops, sparked widespread opposition to the war. Students organized rallies and strikes to protest the war. Journalists and mainstream leaders also began to question the government's representation of the war and the effectiveness and morality of escalating force. (pp. 1078–1087)

- *Impact of domestic concerns on the war:* The burden of fighting the war on the ground fell disproportionately on the shoulders of the young, the working

class and poor, and minorities. These circumstances echoed tensions in American society and added to opposition to the war. Opposition to the war outraged some Americans who perceived protests as unpatriotic and cowardly. (pp. 1075, 1078, 1080–1081)

- *Impact of the war on domestic concerns:* The breadth and intensity of opposition to the war complicated Johnson's execution of the conflict. He engaged in deception regarding the progress and costs of the war and invested enormous effort in discrediting the war's critics. The war drained Johnson's political influence and the nation's financing, undermining the Great Society. The war widened the fractures in the Democratic Party and weakened it. (pp. 1083, 1086–1087)

- *Revelations during Nixon's administration:* In 1971, veterans' participation in opposition to the war, revelations of atrocities, and the publication of the *Pentagon Papers*, which further undermined the government's credibility, all intensified American disillusionment and opposition to the war. (p. 1092)

4. What was détente and how did it affect the United States' cold war foreign policy? What were its achievements and limitations? In your answer, discuss how Nixon's approach to communism built on and departed from the previous two administrations' approaches. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Definition of détente:* Détente was the easing of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Nixon and Kissinger pursued détente by seeking common issues like trade and arms control as part of their strategy to achieve containment and avoid nuclear crises. (pp. 1087–1088)

- *Impact of détente:* Nixon departed from cold war orthodoxy by pursuing détente and exploiting the deterioration in Soviet-Chinese relations. Nixon tried to draw both the Chinese and the Soviets closer to the United States and further from each other. He argued that he could make such overtures without risking repercussions at home because he had anti-Communist credentials. (pp. 1087–1088)

- *Successes of détente:* Although limited in substance, Nixon's overtures to China produced a rapprochement between the two nations. Negotiations with the Soviet Union resulted in significant arms limitation treaties that helped reduce the likelihood of nuclear attack. (p. 1088)

- *Continuing commitment to anti-Communism:* Containment and anti-Communism continued to direct Nixon's foreign policy decisions in the Third World. Like Johnson and Kennedy, Nixon was committed to preventing the expansion of communism in the western hemisphere. For example, after the election of Salvador Allende, a Marxist, to the presidency in Chile, Nixon used the CIA to destabilize Chile's economy and later helped engineer a coup to remove and kill Allende and establish General Augusto Pinochet as dictator. (p. 1089)

- *Nixon in Vietnam:* Like his predecessors, Nixon was committed to extracting victory in Vietnam and applied greater force through bombings at the same time he tried to quell domestic opposition by replacing American troops with Vietnamese soldiers. Still, opposition mounted and military morale deteriorated. Nixon's secretive expansion of the war to Cambodia did not produce victory. The Peace Treaty he signed in 1973 provided little but a face-saving opportunity for U.S. withdrawal. (pp. 1090–1093)

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Pro-War Demonstrators (p. 1090)

**Reading the Image:** What do the hard hats in the photograph symbolize in terms of identity and politics? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Symbols of the pro-war movement:* The construction workers—called “hard hats”—did not need to wear their hard hats during the pro-war demonstration. Most likely they chose to wear the hats because the hats made an immediate connection with unionized labor. In some sense, the demonstrators must have wanted to contrast themselves, as hardworking and upright citizens, with antiwar protesters, many of whom were perceived as being hippies (when in reality most were students). The photo illustrates the power of connecting a group’s identity, as symbolized by the hard hats, with patriotic markers like the American flag: The workers strove to appear hardworking, traditional, and pro-American and not just pro-war.

**Connections:** What, if anything, was the relationship between President Nixon being presented with a hard hat after a pro-war demonstration and the unraveling of the Democratic Party coalition? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Nixon and the Democratic Party:* Traditionally, the hard hat would be presented to the Democratic candidate running for president. Labor was an essential part of the New Deal coalition that had kept Democratic presidents in office—aside from Dwight D. Eisenhower—since World War II. Richard M. Nixon, a Republican, appealed to the working class on two fronts. First, he derided the Great Society as a failure and hinted that millions of dollars had been taken out of the pockets of working-class families to support undeserving people. Second, he played off traditional values that resonated with many laborers who were

disturbed by antiwar protests and changing cultural values.

### Students Killed at Kent State (p. 1091)

**Reading the Image:** What responses do you think this photograph might have evoked from those who opposed the war in Vietnam? How might those who supported the war have reacted to it? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Response of people opposed to the war in Vietnam:* Those who opposed the war in Vietnam often used this photograph as evidence that the government had lost control. To opponents of the war, the overly aggressive behavior of the National Guard at Kent State reflected the arrogance and over-aggression of the government that had led the United States into a quagmire in Vietnam. The senseless death of this student and three others at Kent State evoked the unnecessary deaths of tens of thousands of American soldiers and hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese caused by the stubbornness of the Johnson and Nixon administrations.

- *Response of people who supported the war in Vietnam:* Those who supported the war might have viewed this photograph as emblematic of the problems inherent in the youth culture of the 1960s. Both the shooting victim and the crying girl might have been seen as disrespectful of authority. The student had taken part in protests against the war and had been part of a crowd that threw rocks at the National Guardsmen, a move that instigated the shootings. The young girl was a 14-year-old runaway, which made her a symbol for the disrespect of parental authority that many who opposed the youth movements of the 1960s claimed encapsulated the problem with what they viewed as a spoiled, selfish generation of American youth.

**Connections:** What effect did Nixon’s order to invade Cambodia have on the antiwar movement? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *United States invasion of Cambodia:* Nixon’s order to invade Cambodia, along with his belligerent speech defending this action, increased support of the antiwar movement. The expansion of the war into another nation made Nixon and Kissinger seem like collaborators in this effort rather than simply the inheritors of President Johnson’s mess. Nixon’s actions made many Americans who had previously remained neutral or even defended the war believe that the government had lost both its moral bearings and its ability to determine the actual foreign policy interests of the United States. There were protests at Kent State and hundreds of other college campuses, and a protest in Washington, D.C. drew over 100,000 people.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 29.1 U.S. Involvement in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1954–1994 (p. 1066)

**Reading the Map:** How many and which Latin American countries did the United States invade directly? What was the extent of U.S. indirect involvement in other upheavals in the region? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Countries invaded by the United States:* The United States sent troops to four countries: the Dominican Republic, Grenada, Haiti, and Panama.
- *Indirect involvement by the United States:* America intervened in four other nations—Guatemala, Cuba, El Salvador, and Nicaragua—by using covert operatives and sending military and financial aid in support of forces friendly to the United States.

**Connections:** What role did geographic proximity play in U.S. policy toward the region? What was the significance of the Cuban missile crisis for U.S. foreign policy? Did the political party of the intervening administration make a difference? Why or why not? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Geographic proximity and the Cuban Missile Crisis:* The proximity of Latin America to the United States heightened American perceptions of danger surrounding the possible expansion of communism into the region. This attitude toward Latin America raised the stakes for the United States when, in 1962, the CIA discovered that Cubans had built launch sites for Soviet nuclear missiles. President John F. Kennedy's advisers admitted that the placement of nuclear missiles on Cuban soil had not altered the strategic balance of power between the Soviets and the Americans (each side had enough nuclear weapons to destroy the other several times over). Nevertheless, the Kennedy administration worried that the United States would look weak in the eyes of the world if it allowed such weapons to exist ninety miles off the American mainland.

- *Foreign policy and party politics:* As a member of the Democratic Party, Kennedy also worried that Republicans would gain politically if the missiles remained in Cuba because Republicans could claim that Democrats were too soft to stand up to the Communist threat. To make a show of strength to the world and to his political enemies at home, Kennedy put the military on high alert and threw a naval quarantine around the island of Cuba. The standoff ended with

the withdrawal of missiles from Cuba in exchange for U.S. removal from Turkey of missiles that were aimed at the Soviet Union. Kennedy's stature rose as a result of this show of power, while the reputation of Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev was diminished.

### Map 29.2 The Vietnam War, 1964–1975 (p. 1071)

**Reading the Map:** What accords divided Vietnam into two nations? When were these accords signed, and where was the line of division drawn? Through what countries did the Ho Chi Minh Trail go? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *The Geneva Accords:* The Geneva accords of 1954 split the nation of Vietnam into two countries at the seventeenth parallel.
- *Route of the Ho Chi Minh Trail:* The Ho Chi Minh Trail ran through North Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and into South Vietnam.

**Connections:** What was the Gulf of Tonkin incident, and how did the United States respond? What was the Tet Offensive, and how did it affect the war? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Gulf of Tonkin:* The Gulf of Tonkin incident took place in August 1964. Two American spy ships reported that North Vietnamese gunboats fired on them. There is much uncertainty if this event ever took place. The United States responded by bombing North Vietnam, and Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which gave the president extended powers to wage war.
- *Tet Offensive:* The Tet Offensive took place from January 31 through February 1968. Although the North Vietnamese and Vietcong suffered immense losses, Tet shifted American public and media opinion against the war and forced President Johnson to reduce his bombing campaign and reevaluate his strategy.

## Lecture Strategies

See also the maps and images for presentation in “Additional Resources for Chapter 29.”

### LECTURE 1

#### *Kennedy and Vietnam*

In this lecture on the Vietnam War, explain first that when Kennedy entered the White House in 1960, he inherited the U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Because of the U.S. commitment to fend off any Communist gain,

the United States supported French colonial efforts in Indochina during the 1940s and 1950s (despite Ho Chi Minh's numerous requests to Washington to support Vietnamese independence). Here you can review Ho Chi Minh's push for Vietnamese independence, the fall of Dien Bien Phu, the failed Geneva accords, the assassination of Bao Dai, and the installation of Ngo Dinh Diem as leader in South Vietnam. Upon learning that Ho Chi Minh's Communists had made important gains in South Vietnam with the National Liberation Front (NLF), Kennedy increased the number of military advisers sent to Vietnam. He also sent Vice President Johnson to investigate the crisis; Johnson reported back that Diem refused the U.S. government's request that U.S. troops be sent in to help fight the war. Reports filtered back to the president suggesting that only increased U.S. involvement could stop Ho Chi Minh and the Communists, but Kennedy feared the repercussions. At this point, suggest that despite Kennedy's approval for increased military aid to South Vietnam, Diem's unpopular regime continued to suffer, especially after Buddhist monks staged self-immolation protests, all of which were captured by American television cameras. Kennedy did nothing when he learned that South Vietnamese generals were about to stage a coup to oust Diem. Three weeks later, Kennedy was assassinated and Lyndon Johnson inherited the Vietnamese crisis.

## LECTURE 2

### *Johnson and Vietnam*

This lecture demonstrates how President Johnson escalated U.S. involvement in the war. Upon assuming the presidency, he proclaimed that he was not going to be the president who lost Vietnam, a "raggedy-ass little fourth-rate country." Events in Vietnam did not break his resolve. You will need to point out that the assassination of Diem did not bring stability to South Vietnam, as regime after regime fell. When Johnson learned that North Vietnamese torpedo boats had attacked a U.S. warship in the Gulf of Tonkin, he asked Congress to pass a resolution authorizing him to repel the aggression and to take any action needed to prevent further attack. Here, you should explain the controversy surrounding the passage of the resolution. You will also wish to mention that the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution was the only formal sanction granted by Congress for U.S. involvement in the war.

At this point, turn your attention to the ways in which Johnson escalated U.S. involvement in the war following the resolution. Promising the American people that he would not send American soldiers off to fight in an Asian war, Johnson nevertheless

expanded secret raids on North Vietnam, boosted military and economic aid to South Vietnam, and increased the number of American advisers. In the beginning of 1965, he initiated Operation Rolling Thunder and sent the first combat troops to South Vietnam. This shift to the Americanization of the war marked a critical turning point. Here, you can describe the conditions of guerrilla warfare, the tenacity of the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front, and the massive protests back home, which began with Operation Rolling Thunder. It will be helpful to refer to Map 29.2, "The Vietnam War, 1964–1975" (p. 1071). You might have your class discuss the *Historical Question* feature "Why Couldn't the United States Bomb Its Way to Victory in Vietnam?" (pp. 1076–1077). Be sure to cover the war's polarization of the United States. You might want to draw your students' attention to the photo of the pro-war demonstrators on page 1090. Link this domestic upheaval with Johnson's reversal of his policy after the 1968 Tet Offensive, his announcement that the United States would begin to curtail its bombing of North Vietnam, and his decision to not seek reelection. Close your lecture with a discussion of the 1968 Democratic National Convention.

## LECTURE 3

### *Nixon and Vietnam*

This lecture demonstrates how President Nixon deescalated U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. In an effort designed both to "Vietnamize" the war and to quiet domestic opposition, Nixon began a gradual withdrawal of U.S. ground troops from Vietnam. At this point, you may wish to have your class discuss the effects of the growing antiwar movement on American soldiers fighting in Vietnam. Again, you can discuss the role images played in the first televised war. Convey that, concomitant with the withdrawal of troops, the United States sought to strengthen the South Vietnamese military and government, and it negotiated with the Soviet Union and North Vietnam. Failing to reach his objectives, Nixon intensified the bombing of Cambodia and Laos, which served only to inflame the antiwar passions at home and impel Congress to try to rein in the president. Explain that antiwar sentiment continued as the public learned of the My Lai massacre and the administration's attempts to suppress the publication of the *Pentagon Papers*. In one final burst of power, Nixon ordered the "Christmas bombings" of North Vietnam in 1972. In January 1973, representatives from the United States, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, and the People's Revolutionary Government signed a formal accord. The United States began its military

withdrawal, and Congress—by passing the War Powers Act—finally curbed the president’s ability to fight a war without the consent of Congress. You can end this lecture with a summation of the legacies of the war.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. Americanization

With foreknowledge of the disastrous outcome, students always ask why Johnson chose to escalate U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. You can explain that there were at least five reasons behind this choice. First, Johnson believed that because every president since Franklin Delano Roosevelt had made a commitment to Vietnam, U.S. credibility was at stake. Second, he also believed that China posed a legitimate threat to the region. Third, he feared that “appeasement” would lead to disastrous results, as it had in the 1930s. Fourth, he feared a domestic backlash if he pulled out of Vietnam. He was not interested in being labeled “soft on communism.” Finally, Johnson genuinely believed the United States had the power to win the war.

### 2. Nixon’s Secret War

Many students may question Nixon’s secret bombing of Cambodia, wondering what prompted his action in the first place. Here, you should explain that the North Vietnamese were able to use trails through Cambodia and Laos to supply troops in the South. The bombing threatened the stability of Cambodia, and in March 1970, Prince Norodom Sihanouk was overthrown by his prime minister, General Lon Nol, who was sympathetic to the Americans’ efforts to rid Southeast Asia of Communists. The following month, Nixon launched an invasion of eastern Cambodia in an effort to destroy Communist camps. The effort failed, and by the end of the year, the Communists controlled over a third of the country. Undeterred by failure, however, Nixon attacked neighboring Laos in 1971 for similar reasons. Once again, the Communists continued to gain ground, and once again Nixon’s policy failed miserably.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

The PBS series *Vietnam: A Television History* makes wonderful use of archival sources and news footage to provide a fascinating account of the ways in which that war changed America. You might want to screen scenes from a number of Hollywood films in order to convey

the ways in which popular culture portrayed the conflict. Consider showing *M\*A\*S\*H*, a film purportedly about the Korean War but one that surely offered a commentary on U.S. policy in Vietnam. When discussing Kennedy’s counterinsurgency tactics, you might want to show a clip from *Green Berets* (1968), starring John Wayne—a mediocre film, but the only one made about the Vietnam War during the conflict. When discussing the difficulties Vietnam veterans encountered when they came back to the United States, consider showing *The Deer Hunter* or *Coming Home*. Finally, to offer revisionist perspectives, consider showing scenes from *Apocalypse Now* (1979), *Platoon* (1986), *Full Metal Jacket* (1987), or *Casualties of War* (1989).

### Class Discussion Starters

Have students speculate on what would have happened had the United States supported Ho Chi Minh during his anti-French war of resistance. Would U.S. security interests have been compromised by a nationalist presence in Southeast Asia from the 1940s to the 1970s? Would U.S. administrations have been doomed for being “soft on communism”? Would communism have spread throughout the region, undermining the stability the United States sought? Remind students that the U.S. policymakers feared that Ho Chi Minh was bent on territorial conquest. Was Ho Chi Minh another Adolf Hitler?

### Historical Debates

Have students debate where the guilt lay for the My Lai massacre. Olsen and Robert’s work *My Lai: A Brief History with Documents* (cited below) will prove helpful on this score. How much responsibility rested with the soldiers? How much responsibility rested with William Calley and his staff? How much responsibility rested with the U.S. army for failing to train soldiers properly? How much responsibility rested with the nature of war itself?

## Additional Resources for Chapter 29

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 29 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 29.1: U.S. Involvement in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1954–1994 (p. 1066)
- Map 29.2: The Vietnam War, 1964–1975 (p. 1071)

- Map 29.3: The Election of 1968 (p. 1087)
- Preparing for the Worst during the Cuban Missile Crisis (p. 1069)
- American Soldiers Confront the South Vietnamese (p. 1064)

### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 29 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 29.1: U.S. Involvement in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1954–1994 (p. 1066)
- Map 29.2: The Vietnam War, 1964–1975 (p. 1071)
- Map 29.3: The Election of 1968 (p. 1087)
- Figure 29.1: U.S. Troops in Vietnam, 1962–1972 (p. 1073)
- Figure 29.2: Public Opinion about the Vietnam War, 1965–1974 (p. 1092)
- Humans Reach the Moon (p. 1067)
- Chemical Weapons (p. 1078)
- Nixon in China (p. 1088)
- Pro-War Demonstrators (p. 1090)
- Kent State Shootings (p. 1091)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor's Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 29 include:

- *Lyndon B. Johnson and American Liberalism: A Brief Biography with Documents*, by Bruce J. Shulman
- *My Lai: A Brief History with Documents*, by James S. Olson and Randy Roberts

## For Students

### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 29 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- President Kennedy Explains Why We Are in Vietnam: *Bobbie Lou Pendergrass to President John F. Kennedy*, February 18, 1963; *President John F. Kennedy to Bobbie Lou Pendergrass*, March 6, 1963
- A Secret Government Assessment of the Vietnam War: Robert S. McNamara, *Actions Recommended for Vietnam*, October 14, 1966
- Military Discipline in an Unpopular War: Robert D. Heinl Jr., *The Collapse of the Armed Forces*, June 7, 1971
- An American Soldier in Vietnam: Arthur E. Woodley Jr., *Oral History of a Special Forces Ranger*
- Viet Cong Guerrilla Describes Tunnel Warfare: Tran Thi Gung, *Interview*, ca. 1998

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 29:

### Map Activities

- Map 29.1: U.S. Involvement in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1954–1994 (p. 1066)
- Map 29.2: The Vietnam War, 1964–1975 (p. 1071)

### Visual Activities

- Pro-War Demonstrators (p. 1090)
- Kent State Shootings (p. 1091)

**CHAPTER**  
**30**

# America Moves to the Right 1969–1989

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## Chapter Learning Objectives

1. How did Nixon capitalize on postwar conservatism? What factors contributed to the emergence of a grassroots conservative movement?
2. What constitutional crises confronted the United States during Nixon's administration? What events led to the Watergate scandal, impeachment, and Nixon's resignation?
3. Describe the "outsider" presidency of Jimmy Carter. In what ways did his presidency represent a continued retreat from liberalism? How did he address the energy crisis of the 1970s and approach the question of environmental regulation? What were Carter's position and his record on human rights? How did the cold war escalate during his presidency?
4. How did Ronald Reagan's presidency represent ascendant conservatism? Why did Reagan appeal to the New Right as well as to groups traditionally within the Democratic fold? How did Reagan encourage free enterprise? Who were the winners and losers in the eighties economy?
5. How did minority groups struggle during the Reagan administration to protect their gains? What was the influence of an increasingly conservative Supreme Court? Describe the backlash against feminists, and outline the burgeoning gay and lesbian rights movement.
6. Describe Reagan's confrontation with the "evil empire." Outline the increased militarization under Reagan's administration and U.S. interventions abroad. What was the Iran-Contra scandal, and how did Reagan survive this constitutional crisis? What factors contributed to a thaw in Soviet-American relations?

## Annotated Chapter Outline

- I. **Nixon and the Rise of Postwar Conservatism**
  - A. Emergence of a Grassroots Movement
    1. Although Lyndon Johnson's landslide victory over Barry Goldwater in 1964 appeared to signify liberalism triumphant, those election results actually concealed a rising conservative movement.
    2. A growing grassroots movement, especially vigorous in the South and the West and including middle-class suburban men and women, members of the rabidly anti-Communist John Birch Society, and college students in the new Young Americans for Freedom, had enabled Goldwater to win the nomination.
    3. The rise of grassroots conservatism was not limited to the West and South, a number of factors in the Sun Belt fostered its growth in these areas.
    4. Populations in Orange County, CA; Dallas, TX; Scottsdale, AZ; and Jefferson Parish, LA were predominantly white, relatively homogeneous, skilled and economically comfortable; these cities also contained military bases and defense production facilities.
    5. The West had a long tradition of Protestant morality, individualism, and opposition to federal interference.
    6. The South shared the West's antipathy toward the federal government, but southern hostility to racial change was much more central to the new conservatism.

7. Grassroots movements emerged around a number of issues that conservatives believed marked the “moral decline” of the nation.
  8. Grassroots protests against taxes grew alongside concerns about morality.
- B. Nixon Courts the Right
1. In the 1968 campaign, Nixon’s “southern strategy” exploited antipathy to black protest and to new civil rights policies, making inroads into traditional Democratic strongholds.
  2. The Nixon administration reluctantly enforced court orders to achieve high degrees of integration in southern schools, but it stymied efforts to deal with segregation outside the South.
  3. After courts began to order transfers of students between schools in white and black neighborhoods to achieve desegregation, busing became “political dynamite.”
  4. Although children had been riding buses to schools for decades, busing for racial integration provoked outrage.
  5. Nixon failed to persuade Congress to end court-ordered busing; after he appointed four new justices, the Supreme Court moved in the president’s direction, and in *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974), the Court imposed strict limits on the use of busing to achieve racial balance.
  6. When Earl Warren resigned in June 1969, Nixon replaced him with Warren E. Burger, a federal appeals court judge who was seen as a strict constitutionalist; the Burger Court upheld many liberal programs of the 1960s, limited the range of affirmative action in *Regents of University of California v. Bakke*, but liberalized abortion laws in *Roe v. Wade*.
  7. Unions and civil rights groups mounted strong campaigns against Nixon’s next two nominees, conservative southern judges, and the Senate forced him to settle on more moderate candidates.
  8. Nixon’s southern strategy and the backlash against the civil rights revolution of the 1960s ended the Democrat’s hold on the “solid South.”
  9. In addition to capitalizing on racial issues, Nixon aligned himself with those fearful about women’s changing roles and new demands.

## II. Constitutional Crisis and Restoration

### A. Election of 1972

1. Nixon’s ability to appeal to concerns about Vietnam, race, law and order, and traditional morality heightened his prospects for reelection in 1972.
2. Senator George S. McGovern of South Dakota defeated a large field of contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination and came to the Democratic National Convention as his party’s clear leader.
3. After the bitter 1968 convention, the Democrats had initiated key reforms, requiring delegations to represent the relative proportions of minorities, women, and youth in their states.
4. Though easily nominated, McGovern struggled against Nixon from the outset; Republicans portrayed him as a left extremist and his positions alienated conservative Democrats.
5. Nixon gained 60.7 percent of the popular vote, carrying every state except Massachusetts in a landslide victory second only to Lyndon Johnson’s in 1964.

### B. Watergate

1. During the early morning hours of June 17, 1972, five men working for Nixon’s reelection campaign broke into Democratic Party headquarters at the Watergate complex to repair a bugging device installed during an earlier break-in; the men were discovered and arrested on the scene.
2. In trying to conceal the connection between those arrested and Nixon administration officials, the president and his aides set in motion the most serious constitutional crisis since the Civil War, dubbed “Watergate.”
3. Over the next two years, Americans learned that Nixon and his associates had engaged in a host of abuses, such as accepting illegal campaign contributions, using dirty tricks to sabotage Democratic candidates, and unlawfully attempting to silence critics of the Vietnam War.
4. Upon the arrest of the Watergate burglars, Nixon secretly plotted to conceal links between the burglars and the White House, while publicly denying any knowledge of the break-in; but investigations by a grand jury and the Senate suggested that White House aides had been involved.

5. In April 1973, the president accepted official responsibility for Watergate but denied any personal knowledge of the break-in or of a cover-up.
  6. Meanwhile, sensational revelations exploded in the Senate investigating committee, when White House counsel John Dean described projects to harass “enemies” through tax audits and other illegal means implicated the president in efforts to cover up the Watergate burglary.
  7. The most damaging blow struck when a White House aide disclosed that all conversations in the Oval Office were taped.
  8. Senate investigating committee head Sam Ervin and independent special prosecutor Archibald Cox both demanded the release of the tapes, but Nixon refused.
  9. At the same time, more disclosures revealed Nixon’s misuse of federal funds and tax evasion.
  10. On October 19, Nixon ordered Cox to cease his efforts to obtain the Oval Office tapes; when Cox refused, Nixon ordered Attorney General Elliott Richardson to fire Cox.
  11. Richardson resigned, as did the next man in line at the Justice Department.
  12. Finally, Robert Bork, the solicitor general, carried out Nixon’s orders in a move the press dubbed “the Saturday Night Massacre.”
  13. In February 1974, the House of Representatives voted to begin an impeachment investigation; in April 1974 Nixon began to release edited transcripts of the tapes.
  14. In July 1974, the House Judiciary Committee began debate over specific charges for impeachment: obstruction of justice, abuse of power, contempt of Congress, unconstitutional waging of war by the secret bombing of Cambodia, and tax evasion and the selling of political favors.
  15. A unanimous Supreme Court ordered Nixon to hand over remaining tapes, and on August 8, 1974, during a televised broadcast, Nixon announced his resignation.
- C. The Ford Presidency
1. Gerald Ford had represented Michigan in the House of Representatives since 1948 and had built a reputation as a conservative party loyalist.
  2. Upon taking office, Ford announced, “Our long nightmare is over,” but shocked many Americans when he granted Nixon a full pardon.
  3. Democrats made impressive gains in the November congressional elections.
  4. Congress sought to guard against the types of abuses revealed in the Watergate investigations by passing the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974 and establishing a nonpartisan procedure for the appointment of special prosecutors.
  5. Special investigating committees in Congress discovered a host of illegal FBI and CIA activities stretching back to the 1950s including harassment of political dissenters and plots to assassinate Fidel Castro and other foreign leaders.
  6. Ford carried a number of burdens into the 1976 presidential race, including a weak economy and a serious threat mounted from the Republican right.
  7. Democrats nominated Jimmy Carter, former state senator and governor of Georgia.
  8. Although Carter selected liberal senator Walter Mondale of Minnesota as his running mate and accepted a platform compatible with traditional Democratic principles, his nomination nonetheless represented a decided rightward turn in the party.
  9. After the revelations of corruption in the Nixon administration, Carter, the Democratic candidate who carried his own bags, lived modestly, and taught a Bible class at his Baptist church, had considerable appeal.
- III. The “Outsider” Presidency of Jimmy Carter
- A. Retreat from Liberalism
1. Jimmy Carter vowed “to help the poor and aged, improve education, and to provide jobs” but at the same time “not waste money.”
  2. When these aims conflicted, especially with inflation threatening economic stability, Carter’s commitment to reform took second place.
  3. Although Carter’s outsider status helped him win the presidency, it left him without strong ties to party insiders and hampered his ability to lead.
  4. Even a president without these liabilities might not have done much better than Carter, as Congress itself diminished the

- ability of party leaders to deliver a united front.
5. Carter did not do much better with the formidable problems that plagued the Nixon and Ford administrations—unemployment, inflation, and slow economic growth.
  6. Long-standing liberal objectives made little headway under Carter; his legislation to ensure the solvency of Social Security increased employer and employee contributions, increasing the tax burden of lower- and middle-income Americans.
  7. Corporations and wealthy individuals gained from new legislation, including a cut in the capital gains tax, loans to ensure the survival of the Chrysler Corporation, and the deregulation of the airlines, banking, trucking and railroad industries.
- B. Energy and Environmental Reform
1. Fuel shortages and sky-rocketing oil prices led to stagflation and threatened the entire economy.
  2. Carter proposed a comprehensive program to conserve energy and established the Department of Energy.
  3. The National Energy Act of 1978 penalized gas-guzzling cars and provided incentives for conservation and alternative fuels but fell far short of a comprehensive program.
  4. In 1979 the Iranian revolution created the most severe energy crisis yet; Carter asked congress for additional measures to reduce controls on oil and gas to stimulate American production and to impose a windfall profits tax to redistribute profits that would accrue with deregulation.
  5. Carter's measures failed to reduce American dependence on foreign oil.
  6. Nuclear energy, a possible alternative to fossil fuels, met opposition from the environmental movement whose claims seemed more legitimate after the Three Mile Island accident; the Love Canal disaster in Niagara Falls, NY also underscored the human costs of unregulated development.
  7. The Carter administration sponsored 1980 legislation to create a so-called Superfund of \$1.6 billion to clean up hazardous wastes left by the chemical industry.
  8. Carter's environmental legislation also included clean air and water programs, the expansion of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, and controls on strip mining.
- C. Promoting Human Rights Abroad
1. Campaigning for the presidency in 1976, Jimmy Carter charged that his predecessors' foreign policy violated the nation's principles of freedom and human dignity.
  2. Human rights formed the cornerstone of Carter's approach to reversing the policies of his predecessors, yet glaring inconsistencies appeared in Carter's human rights policy.
  3. In the case of Nicaragua, Carter recognized the new leftist Sandinista government, which had overthrown an oppressive dictatorship but had ties to Cuba and indicated that a government's treatment of its citizens was as important as how friendly to American interests it was.
  4. Applying moral principles to relations with Panama, Carter sped up negotiations over control of the Panama Canal—the most conspicuous symbol of U.S. power.
  5. Seeking to use his moral authority to work for peace in the Middle East, Carter seized on the courage of Egypt's president Anwar Sadat, the first Arab leader to risk his political career by talking directly with Israeli officials.
  6. When initial discussions between Sadat and Israel's prime minister Menachem Begin faltered, Carter invited them to the presidential retreat at Camp David, Maryland, and spent thirteen days there mediating between the two and securing the Camp David accords, which were signed at the White House in March 1979.
  7. Egypt became the first Arab state to recognize Israel, and Israel agreed to gradual withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula, territory that it had seized in the 1967 war.
- D. The Cold War Intensifies
1. Carter preferred to pursue national security through nonmilitary means and initially sought accommodation with the Soviet Union, but he eventually turned back toward military means.
  2. Carter's decision for a military buildup came in 1979 when the Soviet Union invaded its neighbor Afghanistan whose Communist government was threatened by Muslim opposition.
  3. The president claimed that Soviet actions posed the greatest threat to peace since World War II and jeopardized oil supplies from the Middle East; he announced the

- “Carter Doctrine,” threatening the use of any means necessary to prevent an outside force from gaining control of the Persian Gulf.
4. In 1979, a revolution forced the shah, the U.S.-backed leader of the nation, out of Iran and gave Shiite Islamic fundamentalists control of the government.
  5. When Carter permitted the shah to enter the United States for medical treatment, anti-American demonstrators, who believed the U.S. would put the shah back into power, escalated their protests in Teheran.
  6. On November 4, 1979, a crowd broke into the U.S. Embassy and seized more than 60 Americans, demanding that the shah be returned to Iran for trial.
  7. Carter sent a small military operation into Iran in April 1980, but the rescue mission failed and the hostages remained prisoners until January 1981.
  8. The disastrous rescue mission fed Americans’ feelings of impotence, and increased support for a more militaristic foreign policy.

#### IV. Ronald Reagan and the Conservative Ascendancy

- A. Appealing to the New Right and Beyond
  1. Ronald Reagan’s political career took off when the former actor was elected governor of California in 1966.
  2. Centrist Republicans balked at Reagan’s nomination and at the party platform, which reflected the concerns of the party’s dominant right wing.
  3. The economic recession and the country’s declining international stature, symbolized by the Americans held hostage in Iran, helped to seal Reagan’s victory, but he also benefited from burgeoning grassroots conservatism.
  4. A critical portion of Reagan’s support came from religious conservatives, who constituted a relatively new phenomenon in politics known as the New Right or New Christian Right.
  5. Conservatives created a raft of political organizations, such as the Moral Majority, founded by minister Jerry Falwell in 1979 with the goals of fighting “left-wing, social welfare bills [...] pornography, homosexuality, the advocacy of immorality in school textbooks.”
  6. Reagan embraced the full spectrum of conservatism, avowing agreement on

- abortion, school prayer, and other New Right issues.
7. His major achievements lay in areas most important to the older right—anticommunism, reducing taxes, and government restraints on free enterprise.
  8. Reagan’s admirers stretched far beyond conservatives; the extraordinarily popular president was liked even by Americans who opposed his policies, and even when he made glaring mistakes.
- B. Unleashing Free Enterprise
1. Reagan’s first domestic objective was a massive tax cut.
  2. Although tax reduction, especially in the face of a large budget deficit, contradicted traditional Republican economic doctrine, Reagan relied on a new theory called supply-side economics, which held that cutting taxes would actually increase revenue.
  3. In the summer of 1981, Congress passed the Economic Recovery Tax Act, the largest tax reduction in U.S. history, cutting personal tax rates on the lowest incomes from 14 to 11 percent and on the highest incomes from 70 to 50 percent.
  4. With these cuts, affluent Americans saved far more on their tax bills than did the average taxpayer, and the distribution of wealth further skewed in favor of the rich.
  5. The Reagan administration also tried to free private enterprise from government restraints, pursuing across-the-board deregulation.
  6. Reagan loosened laws protecting employee health and safety and weakened labor unions.
  7. He blamed environmental laws for the sluggish economy and targeted them for deregulation but popular support for environmental protection blocked full realization of his goals.
  8. Deregulation of the banking industry created a crisis in the savings and loan industry; the S&L crisis deepened the federal budget deficit, which grew during the 1980s despite Reagan’s pledge to pare federal spending.
  9. When the administration cut funds for food stamps, job training, aid to low income students, health services, and other welfare programs, hundreds of thousands of people lost benefits.
  10. The economic upswing in 1983 and Reagan’s own popularity posed

- a formidable challenge for the Democrats in the 1984 election, but voters responded to the president's sunny vision and to the economic comeback, giving him a landslide 59 percent of the vote.
- C. Winners and Losers in a Flourishing Economy
1. After the economy took off in 1983, some Americans won great fortunes as popular culture celebrated making money and displaying wealth.
  2. Participating conspicuously in the affluence of the 1980s were members of the baby boom generation known popularly as "yuppies."
  3. Many of the newly wealthy achieved success from moving assets around rather than from producing goods; notable exceptions were Steven Jobs and Bill Gates.
  4. Many problems remained, even in an economy of abundance.
  5. International competition forced the collapse of some older American companies, while others moved factories and jobs abroad to be closer to foreign markets or to benefit from the low wage standards of such countries as Mexico and South Korea.
  6. The weakening of organized labor combined with the decline in manufacturing to erode the position of blue-collar workers.
  7. The expansion of service industries during a period of de-industrialization created new jobs that paid substantially lower wages and the number of full-time workers earning wages below the poverty line increased from 12 to 18 percent in the 1980s.
  8. Families increasingly needed a second income to stave off economic decline; by 1990, 60 percent of married women with young children worked outside the home.
  9. In keeping with conservative philosophy, Reagan avoided substantial government efforts to reverse this growing income inequality (which his tax policies encouraged), insisting that a booming economy would benefit everyone.
  10. Poverty statistics revealed a reversal of the trend toward greater equality and during this period homelessness also increased.

## V. Continuing Struggles over Rights and the Environment

### A. Battles in the Courts and Congress

1. Reagan agreed with conservatives that the nation had moved too far in guaranteeing rights to minority groups.
2. Intense mobilization by civil rights groups, educational leaders, and corporate American prevented the administration from abandoning affirmative action.
3. The Supreme Court upheld important antidiscrimination policies and Congress extended the Voting Rights Act with veto-proof majorities.
4. The administration limited civil rights enforcement by appointing conservatives to the Justice Department and the Civil Rights Commission, slashing their budgets.
5. When the Justice Department persuaded the Supreme Court to weaken Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972, Congress passed the Civil Rights Restoration Act and banned organizations that practiced discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, disability, or age, from receiving government funds.
6. With the opportunity to appoint half of the 761 federal court judges and three new Supreme Court justices, President Reagan carefully selected candidates who had conservative views.
7. With these appointments, the judicial tide began to turn in favor of the doctrine of strict construction.
8. The Supreme Court did not execute an abrupt about-face: It upheld important affirmative action and antidiscrimination policies and ruled that sexual harassment in the workplace constituted sex discrimination.
9. Nonetheless, Reagan's Supreme Court appointees tipped the balance to the right and imposed restrictions that weakened access to abortion, reduced protections against employment discrimination, and weakened legal safeguards against the death penalty.

### B. Feminism on the Defensive

1. One of the signal achievements of the New Right was their capture of the Republican Party's position on women's rights.
2. For the first time in its history, the Republican Party took an explicitly anti-feminist tone, opposing both the Equal

- Rights Amendment, which failed ratification in 1982, and a woman's right to abortion, key goals of women's rights activists.
3. Cast on the defensive, feminists began to focus more on women's economic and family problems; and they found some common ground with the Reagan administration in two measures that addressed women's economic distress: the Child Support Enforcement Amendments and the Retirement Equity Act of 1984.
  4. The Reagan administration had its own concerns about women, specifically about the gender gap—women's tendency throughout the 1980s to vote for liberal and Democratic candidates in larger numbers than men did.
  5. Although court decisions placed restrictions on women's ability to obtain abortions, feminists successfully fought to retain the basic principles of *Roe v. Wade*.
- C. The Gay and Lesbian Rights Movement
1. In contrast to feminism and other social movements, gay and lesbian rights activism grew during the 1980s, partly due to the AIDS epidemic which galvanized gays and lesbians into action.
  2. The gay and lesbian rights movement helped thousands of closeted homosexuals experience the relief of "coming out" and their visibility increased awareness of homosexuality among the larger population.
  3. Popular attitudes about homosexuals moved toward greater tolerance but remained complex; dozens of cities banned job discrimination against homosexuals and 11 states made sexual orientation a protected category under civil rights laws.
  4. The Christian Right targeted gays and lesbians as symbols of immorality and overturned some gay rights measures; in 1986 the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of laws that criminalized sodomy, laws later reversed in 2003.

## VI. Ronald Reagan Confronts an "Evil Empire"

- A. Militarization and Interventions Abroad
1. Reagan expanded the military with new bombers and missiles, an enhanced nuclear force in Europe, a larger navy, and a rapid-deployment force.
  2. Justifying the military buildup as a means to negotiate with the Soviets from a

- position of strength, Reagan provoked an outburst of pleas to halt the arms race.
3. Reagan startled many of his own advisers in March 1983 by announcing plans for research on the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), dubbed "Star Wars" by critics who doubted the feasibility of the project, that proposed to deploy lasers in space to destroy enemy missiles before they could reach their targets on earth.
  4. The United States military buildup could not extinguish a newer threat to international stability—violence initiated by nonstate organizations and designed to gain political objectives by frightening civilian populations.
  5. Such terrorism escalated in the Middle East in the 1970s and 1980s as Palestinians resisted Israeli occupation by the West Bank, destabilizing Lebanon.
  6. The Reagan administration sought to contain such leftist movements close to home and across the globe.
  7. In 1983, the United States invaded Grenada, aided Afghan rebels' war against Afghanistan's Soviet-backed government, armed rebel forces against Angola's Soviet-supported government, and sided with South Africa's brutal suppression of black anti-apartheid protesters.
  8. Administration officials were most fearful of left-wing movements in Central America that Reagan claimed threatened to "destabilize the entire region from the Panama Canal to Mexico."
  9. In El Salvador the United States sent money and military advisers to prop up an authoritarian government despite the fact that it had committed murderous human rights violations.
  10. In Nicaragua, where Reagan aimed to unseat the left-leaning Sandinistas, the administration aided the Contras, an armed coalition that included many individuals from the overthrown Somoza dictatorship.
- B. The Iran-Contra Scandal
1. Fearing another Vietnam, many Americans opposed aligning the U.S. with reactionary forces in Nicaragua that were not supported by a majority of the people.
  2. Congress strongly and repeatedly instructed the president to stop aid to the Contras, but Reagan's administration continued to secretly provide the Contras with weapons and training, thus

- sustaining them, ruining the Nicaraguan economy, and undermining support for the Sandinista government.
3. The Iran-Contra scandal centered on United States' efforts to sell arms to Iran (in exchange for which the Iranians would pressure Muslim terrorists to release seven American hostages in Lebanon) funneling the proceeds from the arms sales through Swiss bank accounts to the Contras in Nicaragua.
  4. When news of the affair surfaced in November 1986, the Reagan administration faced serious charges of bargaining with terrorists and defying Congress's express ban on military aid to the Contras.
  5. The independent prosecutor's final report found no evidence that Reagan had broken the law, but it concluded that both Reagan and Vice President George H. W. Bush had known about the diversion of funds to the Contras and "had knowingly participated or at least acquiesced" in covering up the scandal—the most serious case of executive branch misconduct since Watergate.
- C. A Thaw in Soviet-American Relations
1. A momentous thaw in the cold war overshadowed the Iran-Contra scandal as concerns about immense defense budgets moved both Reagan and Gorbachev towards negotiations.
  2. Positive personal chemistry developed between the two, who met four times between 1985 and 1988, completing an intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) agreement, eliminating all short- and medium-range missiles from Europe and providing for on-site inspections for the first time.
  3. In 1988, Gorbachev further reduced tensions by announcing a gradual withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 30, the *Questions for Analysis* and *Debate* following the feature *Documenting the American Promise*, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 30.

## Review Questions

1. How did Nixon's policies reflect the increasing influence of conservatives on the Republican Party? (pp. 1102–1103, 1106–1108) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Southern strategy:* During the 1968 campaign, Nixon adopted the southern strategy, that is, tapping into hostility toward new civil rights measures and black protest to draw disaffected southern and working class Democrats into the Republican Party. For example, he opposed the use of court-ordered busing to integrate schools, a policy that conservatives found objectionable. (pp. 1106–1107)

- *Judicial appointments:* The Warren Supreme Court had authored many decisions that produced civil rights victories in the 1960s. Conservatives criticized the court and its decisions as too politically active. Nixon appealed to conservatives when he appointed as chief justice Warren E. Burger, a judge who interpreted the Constitution narrowly and was likely to limit government intervention on behalf of individual rights. (pp. 1107–1108)

- *Gender and family:* Nixon also reached out to conservatives fearful of changes in women's roles and American families by rejecting federal funds for day care and by making overtures to opponents of abortion. (p. 1108)

2. Why did Richard Nixon resign the presidency in August 1974? (pp. 1109–1110) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Watergate burglary:* In 1972, five men were arrested after having broken into Democratic Party headquarters in the Watergate building in Washington, D.C. It became clear that they were working for the Nixon reelection campaign and had been repairing a wiretap placed in an earlier break-in. (p. 1109)

- *Spiraling revelations:* Attempts to cover up the White House's complicity in the break-in and to obstruct the investigation, including desperate attempts to have special prosecutor Archibald Cox removed, along with transcripts of tapes that confirmed the president's knowledge and participation in the cover-up, precipitated Nixon's resignation. Facing impeachment, Nixon chose to step down. (p. 1110)

3. How did Carter attempt to balance commitment to human rights and anticommunism in his foreign policy? (pp. 1116–1117) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Context:* In the wake of Watergate and revelations of illegal CIA activities abroad, Carter promised to make American foreign policy conform to

Americans' commitment to freedom and human dignity. Consequently, he wanted to make nations' adherence to ideals of human rights the guiding principle of American policy. (pp. 1116–1117)

- *Techniques:* Carter tried to use sanctions and economic incentives to encourage other nations to protect human rights in their countries and governments. (pp. 1116–1117)

- *Compromises:* In practice, commitment to human rights competed with strategy and security in shaping American foreign policy. Consequently, more strategically significant nations like Iran and China avoided U.S. sanctions despite oppressive governments, unlike others, such as Chile and Argentina. (p. 1117)

- *Balancing anticomunism and human rights:* In practice, balancing these principles proved very challenging and produced contradictory actions. Carter's new directive contributed to his decision to recognize the government of Nicaragua after a leftist popular movement overthrew an oppressive dictatorship, thereby indicating that how a government treated its citizens was as important as its political orientation in shaping its relations with the United States. Carter's conviction that Soviet aggression represented the greatest threat to the nation led him to adopt a different policy toward Pakistan. Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Carter began to supply its neighbor, Pakistan, with aid despite its military dictatorship. (p. 1117)

4. Why did economic inequality increase during the Reagan administration? (pp. 1121, 1125–1126)  
*Answer would ideally include:*

- *Structure of Regan tax cuts:* Reagan's tax cuts passed in 1981 and 1986 reduced the taxes of all Americans, but reserved the greatest benefits for the wealthiest both by giving them the largest reduction in income taxes and by cutting taxes on capital gains, gifts, and inheritances. (p. 1121)

- *Reduction of government assistance programs:* At the same time Reagan's government bailed out banks following the savings and loans crisis it had helped create through deregulation, it cut funds for food stamps, job training, aid to low-income students, and other social welfare programs. (pp. 1124–1125)

- *Decline of organized labor:* High unemployment weakened the bargaining power of organized labor and forced concessions in wages. The decline of the industrial sector of the American economy further eroded the earning capacity of working Americans. Increasingly, Americans had to take on the lower paying jobs available in the service sector. These developments contributed to the growing gap between the wealthiest Americans and the working class. (pp. 1125–1126)

5. What gains and setbacks did minorities, feminists, and gays and lesbians experience during the Reagan years? (pp. 1126–1132) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Losses for all:* Reagan's appointments to the judiciary, particularly the Supreme Court, shifted it decisively toward strict construction, making the courts less reliable champions of individual rights. (pp. 1127–1128)

- *Minorities:* Reagan himself aimed to reduce the gains that minorities, especially African Americans, had won in the 1960s and 1970s. He wanted to end affirmative action, and allow the expiration of the Voting Rights Act. Mobilization by civil rights groups and others, however, prevented him from reversing affirmative action. Congress voted to extend the Voting Rights Act and, in 1988, passed the Civil Rights Restoration Act in 1988 which denied federal funds to any organization participating in discrimination. Reagan did encourage a rightward movement in the federal judiciary, appointing conservative justices that favored a strict interpretation of the constitution. The administration also limited civil rights enforcement by appointing conservatives to the Justice Department and the Civil Rights Commission, and slashing their budgets. (pp. 1126–1128)

- *Feminism:* The Reagan era produced many setbacks for feminists, including the defeat of the ERA by a decidedly antifeminist Republican Party as well as defeat of attempts to improve day care. Successes on the federal level depended on finding common ground with the administration, for example, in the passage of the Child Support Enforcement Amendments Act and the Retirement Equity Act of 1984. Finding the federal government a reluctant ally, feminists also turned to state governments where they experienced some success in their demands for pay equity, stronger rape laws, and greater funding for domestic violence programs. (pp. 1128–1129)

- *Gay and lesbian rights:* Gays and lesbians had made important legal and social gains in the 1970s, including the declassification of homosexuality as a mental illness, the repeal of some state laws criminalizing gay sex, and the passage of state laws banning discrimination based on sexual orientation. Popular attitudes toward gay Americans shifted toward greater tolerance in many quarters. Still, the Christian Right targeted homosexuals as part of the moral decline they would vigorously oppose with their expanded political voice. (pp. 1129–1132)

6. How did anticomunism shape Reagan's foreign policy? (pp. 1132–1135) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Arms buildup:* Anticomunism was the guiding principle of Reagan's foreign policy. It led him to

adopt a more aggressive stance toward the Soviet Union, including a dramatic expansion of defense spending. Much of the new spending went toward a massive buildup of weapons, including nuclear bombs. Reagan pursued the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) even though it violated an earlier ABM treaty, escalated tensions with the Soviet Union, and, according to critics, was clearly not feasible. The costs of the military buildup were high for the United States and the Soviet Union and contributed to a thaw in relations and talks between Reagan and Gorbachev. (pp. 1132–1133)

• *Interventions:* Reagan's anticommunism led him to use American resources to bolster brutal regimes around the world to prevent leftists from gaining power. He was particularly concerned about left-wing movements in Central America and violated congressional will to provide funds to the anti-Communist Contras in Nicaragua. (pp. 1133–1134)

## Making Connections

1. What was Watergate's legacy for American politics in the following decade? In your answer, explain what led to Nixon's resignation. How did Congress try to prevent such abuses of power in the future? *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Account of Watergate:* In 1972, five men were arrested after having broken into Democratic Party headquarters to repair an illegal wiretap in the Watergate building. Attempts to cover up the White House's complicity in the break-in and obstruct the investigation led Nixon to resign in order to avoid impeachment. (pp. 1109–1110)

• *Disillusionment with government:* Watergate and revelations of illegal FBI and CIA activities around the world contributed to growing cynicism among Americans about the trustworthiness and effectiveness of government. (p. 1111)

• *Government reform:* Congress attempted to pass laws to protect government from similar abuses in the future. For example, the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974 tried to prevent corruption by establishing public financing of presidential campaigns. They also passed the independent counsel law establishing a nonpartisan procedure for the appointment of special prosecutors. (p. 1111)

• *Political consequences:* In the short term, Watergate strengthened the appeal of the Democratic Party, particularly its upright presidential candidate, Jimmy Carter. In the long term, its legacy of disillusionment strengthened the antigovernment rhetoric of the new right wing of the Republican Party. (pp. 1111–1112)

2. Both ends of the American political spectrum changed significantly in the 1970s and 1980s. Describe these changes and discuss how they shaped contemporary American politics. In your answer, be sure to cite specific political developments. *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Nixon leans right:* Nixon's election to the presidency in 1968 depended in large part on the southern strategy—tapping opposition to black civil rights to drain disaffected white southern voters from the Democratic Party. This development laid the foundation for a dramatic shift in regional party alliances. (pp. 1102–1103, 1106–1108)

• *Reagan and the New Right:* Reagan's success depended on support from grassroots conservatives who helped shift the Republican Party further to the right. Troubled by the developments of the 1960s and 1970s, religious conservatives pushed for a return to traditional family life and prayer in school. Free-market conservatives also found an advocate in Reagan. (pp. 1119–1121)

• *Democratic disturbances:* The Democratic Party faced the challenge of stemming the loss of conservative southern voters to the Republican Party and incorporating the newcomers who were left of party regulars—minorities, women, and young people. The diversity within the Democratic Party was evident in the large field of candidates for the 1972 presidential nomination. In an effort to woo traditionally Democratic voters, the Party moved to the right in 1976, and selected Jimmy Carter as its presidential nominee. His southern roots, fiscal stringency, and evangelical commitments generated considerable appeal. (p. 1112)

3. Recent experiences in Vietnam hung over the foreign policy decisions of Presidents Carter and Reagan. How did each president try to reconcile the lessons of that conflict and the ongoing cold war? In your answer, be sure to discuss the legacy of the Vietnam War on the United States in the 1970s and 1980s. *Answer would ideally include:*

• *Legacy of Vietnam:* Tensions over the Vietnam War had revealed deep splits in the nation. The enormous costs of the war in lives and resources produced hardship at home and deepened opposition. Revelations of government deception and the withdrawal without victory contributed to growing American cynicism about government. (See chapter 29)

• *Carter and the legacy of Vietnam:* Carter responded to Vietnam and Watergate by trying to craft foreign policy that would continue to fight communism, but not at the cost of honoring American values of freedom and human dignity. Consequently, he tried to make nations' adherence to standards of human

rights central to shaping their relations with the United States. Nevertheless it proved difficult to balance the concerns of security and human rights. Carter's presidency failed to carve out a clear foreign policy. (pp. 1116–1119)

- *Reagan and the legacy of Vietnam:* Losses in Vietnam did not shake Reagan's confidence that military interventions to prevent the rise of leftist governments around the world were essential to American security. Still, he had to contend with a Congress that was wary of aligning the United States with reactionary forces lacking popular support in their home countries. In the case of Nicaragua, where Reagan wanted to support the anticommunist Contras, he elected to circumvent Congress and secretly provided weapons and training. (pp. 1132–1134)

4. American regional politics shifted in significant ways during the 1970s and 1980s. Why was grassroots conservatism particularly strong in the Sun Belt? What was its relationship to the civil rights and equal opportunity developments of the 1960s? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Conservatism in the Sun Belt:* The cities of the Sun Belt, with their homogeneous, skilled, and affluent populations and economic ties to the military and defense, often became home to strong grassroots conservative movements. Western traditions of individualism and a conflicted relationship to the distant federal government fit with the tenets of the New Right. (p. 1103)

- *Conservatism in the South:* Like the West, the South was wary of the federal government. Recent developments in civil rights and the exercise of federal power to enforce legal changes inflamed southern resentment of the federal government. The Republican Party's new platform of restricted social welfare and social conservatism drew large numbers of southern politicians and voters into their ranks. (pp. 1106–1108)

- *The New Right and race:* Beyond southern opposition to civil rights gains and the expanded black political voice, court decisions related to integration of schools produced resentment among northern whites as well. For example, busing attracted opposition of whites in the North and conservative activists like Phyllis Schlafly. (pp. 1106–1107)

### Documenting the American Promise: Protecting Gay and Lesbian Rights (pp. 1130–1131)

1. According to these documents, how would heterosexuals be affected by laws protecting gay and lesbian rights? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Benefits to heterosexuals:* Document 1, the Minneapolis ordinance from 1974, suggests that discrimination against any group detracts from the safety and well-being of the entire community, implying that

protecting gay and lesbian rights will make life better for heterosexuals as well. Document 2, the letter from the Episcopal bishop of New York, suggests that gays and lesbians make enormous contributions to society and that protecting their rights will benefit everyone. Document 4, testimony of Charles Cochrane Jr., says that protecting the employment rights of gays and lesbians will protect the inherent human rights of all people.

- *Costs to heterosexuals:* Document 5, by the analyst from the Heritage Foundation, suggests that the protection of gay and lesbian rights will "intimidate" heterosexuals who are uncomfortable about homosexuality; that it will create market bottlenecks by protecting gay and lesbian access to employment, credit, and housing; and that it will increase heterosexual anger against homosexuals.

2. Which of these documents suggest that the civil rights movement influenced the authors' views on homosexual rights? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Gay and lesbian rights as civil rights:* Document 1, the Minneapolis ordinance, includes sexual preference along with race, color, sex, religion, and ethnicity, suggesting that all these groups need protection from discrimination and that thinking about gay and lesbian rights has been influenced by the civil rights movement. Similarly, documents 2 and 4 also conceptualize gay and lesbian rights as in the same category as civil rights for African Americans, suggesting that the authors' have been influenced by the earlier movement.

- *Gay and lesbian rights as different from civil rights:* The authors of documents 3 and 5 are influenced by the civil rights movement in that they appear to believe that they have to argue that gay and lesbian rights are something fundamentally different from the basic civil rights and human rights gained by African Americans through the civil rights movement.

3. What do you think is the strongest argument for government protection of homosexual rights? What do you think is the strongest argument against government protection? *Answer would ideally include:*

- There will be a variety of answers to these questions, depending on the constituencies represented in your particular classroom. Answers will vary depending on whether students believe sexual orientation to be a choice or an inborn trait, and whether they take the position that LGBT rights are "special rights" or simply civil rights.

### Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### The Fuel Shortage (p. 1114)

**Reading the Image:** What assumptions does the billboard make about Americans' reactions to the Iran hostage crisis? What reasons does the ad give for drivers to respect the speed limit? What reasons are omitted? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Assumptions about Americans:* This billboard assumes that Americans wanted to fight back against the Iranian kidnappings. In reality, driving according to the speed limit in order to use less gas wasn't the most effective way to oppose the Ayatollah, but the billboard illustrates Americans' desire to do their part to end the hostage crisis. It also assumes that Americans perceived the Ayatollah as evil (the black background of the ad enhances the already chilling effect of his perpetually severe expression).

- *Reasons for obeying the speed limit:* The ad suggests that drivers should respect the speed limit in order to use less gas, thus restricting the profits they were providing to the Iranian oil industry and perhaps limiting the nation's reliance on Middle Eastern sources of oil in general.

- *Reasons omitted from the billboard:* The billboard does not speak to American's general frustration with the White House administration's inability to bring the hostages home. The ad also does not touch on the issue that obeying the speed limit helps to protect the environment as well as general road safety.

**Connections:** What impact did the hostage and oil crises have on American politics? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Impact of the crises of the 1980s:* The hostage and oil crises created feelings of pessimism, frustration, and discontent among American citizens. These feelings severely damaged the standing of the Carter administration and greatly helped Ronald Reagan and the Republicans to assume control of both the White House and the nation's political agenda during the 1980s. The crisis is also significant in its foreshadowing of the continual problems the United States would encounter in the coming years as dependence on foreign oil and the growing conflict in the Middle East would plague each White House administration.

### Controversy over the Environment (p. 1124)

**Reading the Image:** Is the *Newsweek* cover critical of Reagan's environmental policies? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Tone of image on the cover of Newsweek:* Although not overtly critical of President Reagan's environmental policy, the *Newsweek* cover suggests that Reagan's

plan to make public lands available for private economic development would damage the natural beauty and public enjoyment of the American West, the location of most federal lands. The cover shows James Watt, Reagan's secretary of the interior, tearing up the green forest of the Mountain West to make way for a strip mine and a power plant. The mine and plant typified the kinds of extractive business enterprises that took place on land in the West, land that sat atop valuable coal, natural gas, and oil reserves. Behind Watt is a beautiful landscape of mountains, rivers, forests, and green meadows; this part of the image captures the natural beauty of the West that Americans treasured. In front of him sits a dirty, smoke-filled industrial site that few Americans would enjoy visiting. *Newsweek* makes another subtle criticism of Reagan's environmental policy with its headline "Digging Up the Last Frontier?" The question asks readers if the new administration will destroy the frontier—a place perceived as a land of undisturbed wilderness and one that has almost mythical standing in the collective imagination of Americans.

**Connections:** What were Reagan's environmental policies? How did these policies reflect his conservative political ideology? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Reagan's environmental policies:* President Reagan wanted to make the federal government's environmental policy friendlier to private enterprise. Toward that end, he wanted to open America's public lands for economic development, and he sought a reduction in environmental regulations that monitored the ways in which business polluted air, water, and soil. Reagan carried out this policy by making more federal lands available for business use and by discouraging the Environmental Protection Agency from enforcing clean air and water laws.

- *Environmental policies and the conservative ideology:* These policies neatly fit Reagan's conservative ideology. Conservatives believed that government should be small in size and limited in its scope of action. Reagan and other conservatives thought that the environmental laws enacted in the 1970s had expanded government power and needlessly interfered with the people's ability to use public lands for their own benefit. Conservatives believed that the free market was a better regulator of the public good than was the government. Therefore, they criticized clean air and water regulations as impediments to free enterprise because such laws limited the right of businesses to do what they wanted with their property. Conservatives liked Reagan's plans for selling off public lands and scaling back environmental regulation because these policies shrank the size of government and unleashed the power of the free market.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 30.2 Worldwide Oil Reserves, 1980 (p. 1116)

**Reading the Map:** Where did the United States rank in 1980 in the possession of oil reserves? About what portion of the total oil reserves are located in the Middle East? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *World distribution of oil reserves:* In 1980, the United States was ranked low on the list of worldwide holdings of oil reserves. They only narrowly beat out the United Arab Emirates, Libya, and China. About 67 percent of all oil holdings were held by countries located in the Middle East.

- **Connections:** At what points during the 1970s did the United States experience oil shortages? What caused these shortages? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Oil crises during the 1970s:* The United States experienced two energy crises in the 1970s, the first in 1973 and the second in 1979. The energy crisis of 1973 began when members of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries ruled to stop exporting oil to countries that supported Israel in the Arab nations conflict with Syria and Egypt. The energy crisis of 1979 occurred during the Iranian Revolution. Both of these crises were in some way caused as a consequence of the United States' foreign policies with countries in the Middle East.

### Map 30.3 The Middle East, 1948–1989 (p. 1118)

**Reading the Map:** Where did the United States become involved diplomatically or militarily in the Middle East between 1948 and 1989? Which countries are members of OPEC? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *United States involvement in the Middle East:* Between 1948 and 1989, the United States took diplomatic and/or military action in Afghanistan, Egypt, Iran, Israel, and Lebanon. In Lebanon, the United States aided a pro-American government in 1958 and stationed marines there in 1983. In 1978, President Jimmy Carter brought Israeli and Egyptian leaders to Camp David, where they negotiated a settlement to issues left over from the 1967 Six-Day War. In Iran, the CIA helped overthrow the Mossadegh government in 1953, and after Mossadegh's pro-American successor

was forced out in 1979, America secretly sold arms to the new Shiite Islamic government. The proceeds of those sales were funneled to pro-American rebels in Nicaragua.

- *Members of OPEC:* In 1979, the United States imposed economic sanctions on the Soviet Union in retaliation for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates belong to OPEC.

**Connections:** What role did U.S. foreign policy regarding the Middle East and events in Israel play in provoking the 1973 Arab oil embargo against the United States? What precipitated the taking of U.S. hostages in Iran in 1979? Was U.S. intervention in the country a factor? If so, why? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *1973 Oil Embargo:* In the case of both the 1973 Arab oil embargo and the 1979 Iranian hostage crisis, America's intervention in the politics of the Middle East provoked retaliation from states in the region. In 1973, America supported Israel when it was attacked by Arab allies of the Palestinians, a majority Islamic group that had been displaced from its homeland by the establishment of the Jewish state of Israel after World War II. Arab oil-producing states embargoed fuel shipments to the United States in the hopes that the resulting energy crisis would force America to end its support of Israel.

- *1979 Hostage crisis:* Although the predominantly Islamic nation of Iran sided with the Palestinians against Israel, its grievances against the United States stemmed from internal events. Iranians well remembered when in 1958 the CIA overthrew the government of Mohammed Mossadegh, who had nationalized Iran's oil industry. The shah of Iran, Mossadegh's replacement, relied on American aid to prop up his repressive government. The 1979 revolution against the shah installed a Shiite Islamic government in Iran that harbored intense animosity toward the United States. When President Carter allowed the shah to seek medical treatment in the United States, anti-American demonstrators in Iran retaliated by storming the U.S. embassy in Teheran and taking its workers hostage. America's long history of intervention in Middle Eastern politics generated animosity toward America that expressed itself in the oil embargo and hostage crisis.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in "Additional Resources for Chapter 30."*

## LECTURE 1

### *The Nixon Administration and After*

Begin this lecture by covering the emergence of the grassroots conservative movement that had its origins in Goldwater's presidential bid in 1964 and became increasingly compelling during the late 1960s. When covering Nixon's domestic agenda, emphasize the ways in which the president sought to curb the government's role in protecting individual liberties and to capitalize on growing public dissatisfaction with social reform. To demonstrate Nixon's attempts to counter the effects of Johnson's Great Society, you might wish to cover Nixon's relations with conservative southern white Democrats; the reasons he appointed Warren E. Burger, Lewis Powell, and William H. Rehnquist to the Supreme Court; his frequent clashes with feminists and environmentalists; and his initiative of the New Federalism, signaling his dislike of the expanding federal bureaucracy. Nevertheless, certain problems proved too threatening to abandon to the state. Here, you can discuss the administration's response to three key economic problems—energy shortages, inflation, and unemployment—and explain the federal government's interventions in the economy.

The Watergate scandal fascinates most students, and you will want to take the time to go over the events that led to one of the worst constitutional crises in the nation's history. Explain the break-in at Democratic Party headquarters, the cover-up, and all the attendant abuses such as the dirty tricks and illegal campaign contributions. When you cover the hearings, be sure to emphasize the role of television, especially in discussing John Dean's testimony that White House officials "harassed" their enemies and Alexander Butterfield's testimony that revealed a secret voice-activated taping system in the White House. Mention Nixon's steadfast refusal to hand over the tapes despite Judge John J. Sirica's court order. Finally, discuss the House's vote to begin impeachment proceedings (explaining to students precisely what "impeachment" means); the Supreme Court's unanimous demand for the unedited, unexpurgated tapes; and Nixon's resignation. Emphasize that Nixon's departure from office did not end the crisis. One month later, President Gerald Ford granted Nixon a full pardon, ensuring that the former president would never stand trial and would never have to disclose his part in the scandal.

End this lecture by covering the legacies of Watergate, demonstrating that the crisis precipitated a number of government reforms, such as the War Powers Act and the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974.

Perhaps the most significant legacies of Watergate were the criticism of government and the decline in confidence it engendered.

Include discussion of the legacies of Watergate that propelled Jimmy Carter to the White House in 1976, pointing to Carter's campaign promise "I will never tell a lie," which carried a degree of cultural resonance that would have rung false before Watergate. Demonstrate to students that, once in office, Carter proved unable to win the confidence of the people. Be sure to highlight Carter's failings on the domestic front. First you will need to show that Carter worked poorly with Congress—even though the Democrats were in control, he was unable to push through key pieces of legislation. Second, he presided over severe economic and energy crises, which he seemed unable to manage. During the worst of the energy crisis, he appealed to Americans to lower their thermostats, conveying an image of a weak president who could not take charge of the situation. He lost his bid for a second term.

## LECTURE 2

### *The Conservative Resurgence*

This lecture conveys how Ronald Reagan's successful run for the presidency in 1980 continued the conservative shift in American politics and society. Note the continued backlash against the upheavals associated with the 1960s, as well as the increasing political involvement of fundamentalist and evangelical Christianity, the rhetoric of militant anticommunism, and the veneration of the free-market economy. Emphasize the ways in which Reagan represented a wide spectrum of conservative ideology. Once in office, Reagan fulfilled his promise to enact a conservative political and economic agenda. Mention, for example, Reagan's supply-side economics and his support for deregulation. Move on to suggest that although Reagan failed to translate into concrete policy his beliefs in conservative moral and social goals, his rhetoric nonetheless captured the support of many Americans. Remind students of Reagan's ability to maintain popular support, despite his gaffes and his administration's errors, and his landslide victory in the 1984 election.

Move on to cover Reagan's successes and failures during his second administration. First, you might suggest that Reagan's conservative agenda successfully put liberals on the defensive in the 1980s. African Americans, other racial and ethnic minorities, women, and homosexuals scrambled to protect the gains that they had won in the past and to secure new rights. Have students discuss the *Historical Question* feature "Why Did ERA Fail?" (pp. 1122–1123) in this context.

Focus on the ways in which pressure groups, realizing that the federal administration and judiciary would stand against them, pursued their agenda at the local level. Have them look at the spot map on page 1129, which shows states with antidiscrimination laws for gays and lesbians. Also mention that although Reagan scored important victories in his first term, it became clear by his second term that his economic policies carried a heavy cost, as the U.S. trade deficit soared, investments declined, and the annual deficit and overall debt of the federal government reached astronomical levels. You will need to point out that gridlock in Congress, scandal in the administration, and a temperament that prevented Reagan from launching an all-out effort to secure the most controversial planks of his platform all ensured that the president would fall short of delivering an end to the welfare state.

End your lecture by looking at the role of money and material possessions in defining American culture in the 1980s. The economy and society led some observers to talk about the “money culture” and to call the 1980s the “decade of greed.” Americans clearly venerated free enterprise and entrepreneurship in the 1980s, as books by businesspeople climbed to the top of best-seller lists and television shows such as *Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous* captured millions of viewers. Draw students’ attention to the cover of *The Yuppie Handbook* on page 1125. You might also wish to mention *Family Ties*, whose character Alex P. Keaton epitomized the worship of money in the 1980s. On the darker side, you may want to mention two of the “brat-pack” authors, Jay McInerney and Bret Easton Ellis, whose respective novels *Bright Lights, Big City* and *Less than Zero* capture the hollowness of the money culture.

Counter your discussion of the money culture with a discussion of those whom the economic boom passed by. Here you will wish to cover the rise of homelessness and the poverty rate. Have your students take a look ahead at Figure 31.1, The Growth of Inequality: Changes in Family Income, 1969–1998, on page 1156, which shows that after 1979, income of the poorest families declined while income for the wealthiest 5 percent of the population rose substantially. You will also want to discuss how the working poor had to struggle not to lose ground during the Reagan administration.

## LECTURE 3

### *The Lingering Cold War*

Begin this lecture on the lingering cold war by reminding students how Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger played China and the Soviet Union against each other under the assumption that “the enemy of my enemy is my friend.” To defuse the tension between the Soviet Union and China, Nixon and Kissinger pursued a new

approach to foreign policy, judging countries (including ones with Communist regimes) on the basis of their actions toward the world community and the United States rather than their political ideologies. Explain that the Nixon administration exploited three common areas of interest between the United States and the Soviet Union—arms control, trade, and stability in Europe—in an effort to reach détente with the other superpower. The tension between the United States and other Communist and Marxist governments, however, did not ease, and you might finish here by reviewing Nixon’s traditional style of American foreign policy with Chile, Vietnam, and the Middle East.

Introduce Carter’s foreign policy by suggesting to students that in this arena, as U.S.-Soviet relations deteriorated, Carter seemed weak. His abandonment of his own human rights principles when dealing with South Korea, China, and the Philippines alienated his liberal supporters, and his signing of the Panama Canal Treaty received condemnation from those who believed the United States should retain rights to the vital waterway. He did score a coup in foreign policy when he presided over the peace accords between Israel and Egypt, but any gain was eclipsed by the Iranian hostage crisis. Carter’s inability to ensure a safe return for the American hostages doomed his bid for reelection. In a bitter twist of irony, Iran released the hostages the day Carter left office.

Remind students that Ronald Reagan capitalized on Carter’s seeming inability to handle the hostage crisis. Once in office, Reagan fulfilled his promise to enact a conservative agenda. Here, you will wish to go over the increases in military spending and U.S.-sponsored incursions in Latin American countries in an effort to depose popularly elected leftists and install friendly right-wing dictators. Cover Reagan’s ability to maintain popular support, despite his gaffes and his administration’s errors, and his landslide victory in the 1984 election.

End this lecture by suggesting that Reagan faced his greatest presidential challenge with the Iran-Contra scandal. Be sure to mention that Reagan managed to survive the scandal in part because of his affable personality but also because he presided over a relaxation of tensions with the Soviet Union.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. Rating Nixon

Students frequently have trouble assessing the Nixon administration and often ask whether Nixon was a good or a bad president. They especially have a hard time reconciling his “opening” of China with his involvement in Watergate and the secret bombing of

Cambodia. Some students may have seen Oliver Stone's film *Nixon* (1995), and their perceptions will undoubtedly be colored by it. You may wish to have your students discuss the legacies of détente with China and the Soviet Union, the bombing of Cambodia, and Watergate, emphasizing that the same man was responsible for all of these decisions.

### 2. Rating Carter

Many students are familiar with Jimmy Carter's post-presidential activities with Habitat for Humanity, the Carter Center, and other human rights organizations and see him as an elder statesman. It is hard for them to recognize, therefore, that many consider his presidency unsuccessful. Ask them to assess Carter's inability to push through key pieces of his legislation; the weaknesses in his foreign policy; and, most important, his failure to appear presidential. His tactic of appearing as a Washington outsider may have worked to his advantage while campaigning for the White House, but it left him bereft of associates and connections once in office. Although his post-presidential activities seem to have conferred upon him the stature of world leader, most historians believe he did not earn such status while in office.

### 3. The Teflon President

Students may wonder about Ronald Reagan's ability to shake off criticisms of his administration. Indeed, his ability to transcend serious attacks seems only to have increased since his death. Certainly, Reagan seemed immune from the charges of incompetence levied against him by his critics and the media. He even managed to escape the Iran-Contra scandal—the most serious abuse of power in the executive branch since Watergate—relatively intact. Impart to your students the degree to which loyal members of the Reagan administration orchestrated the president's public appearances in order to eliminate the possibility of his appearing out of touch with reality. More important, perhaps, was Reagan's genuine affability. Point out the president's ability to laugh at himself (unlike Nixon) and his ability to put even his enemies at ease. Most people seemed to like the man even if they disagreed with his politics. Finally, you could suggest that his continued optimism and boasts of a strong America appealed to many citizens weary from American loss of credibility during the 1960s and 1970s.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

There are a number of interesting Hollywood films that offer insight on America in the 1970s. The legacy of Watergate left a large imprint on American film. In addition to the obvious *All the President's Men* (1976),

which offers *Washington Post* reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein's account of the breaking of the story, consider showing the Robert Redford film *The Candidate* (1972), which tells the story of a seemingly forthright politician who proved to be susceptible to corruption. You might also want to show Warren Beatty's *The Parallax View* (1974) or Gene Hackman's *The Conversation* (1974), both of which demonstrate the popularity of conspiracy-theory films. When discussing working-class and youth culture, consider showing the cult classic *Saturday Night Fever* (1977). Clips from *The China Syndrome* (1979) can usefully illustrate the fear many Americans experienced over nuclear energy and serve as an indictment of television news. Perhaps the most scathing indictment of television, however, was the 1976 film *Network*, which works well in the classroom.

There are also a number of Hollywood films that capture the mood of the "go-go eighties." Bring up the 1987 film *Wall Street*, starring Michael Douglas, which chronicles the machinations of a Wall Street broker who compromises himself in order to rise to the top. The film adaptations of *Less than Zero* (1987) and *Bright Lights, Big City* (1988) offer the seamy underside of the money culture. Spike Lee's 1989 film *Do the Right Thing* delivers a fine commentary on the state of race relations in the late 1980s.

"Back to the Movement, 1979–1980s," part of the *Eyes on the Prize II* television series, looks at the responses and strategies of the civil rights activists who faced a conservative backlash during the Reagan-Bush years. You might also consider showing the PBS biographical documentary *Reagan*.

### Class Discussion Starters

Ask students what course American history might have taken if Ford had not pardoned Nixon. How would Nixon's almost-certain trial have shaped American political culture? Would Americans have remained so distrustful of their public officials and cynical of politics in general had Nixon stood trial for his crimes? These questions will allow students to explore the profound impact of the Watergate scandal on the political landscape. Would Ford have been able to hang on to the White House had he not pardoned Nixon? Would Ford have been any more successful than Carter in handling the crises of the late 1970s?

### Historical Debates

Have students debate whether the malaise of the 1970s still affects their generation. Many students remain contemptuous of politicians and politics and no longer believe in politicians' ability to solve many of the problems the country now faces. Find out if your students fit this profile, and why. Does the legacy of Watergate still linger?

## Reading Primary Sources

Using the feature *Documenting the American Promise*: “Protecting Gay and Lesbian Rights” (pp. 1130–1131) ask your students about how these documents reflect change and continuity over time with regard to the issues of lesbian and gay rights. These documents span the period from 1974 to 1991. To what degree, if any, did arguments in favor of gay rights change over that time? To what degree, if any, did arguments opposed to gay rights change? Why or why not? Has there been a change since 1991? If so, why?

## Additional Resources for Chapter 30

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images for chapter 30 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 30.1: The Election of 1976 (p. 1112)
- Map 30.2: Worldwide Oil Reserves, 1980 (p. 1116)
- Map 30.3: The Middle East, 1948–1989 (p. 1118)
- Global Comparison: Energy Consumption per Capita, 1980 (p. 1115)
- Making America “Reagan Country” (p. 1100)
- Controversy over the Environment (p. 1124)

### Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 30 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 30.1: The Election of 1976 (p. 1112)
- Map 30.2: Worldwide Oil Reserves, 1980 (p. 1116)
- Map 30.3: The Middle East, 1948–1989 (p. 1118)
- Global Comparison: Energy Consumption per Capita, 1980 (p. 1115)
- The Gap in the Watergate Tapes (p. 1109)
- Jimmy Carter’s Inauguration (p. 1113)
- The Fuel Shortage (p. 1114)
- Controversy over the Environment (p. 1124)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

## Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 30 include:

- *U.S. Environmentalism Since 1945*, by Steve Stoll
- *Title IX, 1971*, by Susan Ware
- *The Oil Crisis of 1973–1974*, by Karen R. Merrill
- *The Rise of Conservatism in America, 1945–2000*, by Ronald Story and Bruce Laurie

## For Students

### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 30 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- George Wallace Campaigns for President: *American Independent Party Platform, 1968*
- The Watergate Tapes: Nixon, Dean, and Haldeman Discuss the Cancer within the Presidency: *Transcript from Tape-Recorded Meeting on March 21, 1973*
- Roe v. Wade and Abortion Rights: *Supreme Court Decision, 1973*
- President Ronald Reagan Defends American Morality: *Address to the National Association of American Evangelicals, 1983*
- A Vietnamese Immigrant on the West Coast: *Anonymous Man, Oral History*

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 30:

### Map Activities

- Map 30.2: Worldwide Oil Reserves, 1980 (p. 1116)
- Map 30.3: The Middle East, 1948–1989 (p. 1118)

### Visual Activities

- The Fuel Shortage (p. 1114)
- Controversy over the Environment (p. 1124)

### Reading Historical Documents Activity

- Protecting Gay and Lesbian Rights (pp. 1130–1131)

**CHAPTER**  
**31**

# End of the Cold War and the Challenges of Globalization Since 1989

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## Chapter Learning Objectives

1. In what ways did domestic stalemate and global upheaval shape George H. W. Bush's presidency? What were the effects of the end of the cold war on American foreign policy, and why did the United States go to war in Central America and the Persian Gulf? What issues defined the 1992 election?
2. In what ways did the Clinton administration search for political middle ground, and why did it move to the right? What scandals plagued the Clinton administration, and why did the House move to impeach the president? What effects did the booming economy of the 1990s have on Clinton's presidency and American culture?
3. How did the United States try to define America's place in a "new world order"? What were the debates over globalization and the effects of a liberalized foreign trade policy? How did the United States become internationalized during the 1990s?
4. How did George W. Bush continue the conservative policies of his Republican predecessors? Outline the issues in the disputed election of 2000. What was the globalization of terror, and what was George W. Bush's policy of preemption and unilateralism? Why did the United States go to war against Iraq in 2003?

## Annotated Chapter Outline

- I. **Domestic Stalemate and Global Upheaval: The Presidency of George H. W. Bush**
  - A. Gridlock in Government
    1. When Ronald Reagan achieved a commanding lead in the 1980 primaries,

George H. W. Bush put his own presidential ambitions on hold, adjusted his more moderate policy positions to fit Reagan's conservative agenda, and accepted second place on the Republican ticket, serving as Reagan's Vice President.

2. Bush won the presidential election in 1988, defeating Democratic candidate, Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, but the Democrats gained seats in the House and Senate.
3. Although Bush saw himself as guardian and beneficiary of the Reagan legacy, he promised "a kinder, gentler nation" and was more inclined than Reagan to approve government activity in the private sphere, as evidenced by his signing of the Clean Air Act of 1990 and the Americans with Disabilities Act in 1991.
4. Yet Bush needed to satisfy party conservatives and promised "no new taxes," opposing most proposals requiring additional federal funds.
5. Continuing a trend established during the Reagan administration, states tried to compensate for this paralysis, by becoming more innovative than Washington in spending and cutting funds.
6. But a huge federal deficit inherited from the Reagan administration impelled the president and Congress to break their deadlock as Bush agreed to modest tax increases for high-income Americans and

- higher levies on gasoline, cigarettes, alcohol, and luxury items.
7. Bush also continued Reagan's efforts to create a more conservative Supreme Court; he set off a national controversy by nominating Clarence Thomas, a conservative black appeals judge, who had opposed affirmative action as head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) under Reagan.
  8. The Senate Judiciary Committee investigated charges brought by Anita Hill, a law professor and former EEOC employee, who had accused Thomas of sexual harassment.
  9. The Senate voted narrowly to confirm Thomas, solidifying the Court's shift to the right.
- B. Going to War in Central America and the Persian Gulf
1. President Bush won greater support for his actions abroad, twice sending American troops into battle.
  2. Labeled "Operation Just Cause," U.S. forces invaded and overcame Manuel Noriega's troops in Panama, an action that was censured both by the United Nations and the Organization of American States.
  3. Bush's second military engagement represented both continuity and a decided break with the past; when Iraqi forces invaded the oil-rich country of Kuwait, Bush, with the consent of Saudi Arabia, ordered a massive mobilization of land, air, and naval forces, assembling more than thirty nations in an international coalition to stand up to Iraq.
  4. Reflecting the easing of superpower tensions, the Soviet Union joined the United States in condemning Saddam Hussein, Iraq's dictator, and cut off arms shipments to Iraq.
  5. When Bush asked Congress to approve war in January 1991, considerable public and legislative sentiment favored waiting to see whether the United Nations embargo on Iraqi oil would force Hussein to back down.
  6. Congress eventually voted for war, and on January 17, 1991, the United States led coalition launched Operation Desert Storm, a forty-day air war against Iraq, bombing military targets, power plants, oil refineries, and transportation networks.
  7. Most Americans felt no moral ambiguity in the Persian Gulf War and took pride in the display of military victory, yet the victory failed to bring stability to the Middle East.
- C. The End of the Cold War
1. The forces of change that Gorbachev had encouraged in the Communist world swept through Eastern Europe in 1989, where popular uprisings demanded an end to state repression, official corruption, and economic bureaucracies unable to deliver an acceptable standard of living.
  2. East Germany opened its border with West Germany, and in November 1989, Germans began to demolish the Berlin Wall, the dominant symbol of the cold war.
  3. In December 1991, Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Republic, announced that Russia and eleven other republics had formed a new entity, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), and other former Soviet states also declared independence; with nothing left to govern, Gorbachev resigned.
  4. China and North Korea, however, resisted the liberalizing tides sweeping the world and the emergence of a post–cold war world did not signal an end to the nuclear threats.
- D. The 1992 Election
1. Despite continuing instability in the Middle East, in March 1991, Bush's chances for reelection looked golden.
  2. The Democratic candidate, William Jefferson Clinton, promised to work for the "forgotten middle class" who "do the work, pay the taxes, raise the kids, and play by the rules."
  3. With no new crises to display his talents in foreign policy, Bush was vulnerable to voters' concerns about the economy.
  4. The popularity of a third candidate, H. Ross Perot, revealed Americans' frustrations with government and the major parties.
  5. Clinton received 43 percent of the vote, Bush 38 percent, and Perot 19 percent—the strongest third-party finish since Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party candidacy in 1912.
- II. **The Clinton Administration's Search for the Middle Ground**
- A. Clinton's Promise of Change
1. Clinton moved cautiously to restore confidence in government as a force for good, passing the Family and Medical Leave Act, creating AmeriCorps, and supporting

- several other liberal measures, reversing some of Reagan and Bush's policies.
2. Most significantly, Clinton pushed through a substantial increase in the Earned Income Tax Credit for low wage earners, a program initiated in 1975.
  3. Even before Clinton took office, the economy had begun to rebound, and the boom that followed helped boost his popularity through the 1990s.
  4. Clinton stumbled badly, however, over an ambitious health care reform plan to provide universal health insurance and to curb steeply rising medical costs.
  5. Along with promoting a more active federal government, Clinton wanted to choose his appointments to create a government that "looked like America"; Clinton appointed the most diverse group of department heads ever assembled to the executive and judicial branches.
- B. The Clinton Administration Moves Right
1. While parts of Clinton's agenda fell within liberal tradition, his presidency in general moved the party to the right.
  2. The 1994 elections swept away the Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress and contributed to Clinton's embrace of such Republican issues as welfare reform and downsizing government.
  3. Far from Washington, a more extreme antigovernment movement emerged in the form of grassroots armed militias claiming the need to defend themselves from government tyranny; two militia members were convicted of bombing a federal building in Oklahoma City in 1995, killing more than 150 people.
  4. Clinton bowed to conservative views on issues relating to homosexual rights, and instead of lifting the ban on gays in the military as he had promised to do, he implemented the "don't ask, don't tell" policy, which forbade military personnel from inquiring about sexuality but allowed for the dismissal of men and women who were openly gay.
  5. In 1996 Clinton signed the Defense of Marriage Act, prohibiting the federal government from recognizing state-licensed marriages between same-sex couples.
  6. Clinton's determination to cast himself as a centrist was nowhere more apparent than in his handling of welfare reform.
  7. Clinton vetoed two measures on welfare reform, thereby forcing a less punitive bill, which he signed as the 1996 election approached.
  8. Clinton's signature on the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act abolished Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), a New Deal program that provided a minimum level of subsistence for all the nation's children, and denied Republicans a partisan issue.
  9. In the 1996 election campaign, the president ran as a moderate who would save the country from extremist Republicans; fifty percent of voters elected Clinton, while 41 percent favored Republican candidate Bob Dole, and 9 percent favored independent candidate Ross Perot.
- C. Impeaching the President
1. In January 1998, independent prosecutor Kenneth Starr, who had taken over the Whitewater probe early in Clinton's presidency, began to investigate the most inflammatory charge—that Clinton had sexual relations with a twenty-one-year-old White House intern, Monica Lewinsky, and then lied about it to a federal grand jury.
  2. Starr took his case for impeachment to the House of Representatives, that voted, mostly along party lines, to impeach the president on two counts, perjury and obstruction of justice.
  3. Most Americans believed that the president had acted inappropriately with Lewinsky, yet they continued to approve his presidency and to oppose impeachment.
  4. The Senate conducted the impeachment trial with much less partisanship than was displayed in the House.
  5. Investigation into the questionable Whitewater land deals also culminated in 2000 with the independent counsel's finding of insufficient evidence that the Clintons disobeyed the law.
- D. The Booming Economy of the 1990s
1. Clinton's ability to weather the impeachment crisis owed much to the prosperous economy, which took off in 1991 and began the longest period of economic growth in U.S. history.
  2. People at all income levels benefited from the economic boom, but it had uneven

effects as the gaps between the rich and the poor, and between the rich and the middle class, continued to widen.

3. Although more minorities than ever attained middle-class status, in general people of color continued to remain lowest on the economic ladder.

### III. The United States in a Globalizing World

#### A. Defining America's Place in a New World Order

1. In 1991, President George H. W. Bush had declared that a "new world order" was emerging from the ashes of the cold war.
2. Determining appropriate action in areas of instability proved difficult, and the United States during Clinton's administration applied its force inconsistently throughout the 1990s.
3. Africa was a case in point, where civil wars, famine, and extreme human suffering rarely evoked a strong American response.
4. As always, the United States was more inclined to use force nearer its borders, and it did so in the case of Haiti in 1994 as part of an international effort to return its democratically elected president Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power.
5. In Eastern Europe, the collapse of communism ignited the most severe crisis on the continent since the 1940s.
6. After the Communists were swept out of Yugoslavia in 1989, the country splintered into separate states and fell into civil war as ruthless leaders exploited ethnic differences between Muslims, Croats, and Serbs to bolster their power.
7. As reports of terror, rape, and torture in Bosnia increased, American leaders worried about the image of the world's strongest nation unwilling to use its power to stop the violence.
8. In November 1995, leaders of Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia hammered out a peace treaty, prompting President Clinton to send 20,000 American troops to Bosnia as part of a NATO peacekeeping mission.
9. In 1998, new fighting broke out in the southern Serbian province of Kosovo, where ethnic Albanians, who constituted 90 percent of the population, were making a bid for independence; in 1999 NATO launched a U.S.-led bombing attack on Serbian military and government targets, which forced a peace settlement.

10. Elsewhere, President Clinton remained willing to deploy American power when he could send missiles rather than soldiers and proved willing to act without international support or UN sanction.

11. In December 1998, Clinton launched air strikes against Iraqi military installations and elsewhere in the Middle East, Clinton used diplomatic rather than military power, continuing the decades-long efforts to ameliorate the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

#### B. Debates over Globalization

1. The Clinton administration moved energetically to speed up the growth of a "global marketplace"; by building on steps taken by Presidents Reagan and Bush, Clinton sought new measures to ease restrictions on international commerce.
2. Late-twentieth-century globalization advanced among sovereign nations and involved the industrialization of less developed areas such as Korea and China; new communications technology like the Internet and cell phones connected individuals and organizations at greater speed and less cost than ever before.
3. In 1993, Congress approved the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which eliminated all tariffs and trade barriers among the United States, Canada, and Mexico.
4. As Clinton worked to diminish impediments to the free flow of products and capital across national borders, debates over globalization raged over which trade barriers to eliminate and under what conditions.
5. Tens of thousands of activists dramatized the debate when they assembled in Seattle, Washington, in November 1999 to protest a meeting of the World Trade Organization (WTO), an international economic body established in 1994 to liberalize trading policies and practices and mediate economic disputes among some 135 member nations.
6. At the WTO demonstrations and elsewhere, U.S. labor unions emphasized the flight of factory jobs to developing nations as corporate executives sought cheaper labor to lower production costs.
7. Globalization controversies often centered on relationships between the United States, which dominated the world's industrial core, and the developing

- nations on the periphery, whose cheap labor and lax environmental standards attracted investors.
8. The demonstrations in Seattle and the protests that followed targeted international financial institutions like the WTO and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), charging that these organizations forced devastating regulations on developing nations, which had little voice in trade policy decisions.
  9. Opponents of globalization enjoyed few successes, including a 2000 executive order from President Clinton requiring an environmental impact review before signing any trade agreement as well as a 2000 promise from the World Bank and IMF to provide poor nations with more debt relief and a greater voice in decisions about loans and grants.
- C. The Internationalization of the United States
1. Globalization was typically associated with the expansion of American enterprise and culture to other countries, yet the United States itself experienced the dynamic forces creating a global economy.
  2. Globalization transformed not just the economy but society as well, as the United States experienced a tremendous surge of immigration during the late twentieth century.
  3. Half of the immigrants came from Asia and nearly 40 percent came from Latin America and the Caribbean.
  4. The racial composition of the new immigration revived the century-old wariness of the native-born toward recent arrivals, based on the beliefs that immigrants took jobs from Americans, suppressed wages, and eroded the dominant culture.
  5. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 penalized employers who hired undocumented aliens but granted amnesty to two million illegal immigrants who had been in the country before 1982.
  6. The new immigration was making America an international, interracial society, and not just along the coasts.
  7. Like their predecessors a hundred years earlier, the majority of post-1965 immigrants were unskilled and poor, although some were highly skilled and sought after by high-tech industries.

#### IV. President George W. Bush: Conservatism at Home and Radical Initiatives Abroad

##### A. The Disputed Election of 2000

1. The Clinton administration ended with a flourishing economy and Democratic candidate Vice President Albert Gore hoped to retain the White House for his party in the election of 2000.
2. Texas governor George W. Bush emerged as the Republican nominee from a series of bountifully funded, hard-fought primaries.
3. Both candidates ran cautious campaigns, accommodating their positions to what polls indicated that voters wanted.
4. Many observers predicted that the amazingly strong economy would give Al Gore the edge, and he did surpass Bush by more than half a million votes.
5. Once the polls closed, however, it became clear that whoever won Florida's 25 electoral college votes would capture the election.
6. Democrats asked for hand-counting of Florida ballots in several heavily Democratic counties where machine errors may have left hundreds of votes unrecorded; Republicans went to court to try to stop the hand-counts.
7. The outcome of the 2000 election hung in the balance for more than a month until a bitterly divided Supreme Court ruled five to four against further recounts of the Florida votes, and Gore conceded the presidency to Bush.

##### B. The Domestic Policies of a "Compassionate Conservative"

1. Although Bush had campaigned as a compassionate conservative, his policies were more conservative than compassionate.
2. Bush introduced two huge tax cuts, one in 2001 and one in 2003, which the administration claimed would promote economic growth, but critics argued would favor the rich and increase the record-high federal deficit.
3. Bush saw the federal deficit as a way to limit the size of the federal government, but national debt made the U.S. increasingly dependent on China and other foreign investors who held more than half of that debt.
4. Bush altered environmental policy by issuing regulations that did not require congressional approval, subordinating environmental protection to larger goals

- of reducing government regulation, promoting economic growth, and increasing energy production; the administration also withdrew from the Kyoto Protocol on global warming.
5. While environmentalists pushed for measures to limit American energy consumption, the administration called for more rapid development of energy resources and provided subsidies to producers of oil, coal, nuclear power, and alternative sources of energy.
  6. Conservatives hailed Bush's appointment of two new Supreme Court justices, John Roberts, named Chief Justice, and staunch conservative Samuel Alito.
  7. In contrast to the partisan conflict that attended tax and environmental policy, Bush mobilized bipartisan support behind his education initiative, the "No Child Left Behind" Act of 2002, which marked the greatest change in federal education policy since the 1960s.
  8. By 2004, most states were straining to meet the demands of the new education standards as they struggled with severe budget crises.
  9. The Bush administration's second major effort to co-opt Democratic Party issues came in the form of health care reform for seniors, reform which included a prescription drug benefit and an expanded role for private insurers in the Medicare system.
- C. The Globalization of Terror
1. On the morning of September 11, 2001, United States civilian airplanes were hijacked by members of Al Qaeda and crashed into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in lower Manhattan, the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., and a field in Pennsylvania, killing nearly 2,800 people, including citizens and immigrants from 90 countries.
  2. The attacks were organized by Al Qaeda's leader Osama bin Laden from Afghanistan, where the radical Muslim Taliban government had taken control after the Soviet departure, and were related to globalization in several ways.
  3. In the wake of the September 11 attacks, President George W. Bush sought a global alliance against terrorism and won at least verbal support from most governments.
  4. At home, the balance between liberty and security tilted, as anti-immigrant sentiment revived and authorities arrested more than one thousand Arabs and Muslims, holding many in prison for months even though they had not been charged with any crimes related to the attacks.
5. Congress passed the U.S. Patriot Act on October 2001, which gave the government new powers to monitor suspected terrorists and their associates, including the ability to pry personal information about suspected individuals from libraries, universities, and businesses, while allowing more exchange of information between criminal investigators and those investigating foreign threats.
  6. The Patriot Act soon provoked calls for revision from conservatives and liberals who had concerns about its implications for individual rights.
  7. Insisting that presidential powers were virtually limitless in times of national crisis, Bush stretched his powers until he met resistance from the courts and Congress.
  8. In 2006, the Supreme Court ruled that the special military tribunals established in 2001 violated international law and Congressional leaders openly criticized the administration for wiretapping calls made and received by U.S. residents without obtaining warrants; a federal court later ruled that the wiretapping program was unconstitutional.
  9. The government also sought to protect Americans from future terrorist attacks by major reorganization of the executive branch, the biggest since 1948, which included the creation of a new Department of Homeland Security.
  10. During the new department's first four years no terrorist attacks wounded the U.S., but doubts were raised about its effectiveness after its sub-agency, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, failed so badly in response to Hurricane Katrina.
- D. Unilateralism, Preemption, and the Iraq War
1. In contrast to the administration's search for a collective action against the Taliban, on many other international issues, the Bush administration adopted a go-it-alone approach.
  2. Bush and his administration withdrew from the Kyoto Protocol, violated international rules about the treatment

- of military prisoners, scrapped the Antiballistic Missile Treaty in order to develop the space-based missile-defense system, withdrew the United States from the UN's International Criminal Court, and rejected an agreement to enforce bans on development and possession of biological weapons.
3. Nowhere was the new policy of unilateralism more striking than in a new war against Iraq, a war pushed by Vice President Dick Cheney and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld but not by Secretary of State Colin Powell.
  4. In his State of the Union message in January of 2002 Bush identified Iraq, Iran, and North Korea as an "axis of evil"; in an address to West Point graduates in June 2002, President Bush proclaimed a new policy for American security that scuttled a defense strategy based on containment for one based on preemption.
  5. The Bush administration moved deliberately to apply the doctrine of preemption to Iraq, whose dictator Saddam Hussein had violated UN resolutions from the 1991 Gulf War requiring Iraq to destroy and stop further development of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons, and who, Bush claimed, also had ties to Al Qaeda and possessed of weapons of mass destruction.
  6. While Arabs were glad to see the end of Hussein, many did not welcome American troops.
  7. Bush declared victory on May 1, 2003, but more than 140,000 American forces remained in Iraq, where they came under attacks almost daily from various terrorist groups.
  8. The war became an issue in the presidential election campaign of 2004, which registered the highest voter turnout since 1968; Bush won a narrow victory over Massachusetts senator John Kerry.
  9. In June 2004, the United States transferred sovereignty to an interim Iraqi government, and in January 2005, about 58 percent of Iraqis risked their lives to elect a national assembly.
  10. By early in 2006, when U.S. military deaths exceeded 2,200 and Iraqi civilian casualties reached tens of thousands, public opinion polls found a majority of Americans believing the Iraq war to be a mistake.

11. Voters registered their dissatisfaction with the war in the 2006 Congressional elections, turning control of both houses back to the Democrats for the first time since 1994.
12. Bush responded to voters' sentiments by replacing Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, but he clung to his goal of democracy in the Middle East, even as the bipartisan Iraq Study Group pronounced the situation there "grave and deteriorating."

## Chapter Questions

Following are answer guidelines for the *Review Questions* and *Making Connections* exercises provided at the end of chapter 31, the *Reading the Image* and *Connections* included with the two Visual Activities, and the *Reading the Map* and *Connections* questions included with the Map Activities in chapter 31.

## Review Questions

1. Why did George H. W. Bush lose the presidency in 1992? (pp. 1143–1152) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on Bush's presidency:* George H. W. Bush had entered the White House on the heels of an enormously popular president, Ronald Reagan. He largely followed Reagan's lead in his domestic agenda but distinguished himself in foreign policy. His successful leadership of the Gulf War boosted his popularity significantly and gave him the appearance of an invincible candidate going into his second presidential election. (pp. 1143, 1147–1149)

- *Deficit:* The enormous deficit Bush inherited from Reagan forced him to go back on his campaign pledge not to establish any new taxes. The intractability of the deficit became a significant political liability for Bush in the 1992 election. (pp. 1146, 1151)

- *Clinton and domestic campaigning:* Democratic candidate William Jefferson Clinton campaigned on domestic matters, an area in which George H. W. Bush had considerable weakness, given the deficit, rising unemployment, and so on. (p. 1151)

- *Strong third-party candidate:* The strong showing of third-party candidate, H. Ross Perot, seriously harmed George Bush and enabled Clinton to prevail with 43 percent of the votes. (p. 1152)

2. What policies of the Clinton administration reflect the president's efforts to move his party to the right? (pp. 1152–1157) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Retreat from gay rights:* In 1993, President Clinton conceded to opponents of gay rights and reneged on a campaign promise to lift the ban on gay people serving in the military. He instead introduced the problematic “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy, which forbade official inquiry into service people’s sexual orientation, and allowed the dismissal of those who acknowledged engaging in homosexual behavior. In 1996, he made it illegal for the federal government to recognize same-sex marriages licensed by individual states when he signed the Defense of Marriage Act. (p. 1154)

- *Welfare reform:* In 1996, President Clinton signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act which abolished Aid to Families with Dependent Children, better known as welfare. The new law reduced protections for the poor by limiting welfare payments to two consecutive years and establishing a lifetime limit of aid at five years. Clinton’s support for this legislation signaled a dramatic shift from the Democratic Party’s New Deal legacy of expanding government provisions for social welfare. (pp. 1154–1155)

- *Deficit reduction:* Republican control of Congress and the Reagan legacy of a massive deficit ensured that President Clinton restricted the growth of government spending. His fiscal policies contributed to a reduction of the deficit and the maintenance of a buoyant economy. Clinton’s focus on deficit reduction reflected in part an adoption of traditionally conservative policy concerns. (p. 1153)

3. Who criticized free trade agreements and why? (pp. 1157–1167) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Opponents of free trade:* Critics of efforts to ease free trade included labor unions, environmentalists, and activists who opposed the expansion of laissez-faire capitalism. (pp. 1160–1161)

- *Reasons for their opposition:* Critics of the rapid expansion of free trade and globalization were concerned about the fate of workers’ rights, as well as safety and environmental protections. Many feared that free trade would dilute the gains made by labor and environmental movements in the West by making it easier for corporations to move their businesses to countries with weaker regulations and lower labor costs. Some activists advocated treaties requiring trading partners to honor international human rights standard and to enforce common labor and environmental protections. (p. 1161)

4. Why did the United States invade Iraq in March 2003? (pp. 1167–1175) *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Proximate cause:* Iraq failed to comply with UN inspections aimed at destroying and stopping further

development of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. The United States cited the threat this failure created as grounds for invasion. (p. 1173)

- *Preemption:* After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the Bush administration argued that international relations and national defense needed a new approach. The administration rejected a fifty-year tradition of multilateralism to pursue a go-it-alone, preemptive war against Iraq. (p. 1173)

- *Immediate threat:* The administration asserted that Saddam Hussein possessed weapons of mass destruction and had connections to Al Qaeda. The combination, they argued, created an unacceptable threat to American security and justified a preemptive attack on Iraq. (p. 1173)

## Making Connections

1. How did George H. W. Bush continue the policies of his predecessor, Ronald Reagan? How did he depart from them? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Legislative continuities:* Bush’s satisfaction with Reagan’s agenda, and Reagan’s personal popularity, led the new president to continue his predecessor’s policies—limiting taxes and reducing government’s domestic role. This largely entailed vetoing legislation passed by the Democratic Congress and attempting to honor his campaign pledge that there would be no new taxes. He failed in the latter concern, approving modest tax increases to counter the enormous deficit left by Reagan. (pp. 1143–1145; see also chapter 30)

- *Judicial continuities:* Bush, like Reagan, strengthened the conservative cause in the nation in the long term by appointing conservative Supreme Court justices like Clarence Thomas. (p. 1146)

- *Legislative discontinuities:* Bush approved a larger role for government in certain arenas of the private sphere, as evidenced by his support for the Clean Air Act of 1990 and the 1991 Americans with Disabilities Act. (pp. 1143–1144)

- *Foreign policy in a new era:* George Bush the cold war warrior had to reshape foreign policy in light of the end of the cold war. In some ways, he continued the American foreign policy tradition of “Yankee imperialism,” for example, in his military intervention in Panama. In waging war in Iraq, he also continued foreign policy that protected foreign investment but brought old enemies together as allies to oppose Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait. (pp. 1147–1149)

2. President Bill Clinton called himself a “New Democrat.” How did his policies and goals differ from those of the Democrats in the past? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Party of the middle class:* Bill Clinton and other participants in the Democratic Leadership Council

were anxious to shed the party's liberal identification, with its echoes of fractious internal politics vividly on display in the 1968 Democratic Party convention in Chicago. Instead, they sought to identify the party with the interests of the middle class by focusing on domestic concerns, including stimulating the economy and practicing fiscal restraint. (p. 1151; *see also* chapter 29)

- *Focus on welfare reform:* By supporting efforts to restrict federal welfare programs, President Clinton departed from the Democratic Party's liberal legacy. Beginning with Roosevelt's New Deal and continuing through Johnson's Great Society, the Democratic Party had been committed to reducing poverty and insulating Americans against extreme privation. By signing the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act in 1996, President Clinton signaled his commitment to reducing federal social welfare expenditures. This was part of his overall effort to shift policy toward helping the middle class, rather than becoming enmeshed in bureaucratic anti-poverty programs. (pp. 1154–1155; *see also* chapter 24, chapter 28)

- *Commitment to fiscal restraint:* Having inherited a massive deficit and, after 1994, facing a Republican Congress, Clinton made fiscal restraint a key feature of his presidency. He made deficit reduction a priority which in turn helped stimulate the economy. Clinton worked to encourage voters to identify the Democratic Party with attentiveness to domestic concerns, particularly the maintenance of a strong domestic economy. (p. 1156)

3. In the late twentieth century, economic globalization transformed the United States. Explain what globalization is and describe how it affected the U.S. economy and population in the 1990s. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on globalization:* Globalization refers to the growing integration and interdependence of the world's economies and citizens. Clinton had promoted globalization by lowering barriers to the movement of goods and capital across national borders. (p. 1160)

- *Population:* Immigration surged in the United States in the late twentieth century as a result of the economic dimensions of globalization. Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia contributed the most population to this wave of immigration which affected American culture, consumption, and racial composition. In some quarters, the new immigration met with opposition and produced a desire for tighter regulation, as in the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. (pp. 1164–1166)

- *Economics:* American dominance in the international economy meant that globalization contributed to the unprecedented economic growth of the 1990s. Champions of globalization in the Democratic and Republican parties shepherded through passage of legislation like NAFTA to promote cross-border

economies. The benefits of globalization were not shared equally by Americans, let alone amongst the nations. Concern about its impact on workers in the United States, its effects on developing countries overseas, and its impact on regulatory matters such as the environment, workers' rights, and human rights prompted many Americans to oppose it. (pp. 1160–1161)

4. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 were unprecedented. What gave rise to the attacks? How did the nation respond? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on the attacks:* On September 11, 2001, nineteen members of Al Qaeda hijacked civilian planes and flew two into the twin towers of the World Trade Center and one into the Pentagon, killing over 2,000 people. The fourth plane crashed in a field in Pennsylvania. (p. 1171)

- *Attackers' objectives:* Osama bin Laden and the Al Qaeda terrorist organization orchestrated the attacks from a stronghold in Afghanistan, governed by a radical Islamic government, the Taliban. Bin Laden and his supporters intended to eliminate Western influence in the Middle East and establish fundamentalist Muslim control. They cited the American presence in Saudi Arabia as a particularly grievous offense. (pp. 1171–1172)

- *Contributing factors:* Explaining the attacks is near impossible, but it seems clear that certain factors contributed to this rise of bin Laden's organization and his ability to carry out such attacks. The global economy had contributed to the extension of American influence in the Middle East that became the object of Islamist opposition. Also, the coordination of a terrorist organization on the scale of Al Qaeda depended on the technological innovations of the new economy. (pp. 1171–1172)

- *Immediate response:* In October 2001, the United States and Britain attacked Afghanistan and succeeded in quickly routing the Taliban forces. Congress passed the USA Patriot Act, which gave the government new powers to monitor suspected terrorists and their associates and eased the exchange of information between criminal investigators and those investigating foreign threats. The sacrifice of civil liberties the Act exacted, and the distinctive burden born by people of Middle Eastern descent in the United States, elicited objections from many Americans. In an effort to prepare for future attacks, Congress authorized the creation of the Department of Homeland Security. (p. 1172)

- *New approach to foreign policy:* The Bush administration maintained that the events of September 11 necessitated a new, more aggressive foreign policy and unilateral action came to characterize the administration's approach to international affairs. The administration cited the terrorist attacks of September 11 in its decision to pursue what appeared to many to be an unrelated target: the government of

Saddam Hussein. The Bush administration justified its unprecedented policy of preemptive attack on the grounds that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction, which, in the new context of world terrorism, posed an unacceptable threat to the United States. (p. 1173)

## Visual Activities

For more help analyzing these images, see the Visual Activities for this chapter in the Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Bush and Taxes (p. 1146)

**Reading the Image:** What does the artist assume about newspaper readers' knowledge of Bush's politics? What other explanations for Bush's turnaround on the tax issue does the editorial neglect? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Assumption of readers' level of knowledge:* The artist does assume that readers would have previous knowledge of Bush's previous pledge not to raise taxes, but his catchphrase of 'No new taxes' was so widespread during this period that it is a safe assumption to think that most Americans were aware of the tax issue. In the cartoon, the issue of taxes is not even mentioned, so the artist and the publishers must have been convinced that no reference was needed. The artist's allusions to Bush's promise to not raise taxes and to Pinocchio, the storybook character whose nose grew each time he told a lie, both would have been easily recognizable to the average American.

- *Other explanations for Bush's tax policies:* This cartoon focuses solely on the reversal of Bush's policy without addressing the issue of why he changed his mind. Perhaps this omission was due to the possible negative light such an explanation would cast on the Republican party, which under President Reagan had run up by far the largest budget deficits in the nation's history. The artist is clearly criticizing Bush for reneging on his tax policy, but he is remiss in mentioning the President's rationale for doing so.

**Connections:** Why were taxes such a central element of conservative politics in the 1980s? To what extent did Bush's tax increases alleviate the budget deficit? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Tax policy in the 1980s:* For the conservative movement, taxes became a symbol of both the government's excessive interference in the lives of Americans and the inefficiency of government use of tax monies. A large part of this movement was the trend toward privatization, which argued that private companies driven by market forces would be able to provide many

of the services government had previously offered to taxpayers in a more efficient and cost-effective manner.

- *Bush's tax increases:* Bush's modest tax increases for higher-income Americans and on gasoline, cigarettes, and alcohol did little to control the spiraling federal deficit, which was driven by rising costs of Social Security and Medicaid as well as by spending on war and natural disasters.

### Fall of the Berlin Wall (p. 1149)

**Reading the Image:** What does the image tell you about the revolutions in Eastern Europe in 1989? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Berlin Wall and other European revolutions:* As the photograph suggests, the demonstration at the Berlin Wall in November 1989 was a peaceful and nonviolent action. As we can see in the picture, representatives of the authorities did not try to hinder people from assembling at and climbing on the wall, not even when they began to demolish the huge steel and cement structure. In other Eastern European countries, similar demonstrations took place, mostly against repressive institutions of the state, as demonstrators sought political and civic rights. Elections in 1989 and 1990 established multiparty, parliamentary democratic systems in countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania.

**Connections:** What were the major factors that made possible the dismantling of the Berlin Wall, the major symbol of the cold war in Europe? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *The dissolution of the Berlin Wall:* For forty years, Germany had been divided into East and West by a figurative iron curtain. The forces of change that finally led to the fall of the wall came from the Soviet Union, not Germany. The shift began when Mikhail Gorbachev assumed power in 1985 and initiated reforms in state bureaucracy and within the Communist Party. He restructured the Soviet economy to improve systems of distribution and production. Gorbachev's policy contributed to the weakening of the centralized Soviet state and a relaxing of Communist repression. By 1989, the spirit of reform had spread to the satellite countries of Eastern Europe, including East Germany. On November 9, 1989, Berliners were allowed to go for private trips to the western part of the city. Demolition of the Berlin Wall began on that day.

## Map Activities

For more help analyzing these maps, see the Map Activities for this chapter in Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark).

### Map 31.1 Events in the Middle East, 1989–2007 (p. 1148)

**Reading the Map:** In what countries are the sources of oil located? In what countries does the United States have military bases? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Sources of Oil:* Oil is located in Iraq, Iran, Turkmenistan, and Saudi Arabia.
- *Locations of U.S. military bases:* The United States had military bases located in Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia.

**Connections:** What conditions prompted the U.S. military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan in 1991, 2001, and 2003? What were the U.S. goals in each of these interventions? To what extent were those goals realized? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *U.S. Military action in 1991:* Changes in American foreign policy led to more unilateral and aggressive military intervention in the Middle East. In the 1991 Gulf War, President George H. W. Bush justified America's use of force against Iraq as a response to Iraq's act of aggression against its neighbor, Kuwait. Acting with the support of the United Nations, President Bush assembled a broad coalition of nations to restore Kuwait's independence and demonstrate to other would-be conquerors that America would stop them. The Gulf War conformed to America's tradition of waging war in reaction to another state's aggression and drawing on multilateral support when America used force. President George W. Bush, son of George H. W. Bush, abandoned this policy of defensive multilateralism in favor of preemptive, unilateral war. George W. Bush thought that the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, proved that America could not wait for threats to materialize into blatant acts of aggression. Now, Bush argued, the United States had the right to judge for itself which nations endangered its security, and when threats warranted, America could strike first against its enemies without regard to world opinion.

- *U.S. Military action in 2001:* In October 2001, George W. Bush authorized an American invasion of Afghanistan that had wide international support because Afghanistan harbored Osama bin Laden, the mastermind behind the attacks of September 11.

- *U.S. Military action in 2003:* In 2003, the United States led a smaller coalition of nations in an invasion of Iraq aimed at removing the government of Saddam Hussein, which President George W. Bush believed threatened America invoking the doctrine of preemption to justify an invasion of Iraq. Although Iraq had not committed an act of overt aggression against the United States, Bush claimed that it threatened America with weapons of mass destruction and had links to bin Laden's Al Qaeda terror network. America went to war in 2003 without the support of the United Nations or of several major powers and traditional

allies. Changes in U.S. foreign policy had dramatically altered the way that America used its military in the Middle East.

### Map 31.2 Events in Eastern Europe, 1989–2002 (p. 1150)

**Reading the Map:** Which country was the first to overthrow its Communist government? Which was the last? In which nations did elections usher in a change in government? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Shift away from Communist governments:* Poland was the first country to overthrow its Communist government, with the Solidarity Party winning elections in June 1989. Romania was the last country to oust its Communist government; its leader was executed in December 1989. In Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania, elections ushered in changes in government.

**Connections:** What problems did Mikhail Gorbachev try to solve, and how did he try to solve them? What policy launched by Ronald Reagan contributed to Soviet dilemmas? Did it create any problems in the United States? *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Gorbachev:* Mikhail Gorbachev assumed his position as Soviet premier under critical economic conditions. The Soviet Union was plagued with the immense expenses of the cold war military buildup and an inability to deliver basic consumer goods and services. Gorbachev's primary concern was to revitalize the Soviet economy by stimulating production and streamlining distribution. He introduced economic restructuring, which included elements of free enterprise, and effected a transformation of the Soviet political system by introducing *glasnost* (greater freedom of expression), which tolerated new political parties and contested elections. Gorbachev realized that radically cutting the Soviet Union's enormous military expenditures was a vital issue, and by the second half of the 1980s, the Reagan administration faced increasing congressional resistance to the arms race and growing popular support for disarmament.

## Lecture Strategies

*See also the maps and images for presentation in "Additional Resources for Chapter 31."*

### LECTURE 1

#### *Domestic Politics in the Post-Cold War World*

Begin this lecture by briefly covering the two Clinton administrations, emphasizing Clinton's wish to

refashion the Democratic Party, shunning its past associations with liberal politics in favor of a more centrist image. Begin by pointing out that Clinton and his running mate Al Gore billed themselves as “New Democrats” in the election of 1992, in an effort to distance themselves from the Democratic Party of old. Here, suggest that Clinton recognized that the electorate, weary of the economic woes under the administration of George H. W. Bush, hungered for change but formed no majority around a particular direction that change could take. By projecting himself as a moderate, Clinton could capitalize on the desire for change without alienating voters. Next, turn to Clinton’s record in office. Explore his domestic policy and the degree to which he fulfilled his campaign promises. Cover the threat from the conservative right that Clinton’s administration encountered in the elections of 1994 and the degree to which the Republicans delivered on their “Contract with America.” You then will want to cover the ways in which Clinton translated his first term in office into an election victory in 1996. End this part of your lecture by covering congressional Republicans’ attempt to remove Clinton from office and the reasons why that attempt failed.

Move on to cover the disputed election of 2000. Suggest to your class some of the reasons why Al Gore, the Democratic candidate, was unable to translate economic success into an election victory. Gore seemed stiff to many voters, especially when compared to the seemingly affable George W. Bush, the Republican candidate. Also note that Gore was unable to distance himself from the scandals that had plagued the Clinton administration. Remind students that Gore did win the popular vote by more than half a million votes, but disputed electoral votes in the state of Florida, and ultimately a Supreme Court decision halting a recount of the votes, determined the outcome of the election.

End this lecture by covering the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon and the new “war on terror.”

## LECTURE 2

### *Foreign Policy after the Cold War*

Begin by looking at foreign policy under the administration of George H. W. Bush. Have students discuss his 1991 State of the Union message, excerpted in *Reading the American Past*. Be sure to cover Operation Desert Storm, Bush’s greatest triumph. Ask students to consider the reasons for U.S. involvement and why most Americans supported the Bush administration’s efforts on behalf of Kuwait. Bush interpreted U.S. support of the war effort—and quick military victory—suggesting that “we’ve kicked the Vietnam syndrome

once and for all.” Ask students to interpret the Gulf War in terms of the legacy of the Vietnam War.

Move on to Clinton’s foreign policy objectives. Begin by asking students to list the imperatives of the post–cold war world. What were the priorities of the United States? Then, cover the ways in which Clinton sought to act on those priorities, noting limitations placed on him by Congress, American public opinion, and international realities. Cover U.S. (or joint U.S.–NATO/U.S.–UN) initiatives in Africa, the Middle East, the Caribbean, and central and Eastern Europe. Pay particular attention to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

Ask students to recall the origins of World War I, the boundaries drawn after the war, and the installation of a Communist government in Russia following World War II. You might ask students to evaluate the U.S. government’s commitment to aiding refugees from Kosovo. Remind students of U.S. policy toward Jews escaping Nazi Europe or, more recently, public outcry against the influx of refugee Haitians into Florida.

Be sure to cover George W. Bush’s foreign policy objectives. Explain his comments to the 2003 graduating class at West Point in which he said the United States would abandon its decades-old defense strategy based on containment in favor of one based on preemption. Note the ways in which Bush put this new policy into operation in Iraq. Have students then evaluate the war on Iraq.

Finally, cover U.S. efforts to shape globalization. Mention that although the debates surrounding globalization are not new, they have particular resonance with Americans in a post–cold war world. Remind students that most of the controversy centered on relationships between the United States and developing nations on the periphery. Have students debate the relative merits of attracting foreign investment at the expense of labor and environmental standards. Be sure students discuss the coverage of the 1999 World Trade Organization protests in Seattle. Address the ways in which globalization has transformed the American economy and society. Be sure to look at the “internationalization” of American companies as well as the surge in immigration that globalization has engendered.

## Common Misconceptions and Difficult Topics

### 1. Why Didn’t Clinton Carry Congressional Democrats to Victory in the Election of 1996?

Students may ask why the electorate returned Bill Clinton to the White House in 1996 while at the same time electing a Republican Congress. Point out that

this occurrence is not unprecedented. Democrat Grover Cleveland, for example, had a Democratic Congress in 1893–1895 only. More recently, Democrat Harry Truman had a Republican Congress after the elections of 1946, and Republican Ronald Reagan had a Democratic Congress after the 1986 elections. In Clinton's case, explain that voters did not trust Clinton's centrist position, fearing what he might attempt without the check of a Republican Congress. You might also point out that election returns suggest that Bob Dole, the Republican candidate, did not fare well with women voters and that Dole seemed unable to articulate his vision of what his presidency would bring.

### 2. The Gulf War

Be prepared to field questions concerning the “real” motives behind the Gulf War. The more cynical students will accuse the United States of fighting solely to protect its oil interests in the Middle East. The more idealistic ones will defend U.S. actions to rid the world of Saddam Hussein’s regime and to protect the principle of national self-determination. Ask your students to consider the ways in which the Bush administration was able to translate U.S. concerns into global concerns. Remind your class that by late 1990 the UN Security Council authorized the use of “all means necessary” to rid Kuwait of Iraqi forces and by early 1991 almost all the world—including the Soviet Union—participated in an embargo of Iraqi oil. You might want to discuss the aftermath of the war. Ask your students to evaluate the effectiveness of continued economic sanctions; they crippled the Iraqi infrastructure but did not rid the country of Hussein. Have students speculate on the reasons why the United States continues to support economic sanctions while other nations plan to abandon this weapon of international economic power. Use this opportunity to compare the first Gulf War with George W. Bush’s efforts to rid the world of Saddam Hussein’s brutal regime. Have students consider the similarities and differences in the two wars, being sure to highlight the repercussions of multilateral versus unilateral action.

### 3. The Election of 2000

Students might have a hard time with the election results of 2000. Begin by reminding them that Al Gore was not the first presidential candidate to win the popular vote but lose in the electoral college. You might want to take this opportunity to explain to your students that the Founders devised the electoral college as a temporary body so that no president would be beholden to a particular group for the election victory. Suggest to students that what made the election of 2000 unusual was the intervention of the Supreme Court. Ask students if the Court’s role in the election somehow violates the separation of powers established by the Constitution. Finally, remind your class

that the Court was bitterly divided over its decision to award Bush the disputed electoral votes but that Bush began his presidency as if he had a popular mandate for his agenda.

## In-Class Activities

### Using Film and Television in the Classroom

“The Gulf War,” a two-part program that is part of the PBS series *Frontline*, explores the fighting on the battlefield and American and Iraqi headquarters. “Truth, War and Consequences,” also part of the PBS series *Frontline*, traces the second Iraqi war to the days following the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon. *Frontline’s* “Faith and Doubt at Ground Zero” looks at the ways in which people’s faith has been challenged in the wake of the September 11 attacks.

### Class Discussion Starters

Much of the material covered in this last chapter will be in students’ recent memory. Ask them to discuss the difference between “current events” and history. What challenges face historians as they try to analyze the very recent past?

### Historical Debates

Have students debate the degree to which the promise of America has been fulfilled. Consider making use of the *Reading the American Past* documents reader to have students explore and discuss different aspects of American society in recent years. What role did immigration play in shaping American society during the 1980s and 1990s? What are these immigrants’ attitudes toward their lives, work, families, and America? Ask students whether they think these people have achieved the American dream. Do the people themselves think so?

## Additional Resources for Chapter 31

### For Instructors

#### Transparencies

The following maps for chapter 31 are available as full-color acetates:

- Map 31.1: Events in the Middle East, 1989–2007 (p. 1148)

- Map 31.2: Events in Eastern Europe, 1989–2002 (p. 1150)
- Map 31.3: The Election of 2000 (p. 1168)
- Global Comparison: Countries with the Highest Military Expenditures, 2005 (p. 1158)
- The Internet Links to the World (p. 1163)
- The “Tribute in Light” (p. 1171)

### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

Blank maps are available on disc in PDF format, and a chapter outline is available in PowerPoint format. The following maps, figures, and images from chapter 31 are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 31.1: Events in the Middle East, 1989–2007 (p. 1148)
- Map 31.2: Events in Eastern Europe, 1989–2002 (p. 1150)
- Map 31.3: The Election of 2000 (p. 1168)
- Global Comparison: Countries with the Highest Military Expenditures, 2005 (p. 1158)
- Figure 31.1: The Growth of Inequality: Changes in Family Income, 1969–1998 (p. 1156)
- Bush and Taxes (p. 1146)
- Fall of the Berlin Wall (p. 1149)

Additional relevant images and maps are available on the *Instructor's Resource CD-ROM* and online at Make History at [bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory](http://bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory).

### Using the Bedford Series with *The American Promise*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series into the U.S. history survey. Relevant titles for chapter 31 include:

- *U.S. Environmentalism Since 1945*, by Steve Stoll
- *The Rise of Conservatism in America, 1945–2000*, by Ronald Story and Bruce Laurie
- *The 9/11 Commission Report*, 2004, by Ernest R. May

## For Students

### Reading the American Past

The following documents are available in chapter 31 of the companion reader by Michael P. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University:

- Supreme Court Dissents from Deciding 2000 Presidential Election: *Supreme Court Dissents in George W. Bush v. Albert Gore Jr.*, December 12, 2000
- President George W. Bush Receives CIA Warning about Al Qaeda and Addresses Congress after 9/11 Terrorist Attacks: *President's Daily Brief*, August 6, 2001, "Bin Laden Determined to Strike in the U.S."; President George W. Bush, *Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People*, September 20, 2001
- National Security Strategy of the United States Requires Pre-emptive War: *The National Security Strategy of the United States*, September 2002
- A Captured 9/11 Terrorist Confesses: Khalid Sheikh Muhammad, *Confessions*, 2007
- A Christian Leader Argues that Evangelical Christianity Has Been Hijacked: Tony Campolo, *Interview*, 2004

### Online Study Guide at [bedfordstmartins.com/roark](http://bedfordstmartins.com/roark)

The *Online Study Guide* helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map and visual activities are available for chapter 31:

### Map Activities

- Map 31.1: Events in the Middle East, 1989–2007 (p. 1148)
- Map 31.2: Events in Eastern Europe, 1989–2004 (p. 1150)

### Visual Activities

- Bush and Taxes (p. 1146)
- Fall of the Berlin Wall (p. 1149)

# Research Paper Topics

## Chapters 1–5

1. English settlers arriving on the east coast in the 1600s regarded land in the New World as untamed wilderness, while the Native Americans already settled on the land nurtured it as a font of plentiful resources. Have students research each group's views about land use, approaches to agriculture, and attitudes about the consumption of natural resources, and ask them to think about how each group's notions about these matters shaped their interactions with one another over the course of the seventeenth century. Ask them to use their findings to make an argument about change and continuity in both groups' environmental practices between 1607 and 1750, focusing particularly on the ways each group's views and practices influenced those of the other.
2. "Were the Puritans a conservative sect or a revolutionary one?" Ask students to place Puritan culture in the context of seventeenth century European societies and to examine some of the institutions that shaped Puritans' daily lives in America—the family and relationships within it, and the church. Based on this information, have students argue that the Puritans were either repressed traditionalists or radical utopianists.
3. Was the seventeenth century a "golden age" or an era of exploitation for white women in the southern colonies? Ask students to compare the status of women in the Chesapeake and Carolina colonies with that of women living in England during this period. Based on their findings, have them argue either that the smaller number of women living in the southern colonies created an atmosphere in which they were more highly valued, offering improvements over English women's lives, or that their minority status increased their vulnerability to the inequalities and subjugation that shaped the lives of English women during this period.
4. In the eighteenth century, Africans brought by force to live and work in the southern American colonies were Americanized to some degree, but to what extent were those colonies also Africanized by the slaves who came to live there? Ask students to examine the roles slaves played in the developing economies and cultures of Virginia and the Carolinas in this period. Using their findings, have them either support or refute the argument that Africans in America were agents who helped to shape the southern colonies, even as they were also victims of slavery.
5. Historians often point to either the Puritans of Massachusetts or the tobacco-based society of the Chesapeake to explain what life was like in Colonial America. Have students examine the Pennsylvania colony, founded and dominated by Quakers for many years. Ask them to describe the colony's political, social, and economic development during its first one-hundred years. Based on this information, have them argue either that Pennsylvania was an important influence on the development of colonial America as a whole, or an exception to larger patterns of colonial development.

## Chapters 6–10

1. The American victory over the British in 1783 ended the Revolutionary War but ensured the continuation of conflicts between the Americans, who were anxious to move into the Northwest territory, and the Indians, who were already settled in the area. Have students research Indians' strategies to defend themselves and their way of life against white settlement. Was accommodation or resistance to white America a more predominant feature of the Indians' approaches to self-defense?

2. The American Revolution established the colonies' independence from England and a new republican government, but its influence also spread beyond politics. How did it affect family life among white Americans? Ask students to examine changes and continuity in family relations (especially between husbands and wives and parents and children) from the 1750s to the 1820s and to argue whether or not revolutionary ideology had a significant impact on the domestic sphere.
3. As a central figure in American politics between the 1760s and the 1810s, Thomas Jefferson was criticized by some for being too revolutionary and by others for being too cautious. Ask your students to examine Jefferson's political perspectives, decisions, and policies from his authorship of the Declaration of Independence through the end of his presidency. Based on their findings, ask them to argue either that Jefferson was a Republican revolutionary or cautious pragmatic.
4. By 1776 there was some recognition among whites that the ideals of the revolution were not compatible with the institution of slavery. After 1777, when the Vermont constitution made slavery illegal, other northern states also began to adopt laws that allowed for the emancipation of slaves. Have students research the processes by which various northern states came to adopt gradual emancipation. Did northern states adopt these new laws because primarily because of African-Americans' demands and resistance, or northern whites' egalitarian aspirations?
5. Some of the men and women stirred by the Second Great Awakening joined groups that aimed to eliminate alcohol abuse and eradicate prostitution. Ask students to do research on either the temperance movement or the moral reform movement of the mid-nineteenth century, focusing on these groups' membership, demands, strategies, and tactics. Using their findings, ask them to argue either that these groups were most important for their efforts to tighten social controls, or for their democratizing influence on American society.
- research families' experiences on wagon trains of the Oregon Trail or pioneers' efforts to establish thriving families, businesses, and communities in the West. Using this information, ask them to argue either that these groups focused on developing new ways of life or reproducing the lives and communities they had left behind.
2. Was Mormonism typical or exceptional among American religions that emerged in the United States in the century before the Civil War? Ask students to place nineteenth century Mormons in the context of the other new utopian religious movements of the period, such as the Shakers and the Oneida community, and to compare Mormons' religious beliefs and family and community values with those of the other groups. Ask them to use their findings to argue either that the Mormon Church was part of the utopianist religious trend that emerged in antebellum America or that it was distinctive.
3. While much of the country was preoccupied with the business of fighting the Civil War, the United States Congress, dominated by Republicans, enacted a vast program of new legislation. Have students examine the work of the U.S. congress between 1860 and 1865 and think about its significance. Using this information, have them either support or refute the notion that Congress led a "Second American Revolution" in the 1860s.
4. Beginning with Angelina and Sarah Grimké in the 1830s and continuing into the era of Reconstruction, some women and men recognized abolitionism and feminism as overlapping causes. Ask students to examine the relationship between abolitionists and feminists during the 1840s, the Civil War, and the struggle to pass the 15th Amendment. Have them use their findings to argue that it was possible to support both black civil rights and women's rights in the nineteenth century, or that the two causes were fundamentally incompatible.
5. Abraham Lincoln worked hard to separate his personal beliefs from his role as the political leader of the Union during the Civil War and at times advocated policies regarding slavery and African-Americans that many Abolitionists found objectionable. Have students examine Lincoln's personal views about slavery, African-Americans, and civil rights, and the ways those views changed (or not) between the beginning of the Civil War and the end. Ask them to use their findings to either support or refute the notion that Lincoln's own ideas about race and racism were not necessarily represented in his public stances on slavery and civil rights.

## Chapters 11–15

1. As families migrated and settled in the west, were their new lives shaped primarily by the need to innovate or the desire to duplicate eastern values and institutions? Ask students to

## Chapters 16–20

1. The Gilded Age was characterized by the expansion and consolidation of corporate capitalism and the dramatic growth and stratification of the United States' urban areas. Ask your students to identify some of the social and economic critics that emerged in the 1870s and 1880s, to examine their major concerns and proposals for social and economic change, and to analyze their influence on American society in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Based on their findings, have students argue either that the Progressive movement represented a continuation of Gilded Age reform efforts, or a break with them.
2. American women won an important victory in 1920 when the ratification of the 19th amendment guaranteed their right to vote. Ask students to examine political activity and influence among at least two groups of women activists (paying attention to class, race, ethnicity, and geographic location) between 1870 and 1920. Have them use their findings to either support or refute the notion that American women had no political power before suffrage.
3. The process of industrialization transformed both the American economy and society from 1865 through to the 1920s as mechanization and mass production altered the process and experience of work for the millions who were employed in mills, mines, and factories. Ask students to examine the affect of industrialization and mechanization and the work experiences for either small farmers or housewives in this period, looking specifically at the ways these changes either eased or complicated their tasks. Using this information, ask students to construct an argument that industrialization either improved or diminished their group's status.
4. Immigration reached its peak during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era as almost twelve million immigrants—including Italians, Eastern European Jews, Germans, Hungarians, Turks, Armenians, Poles, Russians, and other Slavic people—entered the United States between 1880 and 1910. Ask your students to choose one of these ethnic groups and to explore the patterns of work, family, and community that shaped its first and second generation members' lives in the United States at the turn of the nineteenth century. Have students use their findings to argue either that new immigrants' lives in this era were influenced primarily by new opportunities for social and economic mobility, or by nativism and discrimination.

5. Have students examine the United States' approaches to Indian policy in the period from 1865 to 1890, and compare and contrast them with the tactics U.S. leaders employed in their quest for political and economic influence in the Caribbean, the Philippines, and Asia in the 1890s. Have students use their findings to investigate whether United States foreign policy in the 1890s incorporated elements of late-nineteenth-century Indian policies or that 1890s imperialism represented an entirely new direction in American foreign policy.

## Chapters 21–25

1. Did settlement houses defend poor and working-class communities in Progressive Era cities or undermine them by promoting middle-class values and behavior? Ask students to examine the settlement house movement in the context of the Progressive Era and to evaluate the institutions' aims, programs, and impact on the groups they served. Using their findings, have students argue that settlement houses either enriched or eroded the lives of those they were meant to serve.
2. Was World War I a triumph of Progressivism or a betrayal of the Progressive agenda? Ask students to examine the wartime development of the United States' military and its conduct of the war in Europe, or the wartime home front, paying particular attention to the ways each reflected or contradicted Progressive values and objectives. Using their findings, have them evaluate the war as either a victory or a failure for the Progressive movement.
3. Did the image of the "New Woman" represent or contradict the experiences of most women in the United States during the 1920s? Have students research the lives of American women's during this decade, considering the ways their experiences with work, politics, consumption, and/or modern culture varied by race, ethnicity, geography, and social class. Based on the information they find, ask students to argue that women's lives in the 1920s were more deeply influenced by innovation or tradition.
4. Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal programs were heralded by some as the savior of capitalism and denounced by others as a betrayal of its ideals. Ask students to examine the impact of the New Deal on the structure of the United States' economy and on industrial and agricultural workers.

Have them use their findings to construct an argument that the New Deal was revolutionary or conservative.

5. World War II is often described by historians as a “good war” or a “necessary war.” Have students examine one aspect of World War II such as: United States motivations for entering the war and the processes through which it became involved; the conduct of the war by the American military and its impact on those who fought; the war’s impact on the lives of American civilians; or the war’s effects on the United States government’s role at home and in the world at large. Using their findings, ask students to evaluate the assessment of World War II as a “good or necessary war.”

## Chapters 26–31

1. When Franklin Roosevelt died in his fourth presidential term in April of 1945, Harry S Truman was faced with the task of steering the nation to victory in Japan and defending American interests in the new post-war world. Ask students to research and analyze Truman’s leadership in ending the war, negotiating the peace, and leading the nation into the post-war era. Based on their findings, have students argue that Truman either carried on Roosevelt’s presidential legacy, or that his policies forged new ground.
2. In the decade following World War II, economic prosperity fueled suburbanization and the emergence of new cultural norms linking consumer goods with personal fulfillment. Have students research the impact of consumer culture on everyday life in the 1940s and 1950s, focusing particularly on the ways that the new emphases on prosperity and consumption affected Americans of different races and classes. Ask them to use their findings to argue that consumer culture created a new foundation for egalitarianism in the post-war United States, or a new source of social disparity.
3. During the 1950s and 1960s, the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s made significant progress toward challenging the discriminatory laws and attitudes that had subjugated African Americans in the United States since Reconstruction. Ask students to research the history of the civil rights movement during the twentieth century, focusing specifically on change and continuity in civil rights organizing from the 1910s to the 1960s. Have them use the information they find to argue either that the civil rights struggle of the 1950s and 1960s was the continuation of the older movement, or the emergence of a new one.
4. Have students analyze the United States’ role in Vietnam in the context of cold war foreign policy, focusing on its rationale for entering the conflict, its conduct of the war, and its persistence in fighting despite elusive gains and an increasingly vocal domestic anti-war movement. Ask them to use their findings to argue that the war in Vietnam was a crucial element of the U.S.’s containment policy, or that it was a misguided disaster.
5. Was the United States government an agent of social change or the target of social activism in the decades after World War II? Ask students to research the civil rights movement, the feminist movement, the Latino movement, the gay and lesbian movement, or the environmental movement during the 1950s–1980s, focusing each movement’s relationship with the state over the course of its efforts. Based on their findings, have students use the information they gather to argue whether the United States government promoted social justice or resisted it.
6. The 1960s saw the emergence of vigorous social movements that sought to transform the United States by liberalizing the culture and empowering the disempowered, as well as the mobilization of the right which aimed to protect traditional Protestant morality, safeguard individual rights, and oppose interference by the federal government. Ask students to examine the political and cultural directions taken by the United States as a whole between 1968 and the 1980s and to consider the relative influences of both the left and the right. Have students analyze which social movement made the most success in terms of policy and cultural acceptance.

# Discussing *The American Promise:* A Survival Guide for First-Time Teaching Assistants

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## Introduction

All education is a continuous dialogue—questions and answers that pursue every problem to the horizon. That is the essence of academic freedom.

— William O. Douglas

### The Role of a Teaching Assistant

Reflect for a moment on the best teachers you have encountered in your educational career. Like most great teachers, they were probably fired up by some seldom-expressed idealism, a conviction that teaching is the ultimate form of subversion, capable of touching the lives of the young and permanently undermining complacency. The most effective teaching often appears effortless, but it is in fact the product of a lifetime's commitment to helping others and years of practice and preparation. It is also probable that one of these great teachers inspired you to want to teach, and you may hope to emulate your mentor's example. But you also have to write a thesis or dissertation. This survival guide seeks to (1) diminish stress, (2) save you time, and (3) increase your self-confidence as a teacher. Taken together, these three goals should make your job a lot easier while making space for your own research. I hope what follows makes clear that the opportunity to teach undergraduates will actually promote the development and clarification of your scholarship.

### Teaching and Scholarship

A teaching assistantship is for most graduate students the introduction to teaching, a wonderful opportunity to develop skills you will use later in your career. Your TA-ship raises a justifiable fear: Will it interfere with the completion of your thesis or dissertation? The answer is no, for the opposite should be the case. There are many reasons why being a teaching assistant should enhance the development of your scholarship, especially if you look to your colleagues, your fellow TAs, and professor for help and guidance. This survival guide intends to promote this idea, making a difficult task simpler and saving you from having to reinvent the wheel.

### Getting to Know *The American Promise*

While *The American Promise*, Fourth Edition is written with a unified voice, it is the product of the labor of six outstanding scholars, each with his or her own area of research expertise. These six historians—James L. Roark, Michael P. Johnson, Patricia Cline Cohen, Sarah Stage, Alan Lawson, and Susan M. Hartmann—all have experience teaching large survey courses, and

they have endeavored to apply that collective experience in this textbook. What you read in *The American Promise* emerges from their classrooms: an appreciation for what worked and what did not. All of the authors have directly confronted many widely held misapprehensions about American history that have hampered their ability to teach effectively. The very nature of history is generally misunderstood, with most people believing it is little more than the memorization of a few, or too many, key facts. This text attempts to sweep away much of that debris, to provide students not simply with a compelling version of one of the great stories of all time, American history, but also to lend insight into the working of history itself. Thus, for instance, the value of the *Historical Question* feature of the text, which reminds us that history is detective work and that such inquiry begins by asking the right questions.

Naturally, specific chapters of *The American Promise* relate to the authors' own research. But the book is also an effort by six specialists to recapture the broad sweep of American history. Delineating the general currents of American history has, in turn, aided the authors in placing their scholarship within a larger portrait of U.S. history.

Similarly, serving as a teaching assistant will provide you with a valuable opportunity to conceptualize your thesis or dissertation within the main currents of American history. One of the pitfalls commonly encountered while writing a thesis or dissertation is mistaking a few trees for a forest. Most of us have, at one time or another, become so engaged with our own research that we cannot imagine how anyone can fail to perceive its centrality. James Roark's ability to frame his focused study of planters in South Carolina within the national struggle to remake the nation in the aftermath of the Civil War won his dissertation, "Masters without Slaves," the Nevins Award.

Your TA-ship offers both beneficial teaching experience and an opportunity to step back from your research and ask the larger questions of history. In teaching, you should not hesitate to share your developing ideas with your students, who are often interested in the scholarly process. And you may find that one gratifying surprise of teaching is that the instructor learns a great deal from the students.

## 1. Working with a Professor

### Defining Your Roles

Make no mistake, a TA-ship is not easy. Most likely, you neither designed this class nor selected the readings, and you will not deliver the lectures. Your position

is essentially that of an apprentice, learning the craft not simply by being shown the tools and their use but by observing someone who has mastered the skill.

The boundaries between professors and teaching assistants differ with the institution, its size and traditions, and the people involved. At UCLA, I taught classes with hundreds of students and eighteen TAs. Initially, I did not know most of my graduate TAs, and vice versa. I was required, as is the case at most large research institutions, to supervise and inspect the work of these TAs. Such a situation often generates a formal relationship, especially as the TAs knew that I would be writing a letter for their files. In contrast, at Emory, I have never had more than two TAs in a class, and more informal associations result. But in either context, yours is a slightly anomalous position. Most of the time, you are entirely free to conduct your section as you see fit, though within a context set by the professor. The professor selects the readings and topics, but you determine how to address the material. In discussion, the initiative is entirely yours; aiding students with their writing and grading their work will probably also be your responsibility. But you should not forget that the first and the final word always belongs to the professor, who sets the syllabus and signs the grade sheet. I therefore suggest that it is wise to follow the tone he or she sets. The professor will quickly make it obvious whether you are a colleague or an assistant. If the latter, you may need to adhere more closely to the formalities; but whatever the case, take advantage of the opportunity to work closely with an experienced instructor to learn the art of teaching.

### **Disagreeing: What to Do**

TAs often agonize over occasions when the professor presents views with which they do not agree or contradicts the textbook. Such situations are, in fact, likely to happen, as historical interpretation is full of such disagreements; the lack of uniformity is what gives history its life and excitement. The best tactic is to speak with the professor about such perceived inconsistencies, though not everyone is comfortable with the direct approach. While it would be inappropriate to tell your students that the professor's point of view is wrong, it is legitimate to raise the question of alternative perspectives in your discussion sections and to use it as an exercise in historical method. *The American Promise* will prove helpful in such a situation. The professor has assigned this book and so should have no objection to your making use of its contents.

For example, when I was in high school, we were all taught that America was founded by people seeking religious freedom. Since I knew that was not true of my ancestors, this version of history always bothered

me. Imagine my pleasure when I read William Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation* in college and learned that not even those famous Pilgrims came to America seeking "religious freedom." Yet the very next day in class, my professor insisted that "America was founded by people seeking religious freedom." If the professor for whom you are working makes such a statement, you may want to turn to *The American Promise* to address the complexities of this issue. Ask the students to establish the degree of religious influence in the settlement of North America. As the students hunt through chapters 3 and 4 under your guidance, they will find support for religious freedom as a foundation of American settlement, particularly in the opening pages of chapter 4. Pursue the issue a little further, and ask why, exactly, the Pilgrims crossed the Atlantic. Did the Pilgrims flee religious persecution, or did their desire to establish their own isolated society reflect intolerance on their part? From there, consider the motivations of the Puritans, as discussed in the chapter 4 section "The Founding of Massachusetts Bay Colony," and then move back to chapter 3 and examine the settlement of the Chesapeake. Was religion at work in this colony, or do we see an English effort to extend power, or perhaps individual greed? The text notes each in turn, from the Virginia Company's boast that they sought the conversion of the Indians to Christianity to the ruthless exploitation of the powerless—Indian, white, and black. As is appropriate in examining the religious, social, and political turmoil of the seventeenth century, no one explanation suffices. Because history lacks a single correct interpretation, you must aid the students in developing their own analytical skills.

Highlighting various interpretations does not contradict statements by the instructor. Rather it allows the students to come to terms with the difficulty of the historian's task, while helping them to construct their own informed judgment. The text is your anchor, which you can rely on in any classroom situation.

You can take further advantage of working with a professor by observing his or her teaching style. Decide for yourself what are valuable methods in the classroom. If it is not part of your TA program to have the professor speak with you about pedagogical issues, join with your fellow TAs to invite him or her to do so. Most professors welcome the opportunity to talk about teaching itself, and you may find that the invitation opens a number of doors to other ways to learn and acquire teaching skills. For instance, if your professor invites you to deliver a guest lecture to the class, leap at the opportunity, as it is great practice and can figure prominently in a future letter of recommendation from that professor. Likewise, consider asking your professor or graduate adviser to sit in on one of your sections. When the time comes to enter the job

market, you will benefit enormously by having letters of recommendation that speak knowledgeably about your teaching experience. In short, the TA-ship is your route to ensuring that you get to teach even more after you have finished your thesis or dissertation.

## 2. Working with Students

### Classroom Atmosphere

Teaching assistants naturally want to work with their students in the friendliest possible fashion. Students, in turn, generally respect TAs and respond well to a relaxed atmosphere. Nonetheless, students also know that the TA is not a professor, and some will occasionally try to exploit the situation. Over the years, instructors have heard every imaginable excuse and plea for special consideration as well as some that defy the imagination. Your best defense can be a stern offense, clarifying both your accessibility and your professionalism. There are no hard-and-fast rules on how to achieve this balance in the classroom, and every class has its own dynamic. What follows are a number of suggestions on how to establish a professional distance while retaining a sense of camaraderie.

### Avoiding Pitfalls

Some aspects of teaching can only be learned the hard way. It may seem unlikely, but some students feel betrayed if they think of you as a close friend and get less than an excellent grade. Other students may turn to you as a personal confessor and share their most private confidences, leading to embarrassment and the lessening of your professional standing with both the other students and your professor. Most dangerous of all, a student may misunderstand your friendliness as an invitation to intimacy. An accusation of sexual harassment can have dire consequences for your professional and personal life.

How you respond to, say, an excess of friendliness, depends on your personality. I tell all the teaching assistants I train that there are three rules:

1. No overloads (that is, never increase the size of your class, it is already too large).
2. No sarcasm (students hate it!).
3. No private meetings with students behind closed doors.

Always leave your door open when a student is in your office. One of my TAs this year will only meet students in the middle of the quad; two others hold

their office hours together. I have no trouble saying to a student intent on telling me stories that are far too personal, "I'm sorry, that is none of my business." Some will turn the conversation back to the textbook. But sometimes there is no way of avoiding the student who tearfully tells you of some desperate family trauma and begs for your understanding. Always keep at hand the phone number of the counseling center, and make sure you know where the center is located. When I was a TA, one of my students told me that he could not turn in his paper because he had thrown up on his typewriter (yes, we used typewriters in the early 1980s) and that he had a terminal illness. Having ascertained that he was unclear on the meaning of "terminal illness" and did not have one, I learned more than I cared to about this young man's crisis of confidence. Convincing him that others could be of greater assistance to him, I called the counseling center immediately and set up an appointment for him. In this case, by the way, the student took a semester off, took a job, and returned to college the following year, much better prepared for the task before him. You can only hope that none of your students will throw up on a computer—or claim to—but you may want to be ready for the unexpected.

From experience then, most professors discover the need to maintain a friendly but critical distance. The challenge is to remember that working as a TA is part of the process of becoming a professional and therefore requires an appreciation for the trust placed in any teacher. When a student tells you of a personal crisis, it is best to take it seriously and offer sympathy; it is also best to let those better qualified than you deal with the problem.

Finally, there is a tendency among many professors and graduate student instructors to treat their students with disdain, to make fun of their ignorance and belittle their writing skills. While it certainly can relieve tension to get together with other TAs to compare classroom confusions, making fun of your students will quickly take the joy out of teaching and make you question your commitment. Also, undergraduates usually notice a negative attitude. Try to recall your own undergraduate experiences. At the beginning of every academic year, I read one of my own papers from my freshman year. It is a sobering experience, and one that makes me appreciate even more how much I gained from a college education.

## 3. Leading Discussions

For most TAs, the majority of class time is spent conducting discussions based on the lectures, the readings, or both. In terms of effective teaching,

discussions are preferable to lectures. It is easier to keep students' attention when they are part of the discussion. Their involvement helps to ensure that they are absorbing information and alerts the instructor to what is working and sinking in and what is not. As John Stuart Mill noted, "The interests of truth require a diversity of opinions." And a highly interactive class is just more fun.

The key to a great discussion is preparation—not the sort of intricate organization that force-marches the students through the material but a thorough understanding of the topic and a conception of the key issues that need to be addressed. Advance preparation will make it all look easy to the students while allowing you the confidence to respond with flexibility to the flow of the discussion.

This guide is directed at aiding the TA in getting started. Examples are therefore drawn from the first chapters of *The American Promise* that you are likely to use in the first month of classes. While these particular examples are just suggestions, their logic should be transferable to other chapters and other periods in U.S. history.

### **The First Day of Class**

Your first task is to ease your students' tension and anxieties. They are generally nervous about taking a history class that requires them to synthesize both lectures and readings at the college level. Often they do not know anyone else in the section and are scared to voice opinions in front of peers. Even though this is an introductory U.S. history course, you may be surprised to learn how many of your students disliked high school history and learned little of what we understand history to be. Many students think of history as the memorization of dates. You therefore need to reassure your students that there is a lot more to history than dates and that it will be worth their time to give it a second chance. As discussed below, you can turn directly to the opening pages of the textbook for a quick introduction to the workings of history. However, if you are comfortable doing so, you may want to introduce both yourself and the subject by talking a bit about the origins of your own fascination with history and what sustains that interest. Nothing—heavy emphasis—makes an introductory course more successful than the enthusiasm of the instructor for the material.

### **Icebreakers**

Before addressing the subject matter, turn to your students. If you can establish even the loosest sense of community on the first day, you will find the days ahead far more pleasant, as your students will be a

little less hesitant to share their judgments and far more receptive to your leadership. So get acquainted quickly, indicating that they are among friends and that what they have to say will be heard and respected. It is usually not sufficient to go around the room and ask the students to give their names. You must instead try to get a sense of their identities. One way is to ask each student to relay the standard information—name, academic year, major, where he or she is from—and then add something unique, such as a favorite record or the last book he or she read for pleasure. You may even want to write this information down on index cards as a way of helping yourself to learn each student's name over the first few weeks. Alternatively, try some version of the "name game." I pair off my students and ask them not simply to tell one another their names but to say something about the history of that name; what it means, where it came from, if it originally belonged to someone else, like a grandparent. After a few minutes of letting the students talk and relax, I go around the room and ask each student to tell all of us about his or her neighbor. By the end of this exercise, I can be fairly confident that my students will not refer to one another as "that guy" and that they will get a sense of the personal power of history.

After spending some time getting to know one another, you may want to share with your students your goals for the semester. Even here, though, I like to keep the tone light. When students first hear about an essay assignment, they often start worrying almost immediately about what they are going to write. I prefer to frame my discussion of the paper assignment within the context of questions or doubts they may have about U.S. history. For instance, ask your students what one fact from American history bugs them the most. Write those events on the board—and they will probably run the gauntlet from slavery to the invention of the shopping mall. Then ask them which single fact makes them most proud to be in the United States. The events you write on the board form a range of possible research and discussion topics.

Before the students leave the classroom, make certain that they know how to reach you, and vice versa. With e-mail, this task has become easier. Circulate a list and ask them to record their electronic addresses. If you have the time, make up a list of e-mail addresses so you can send reminders to your students of upcoming assignments. They will certainly appreciate the extra effort on your part. I usually send out a message the day after the first class just reminding everyone of my office hours and our first readings together. After sixteen years of teaching, I am still surprised how much students welcome any indication that their teachers care. Whatever you do on the first day, it is appropriate and advisable to keep it light and

informal; a friendly atmosphere pays long-term dividends in the classroom. It is for that reason that I prefer students to use my first name. They know I'm a professor. Likewise, I do not believe that calling an instructor by his or her first name diminishes respect. But if you want to be called Mr. or Ms. TA, it is best to make that clear up front by introducing yourself that way.

### Preparing to Teach a Section

Traditionally, American history teaching assistants lead sections in introductory U.S. history survey courses, with the first of two parts concluding with the end of Reconstruction. Usually, you are asked to TA in that part of the survey into which your own thesis or dissertation falls. This perfectly logical approach does not necessarily mean that you are prepared to enter the classroom. You may have read everything written on the nineteenth-century South and yet never taken a class on either colonial or twentieth-century America. To repeat some sound advice from another venue: Don't Panic. Just think of *The American Promise* as your *Hitchhiker's Guide*. You will quickly find that there are a number of ways to get yourself ready for the classroom.

In the twelve years I have been training graduate student TAs, the most common initial response is despair over the seeming ignorance of the majority of the undergraduates. Teaching assistants enter their first classes with high expectations of the stimulating conversations before them, only to discover that, as every study in the last twenty years has found, college students have retained very little of their high school U.S. history. While it is therefore safe—and helpful—to assume that you know a great deal more American history than most of your students, it is a grievous error to treat those students with contempt. You can have confidence that your greater knowledge allows you to avoid the hurdles of overpreparation for a fifty-minute discussion. Remember also that it is a mistake to denigrate students for their lack of preparation; it will only make your job harder. Effective teachers, like all great craftspeople, work with the materials at hand. Your task is to teach *your* students, not some idealized version of what a student should be. And you can feel rather comfortable that you will not be boring your students with well-known material; it is most likely new to them.

There is no rule on how much time to devote to preparing for your class. If you are discussing a theme with which you are personally very familiar, you may find yourself simply walking in to lead the discussion. On the other hand, if you have never studied the initial settlement of the Chesapeake, for example, you may find yourself spending about four hours preparing for

a single hour of class time. Half that preparation time may be devoted to rereading the text and any supplemental works assigned, while it will probably take you about an hour to outline the direction in which you would like the conversation to go, with all the main points and page references arranged in a logical order.

The *Instructor's Resource Manual* can provide assistance in the preparation of class plans. Each chapter of the textbook is outlined in the manual; and while you may not want to proceed simply, point by point, through the textbook, you can certainly pull out a section of the outline for ideas on organizing your own class. For instance, look at the outline for chapter 3. Parts II and III form a cohesive frame for a discussion of the relationship of tobacco and colonial development, which would certainly suffice for a day's discussion. How you use the *Instructor's Resource Manual* depends on additional assigned reading. If the class is reading source documents or secondary work on the economy of Colonial Chesapeake, then the above suggestions would work very well, and you could easily plug this additional reading into the *Instructor's Resource Manual* outline.

You should, however, avoid overdoing it. I had one TA at UCLA who had never read a word on industrialization until the weekend before her Monday-morning section. She read a half dozen key works on the subject in that weekend and entered class Monday exhausted but with twenty-five pages of tightly written, quotation-packed notes. It was, by her own admission, the worst day of the year. Again, there is no rule you can follow on how much preparation is enough. If you don't feel comfortable talking with the other TAs about a subject *after* you have read the textbook, ask the professor for a recommendation of an article or book that might deepen your understanding of the theme under discussion. If you have read the textbook and just one other book on the subject, you are way ahead of your students. By the way, should you feel the need to read a supplementary text, bring it to class with you. Not only will you find its presence comforting, but most students will be impressed with your diligence when you tell them you were reading the book the night before and found a great passage.

But you are not really prepared for a class just because you have read and outlined the chapter and stuck some bookmarks into the textbook. Class discussions rarely follow logical schematics of discourse, and your job is not just to summarize what the students read. You need to devote at least another hour before class imagining the types of questions you are likely to receive and considering how you will demonstrate the larger issues under consideration. It is very helpful in this context to get together with at least one other TA and compare notes. You will probably

notice that you have outlined the material in very different ways. Of course, this divergence is the very nature of history. Historians do not select the same facts or events for their interpretations of the past, nor do they structure their arguments similarly. But just as we learn from reading scholars with whom we disagree, so you can enhance your scholarship and develop your scholarly voice in the classroom by getting a sense of how other educated people address the same subject. In that regard, your premier source for intellectual comparison should be your professor. Listen closely to the lectures and talk to him or her about your understanding of the subject under discussion.

## Getting Started

At first thought, nothing is more difficult than starting a lively conversation with twenty or thirty students—many of whom may not want to talk—about a historic topic of little apparent relevance to modern life. But teachers have developed a number of very effective techniques over the years that you are free to borrow from—a few of which follow. Observe good teachers and note their techniques, appropriating whatever works for you.

An effective discussion should not only clarify the meaning of the lectures and texts but also provide a network of ideas which, by connecting the material, will allow students to see the big picture. The key is to get your students' attention early on and maintain it. An energetic beginning will make a strong impression on your students, allowing you to keep their interest, and provide the framework for the entire discussion.

You will quickly notice that many of your students have not yet learned the necessary analytical skills to make connections between the lecture and the assigned reading or to formulate independent interpretations. It would be wise for you to get in the habit of discussing the texts from the start and explaining to students the importance of substantiating their comments with evidence from the textbook or lectures. At the very first meeting, turn to the first page of the textbook. Even if you have reason to believe that no one has done the reading, or rather precisely *because* you think no one has done the reading, draw everyone's attention to the opening passages of the book. Why does a history of the United States begin its first chapter on "Ancient America" with the twentieth-century cowboy George McJunkin? Stories are often an effective way of unpacking a whole range of larger issues. In chapter 1, students are introduced not only to the fact that 97 percent of the time *Homo sapiens* existed no one set foot in the Western Hemisphere (p. 7) but also to the recent vintage of that knowledge, the continuing limitations of scholarship on pre-Columbian America, as well as alternative ways of uncovering

history—in this case, literally. The students should be drawing on information gleaned from the lectures and textbook to construct their own understanding of historical development; your role will be more that of a moderator than an instigator.

## Effective Methods

There are, of course, a number of different methods for getting off to a quick and successful start. Try diving into the middle of the chapter to lift out a single fact that allows the students to explore the specifics of an argument. For instance, there were "more than three hundred major tribes and hundreds of lesser groups" in North America at the time of Columbus's first journey (chapter 1, p. 11). What does that tell us about pre-Columbian America? How does that piece of information link up with other points made in this chapter? This technique of finding a "key fact" is most effective when the fact is particularly dramatic. Drawing attention to the number of Native Americans who died in the first years after European contact will shock anyone and certainly inspire a fruitful conversation about the unintended consequences of "the Colombian Exchange" (chapter 2, p. 46). Likewise, the graph on American immigration (chapter 19, p. 671) evokes many questions. What accounts for the shift of migration to southern and Eastern Europe? Why did so many immigrants settle in New York City? What were the consequences of the United States absorbing five million immigrants, one million passing through Ellis Island alone, in 1907? Do the words inscribed on the base of the Statue of Liberty, as quoted in chapter 19 on page 673, take on a new meaning in light of these statistics? Can you understand why some Americans may have seen those "huddled masses" as a serious threat? Obviously, some questions convey a certain contemporary resonance for students, an attribute to be encouraged, as it will carry your class conversations beyond the classroom.

Similarly, stories and quotations that outrage students' modern sensibilities are very useful. For example, Colonel John Chivington, an American hero who massacred Indians without remorse and justified the murder of Indian children with the statement "Nits make lice," is bound to have an impact on the students (chapter 17, p. 595). To begin the discussion, direct students to the historical understanding such stories make available. One way to sustain such a conversation is to ask leading questions drawn from the text: Why were Indians seen as "an obstacle to civilization" (chapter 17, p. 595)? How could the railroad pose a greater threat to the Indians' way of life than the U.S. army (chapter 17, pp. 597–600)? What exactly did the U.S. government seek in its policy toward the Indians? What, in the end, drove Chief Joseph to

declare, “I will fight no more forever” (chapter 17, p. 601)? By marking up your own copy of the textbook, you can guide the students through a thoughtful consideration of what might otherwise be too easily dismissed as a tragedy—an easy categorization that precludes an appreciation for the historical forces at work.

### Explaining Historiography

One of the most difficult yet exciting lessons of history for undergraduates is the discovery that the discipline of history changes constantly. The facts of a given event can be altered to suit some later purpose, only to be “discovered” decades later. For instance, in chapter 17 on page 621–622, a self-conscious and deliberate imagining of the West by such creative entrepreneurs as Buffalo Bill Cody is described. Even in the lifetimes of participants, historians and popularizers transformed the history of the American West into a story called “the Wild West.” Why, you can ask your students, did so many people who knew better accept this “thrilling but harmless entertainment” (chapter 17, p. 622) as an accurate version of national history? What purpose was served by making Deadwood Dick a white man (chapter 17, p. 615)? In what ways did Cody and Turner alter the story of the westward expansion of the United States? Why did most historians prior to the 1970s unquestionably accept Turner’s thesis and the details of Cody’s Wild West Show as accurate? When did Deadwood Dick become African American again? More simply, imagine the shock of many students when they read that Magellan’s voyage “made clear that Columbus was dead wrong about the identity of what he had discovered” (chapter 2, pp. 44–45). In high school, they likely learned a more straightforward account of Columbus’s achievements.

For me, the real excitement of history is found in its mutability. I therefore begin each class by reading from an old history text, usually Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic*, which I used in an Advanced Placement class in U.S. history back in the late 1960s. Mind you, Morison and Commager were two of the most prominent scholars of their day, so their take on history fairly represents what was considered “objective reality” in those years. Let me provide just one example. To begin a class on the southern slave system, turn to page 537 of *The Growth of the American Republic*:

As for Sambo, whose wrongs moved the abolitionists to wrath and tears, there is some reason to believe that he suffered less than any other class in the South from its “peculiar institution.” The majority of slaves were adequately fed, well cared for, and apparently happy. Competent observers

reported that they performed less labor than the hired man of the Northern states. Their physical wants were better supplied than those of thousands of Northern laborers, English operatives, and Irish peasants; their liberty was not much less than that enjoyed by the North of England “hinds” or the Finnish *torpare*. Although brought to America by force, the incurably optimistic Negro soon became attached to the country, and devoted to his “white folks.” Slave insurrections were planned—usually by the free Negroes—but invariably betrayed by some faithful black; and trained obedience kept most slaves faithful throughout the Civil War.

The text goes on to describe slaves as “childlike, improvident, humorous, prevaricating, and superstitious” and to praise slave masters for treating their “pickaninnies” so well that the slaves were able to make the “transition from a primitive to a more mature culture.”

There are many reasons for beginning with such a text, not the least of which is to get the students’ attention immediately. But a major part of what I hope to accomplish in my survey course is to show the students how historians work and how much we have learned in just the past few decades. The students gain a noticeable confidence in formulating their own historical perspectives through an appreciation of history as a work in progress.

Based on their own scholarship, most graduate students can testify to the agnosticism of history. Some chapters of *The American Promise* include a feature called *Historical Question*, which speaks to this point, as does the *Anticipating Student Reactions* section of the *Instructor’s Resource Manual*. These sections demonstrate that history is always open to new questions and interpretations: Historians and students alike continue to seek out answers to questions such as “How Often Were Slaves Whipped?” and “Why Did the ERA Fail?”—issues that will undoubtedly pique your students’ interest. The *Historical Question* feature allows the authors to pause and provide a broad range of possible answers to problems that usually receive only a paragraph or two of explanation in the narrative of the textbook and serve as points of departure for active classroom discussion. Enabling students to make their own informed judgments of the past, the *Historical Question* feature invites them to consider afresh a number of plausible reasons for the information other books present simply as standard knowledge to memorize. As a historian, you may be surprised how out-of-date historical knowledge in high school courses can be sometimes. Students—and their parents—will take it as fact that Columbus discovered America, that all Europeans came to America

seeking religious freedom, that the Revolution came in response to the tyranny of George III, and that the abolitionists caused the Civil War. It is our job to show students that there is much more to each of these complicated stories.

### Sustaining Focus

The easiest way to sustain a focused discussion is to require the students to do most of the work. There are a number of short assignments that can help you attain this end. For example, have students select a single passage in the reading that most captures their attention, have them bring a single question to class, or have them write a hypothesis on a theme covered in the lecture with one piece of supportive evidence drawn from the text. These assignments will lay the basis for deeper discussion and the innovative exercises described below.

### Role-Playing Exercises

One of the most successful routes to a lively conversation is that of having the students take sides in a debate. For instance, building on the material in the first chapter, have your students draw on sixteenth-century documents to construct positions for and against further European expansion in the Western Hemisphere (such documents are available in many collections). You can ask students to play the parts of real historical figures—such as King Ferdinand, Juan Gines de Sepulveda, or Bartolomé de Las Casas—or fictional figures, from a native Indian prince to a common Spanish soldier to a Franciscan monk.

Alternatively, chapter 19 describes the many different kinds of workers—including those in management—who lend themselves well to a role-playing debate. Go through the chapter and assign students different personas: industrial workers—immigrant and native born, male and female, adult and child; common laborers—Asian, white, and black; miners; skilled workers; sweatshop workers; and management. Provide a topic for debate, such as the question posed by President Rutherford B. Hayes: “Can’t something be done by education of the strikers, by judicious control of the capitalists, by wise general policy to end or diminish the evil [of general strikes]?” (chapter 19, p. 684). Then, send students to the library to research their roles. This assignment introduces students to both the library and the way historians conduct research. Given the pleasure that most people find in discovering what was previously unknown, you may find your students quickly getting into the spirit of the historian’s work and even of historiographical arguments.

### Making Connections

Students will undoubtedly find some issues more difficult than others and will need help making sense of what seems to them a very complicated connection. For instance, chapter 2 has a section titled “Mediterranean Trade and European Expansion.” If your students appear baffled by the relation between the two, ask first for an explanation from them, as perhaps a few have read closely and grasped this idea. A student may have spotted a note in the text that states “The vitality of the Mediterranean offered few incentives to look for alternatives” (chapter 2, p. 37), and it was actually Portugal, a country located “on the margins of the thriving Mediterranean trade” that led the expansion (chapter 2, p. 37). Students should understand the connection between trade and expansion and that Portugal, a country that had been forced to use monopolized Mediterranean trade, *fostered* European expansion by exploring alternative routes along the coast of Africa and eventually to the Far East. To further this discussion, move on to the statement that some European aristocrats had reasons to engage in exploration, given Portugal’s success in breaking “the monopoly of the old Mediterranean trade with the East” (chapter 2, p. 39) and the establishment of Portuguese trading posts in Africa, China, and India. Again, careful preparation in highlighting the textbook’s argument will save you a great deal of time and forestall any mounting confusion that may derail discussion.

It is vital to remain aware of gaps in your students’ understanding. If your class does not grasp the foundation of a specific historical sequence, students will not be able to follow its development. Thus, without an understanding of what drove Europeans to the Americas, the discussion of the impact of that conquest on Europe and the Americas will become completely muddled. This is not to say that you should move at a stately pace, page by page, through the text. Rather, touch on the key passages to ensure that vital concepts are grasped and that your students are constructing the historical causality. For example, in the instance of the European conquest of America, you can help your students move from statement to statement. Start with “Columbus’s arrival in the Caribbean anchored the western end of what might be imagined as a sea bridge . . . connecting the Western Hemisphere to Europe . . . launch[ing] the Columbian Exchange, a transatlantic exchange of goods, people, and ideas that has continued ever since” (chapter 2, p. 45). Then, you can jump to how the “destruction of the Indians was a catastrophe unequaled in human history” (chapter 2, p. 60). Following should be a consideration of the wealth brought from America to Spain, to the final irony (or dialectic, if you prefer) of Spain’s

success at evoking jealousy and more conquest. Here, you have offered students an understanding of the causality connecting all of these statements. It is obviously not possible to discuss everything, but you can rely on the students to come up with some of the more interesting details of the landscape that lie between the peaks.

### Attention-Getting Devices

Occasionally, you will get the sense that the students' collective attention is lagging. There are varieties of effective attention-getting devices available—voicing an outrageous assertion or quotation, calling on students by name, or even the old classic, "This will be on the final." (The latter can induce a bit of anxiety, which some say reduces attention, so it may best be used as an obvious joke.) One can also be less dramatic and play on the desire of students to generalize about American history by culling examples, metaphors, and analogies from the textbook and then asking students to expand on their representative value. For instance, what is the symbolic meaning of a single event, such as the rapid decay of the "White City" of the Columbian Exposition (chapter 19, pp. 697)? Similarly, you can ask students if they find any relevance in the late-nineteenth-century "fear that America had become a plutocracy," since "the wealthiest 1 percent of the population owned more than half the real and personal property in the country" (chapter 19, p. 677). Or does any part of the debates over the connection between politics and religion covered in chapter 4 sound familiar? And if none of these approaches works, you may just want to try a complete change of pace, telling the students that you will return to these questions later (be sure to do so) and attack the issue from a completely different direction. If you resort to the latter tactic, it is useful to flip back a page or two and get a running start. Try asking about something that you are sure the students must know as a way of building momentum and getting opinions out in the open. Often the students themselves will then return to your earlier question with a loud "I get it!" (For further ideas, see "Dealing with Problems" on page 458 of this guide.)

The purpose of using these exercises in discussion building is to link the knowledge available in the textbook and lectures with the individual students' reasoning powers. Students often read through textbooks and sit through lectures without pausing to consider the broader implications of statements. Until you ask what is meant by "The Geographic Revolution" (chapter 2, pp. 42–46), a student might not comprehend the powerful impact of Columbus's voyages on European culture and society. Put another way, nomenclature has meaning that is not always self-

evident: Is it the "Battle of Wounded Knee" or the "Massacre at Wounded Knee"?

## 4. Testing

### Standards

Generally, TAs work with the materials the professor prepares. You may therefore encounter many different types of tests. Objective midterms and finals have the advantage of being straightforward; an answer is either correct or incorrect, and you just have to mark it as such. Short essays and even short identifications are a different matter, and the standards of grading are generally the same as those which apply to papers, as discussed below. But it is important to note that, since you will be reading responses to questions you did not write, and as those answers are often based more on the lectures than the text, it would be wise to spend some time getting a sense of the professor's expectations. Most professors will hold a meeting for this purpose on their own initiative. If such a discussion is not forthcoming, you should request it. Ask the professor to outline what she or he considers the essential material to be covered in an exam essay. Determine if the professor expects the exam to be based largely on the texts, the lectures, or both. Are students to be judged on the quality of their writing or solely on their ability to touch on several key facts and arguments? Is there a specific scale for grading (for example, is an "A" 90 and above or 95 and higher)? What should you do if a student misses a test and then shows up in your office demanding to take the exam at that time? (The answer from the professor should be "Send that student to see me.") And perhaps most important, what does the professor expect of you in assisting the students to prepare for the exam? Are study sessions with your participation encouraged, tolerated, or forbidden? You must be clear on these standards before you devote time to helping your students and evaluating their work.

### Preparing Students

Given the enormous stress that most students feel over finals, they will appreciate any help you can offer them. But keep in mind that you will also be making your job easier in preparing the students for the exam, if only because it will prevent complaints later. You can meet with individual students or groups of students during your office hours, though you will quickly find yourself repeating the same advice. The most efficient way to help is to moderate a study session. Note my choice of the word *moderate*. You are

doing your students an enormous favor in holding a study session, but you should not get carried away and essentially do their work for them.

The best approach, once you have gotten the approval of your professor, is to hand out, at your last discussion meeting before the exam, a number of sample identifications or essay topics (and note, many professors routinely make such lists available anyway). At this point, divide up the list among those interested in attending a study session, and make each student responsible for outlining—and only outlining—a useful answer or identification. If you have prepared well, you have already reserved a classroom and a time for the review session. At that meeting, you may want to begin with a few general rules to follow during the exam—essentially a summary of the expectations of the professor. For instance, you may tell students to avoid rhetorical flourishes and padding. It is not the length of the answer that matters but the precision. Add that they must write neatly; if you cannot read what is written, you will assume that it is incorrect. (One of the oldest tricks of test taking, dating back to classical Greece, is to deliberately obscure one's writing in the hope that the grader will assume the answer is correct.)

Now comes the heart of the review session. Ask the student or students who tackled the first problem to write their outline(s) on the board and to explain the logic of their structure. Your task at this point is simply to question the comparative worth of details. By this time in the semester, the students should be talking fairly freely with one another, and you can count on the other students to point out errors or failures of logic. For example, if Abraham Lincoln is the subject of the identification question, and the student has made point 3 in the answer outline Lincoln's marriage to Mary Todd, you can be fairly certain that other class members will question the significance of this fact. Someone will surely notice if the student has erroneously identified 1880 as Lincoln's election year. More substantively, students may debate the relative merit of focusing on Lincoln's career as an attorney and politician or his suspension of *habeas corpus*. At this point, you can intervene and suggest that the particulars the students select depend on the larger argument they are trying to make. If Lincoln's character is considered to be at the core of his handling of the secession crisis, then his previous experience is essential; if one's argument focuses on Lincoln as a powerful president, then his willingness to suspend fundamental Constitutional liberties should be at the center of the essay. A larger point you are making here is that even the shortest, most hastily written essays have a thesis.

Once you have moved through all the problems in turn and covered the boards with sample outlines, you may want to repeat the basic expectations for the

exam. Specifically, you can remind students what is considered an excellent answer and what constitutes a barely acceptable one. If students are convinced that they understand the nature of the exam, they will be much more comfortable taking it and produce better work. It is vital that you remember how important it is for students to do well on the final. With a review session, you not only allow students to provide one another with sample outlines but also encourage them to think about the problems before them. When you come to grade your exams, you will certainly find some recapitulations from your review; but you will also be surprised by the multiplicity of responses you receive to the same question.

## 5. Paper Assignments

### Helping Students Generate Topics

Most professors supply paper assignments. As you already know, these assignments take many forms. Some draw entirely on the assigned reading, which reduces your responsibilities substantially. Others require the students to go to the library. At this point, many students will need your help. Your first task is often to clarify the difference between primary and secondary sources. Explain that primary sources are the building blocks of history, that each historian is capable of reading these sources differently, often in dramatically distinctive ways. This would be a good time to hand out the "Guidelines for Writing a Good History Essay" and "The Use of Sources in Writing Research Papers" found on this page and the next, should you be using them. Unless your library has an especially good tour of its resources, it is well worth the time to take your section to the library yourself and show them how you use the resources. After all, you are a historian, and, at least for this paper, your students are as well.

Should you have the chance to craft your own essay assignment, you may want to use your professor's previous assignments as models. You will probably note that many professors operate on the assumption that, at least in introductory courses, there is a difference between first and later assignments. With the first essay—often the student's first college paper—it is best to offer topics with precise alternatives, such as, "Did racism precede the introduction of slavery in North America?" or "Was the United States justified in declaring war on Germany in 1917?" In each of these instances, you can draw attention to very specific parts of the textbook as starting points for discussion. While such categorical assignments posed as questions (rather than the

deadly “explain” or “describe”) do not determine the individual student’s essay, they do provide a clear sense of alternatives on which the student can build his or her analysis. And students will proceed more logically in their research if they perceive the need to answer a historical question and take a definite position on a scholarly question. By the time they receive the final paper assignment, students should be able to construct an independent thesis without needing such blatant directional markers.

## The Writing Process

Most of your work as a TA outside the classroom will be devoted to guiding and grading essay assignments. It is advisable to offer extra office hours during the week before a paper is due. In these consultations, many students will essentially ask you for their thesis. Avoid the impulse to provide one. You will need to ask many leading questions (“Was racism a prerequisite for the institution of slavery?” or “Do you think that U.S. security was threatened by Germany in 1917?”), and you may think the student’s thesis lacks depth, but you do not want to be accountable for the

paper when it comes time to grade it. And remember, many students try to distance themselves from responsibility for the final product. Do not let them say “*your paper*”; it is “*my paper*.”

The single most common gripe about history classes is this: “It was not an English class, and yet I was graded on my grammar.” You therefore need to explain, in the strongest possible terms, that writing clearly is an absolute necessity. A history course requires the same level of writing as that required in any composition class. History papers are not the regurgitation of facts but the expression of a mode of analysis. It does not matter how good an idea is if no one can understand it. If a student seems to be struggling with writing, make sure to let her or him know what resources are available on your campus, such as writing centers and tutor services.

Make clear your expectations for student writing assignments. You may want to establish certain recommendations for the preparation of a superior essay. Generally, it is wise to keep such guidelines brief so that students will actually read them (please see the handout “Guidelines for Writing a Good History Essay” p. 454 for an example, which you are free to

## Guidelines for Writing a Good History Essay

1. **Preparation.** Good history papers begin with effective reading. Your work will be based on your understanding of primary and secondary literature. If you cannot summarize the point of either sort of document in a sentence or two, go back and read the document again.
2. **Thesis.** Your essay should be driven by a clear, comprehensible, and sustained thesis. Your first paragraph should state that thesis and indicate how you plan to substantiate it.
3. **Organization.** Every paragraph should clarify, demonstrate, expand, or build on your thesis. An outline is a handy tool for ensuring the coherence of your essay.
4. **Evidence.** Every generalization should be supported with specific evidence.
5. **Chronology.** Historians like dates; we use them to organize information and demonstrate intellectual and social developments over time. Be clear in your chronology, using dates to structure your arguments.
6. **Conclusion.** A good essay goes somewhere; it does not simply circle back to repeat the opening statement. Your conclusion should indicate the direction of your thoughts, briefly summarizing your argument, for instance, while indicating its wider historical significance.
7. **Editing.** All good writers rewrite, often. Proofread your essay. Do not hesitate to rewrite if you find flaws in its content, logic, or style. With spell check, there is no longer any excuse for spelling errors. Having a friend read your work aloud is a good way to catch errors of grammar and reasoning.
8. **Style.** The key to effective nonfiction writing is clarity. Therefore, avoid the passive voice like the plague. “Poland was invaded” avoids the unpleasant fact that Germany invaded Poland. Passive voice obscures, which is why bureaucrats love it. Similarly, “this” and “these” should always be followed by a noun so that your reader knows what you are talking about.
9. **References.** All quotations must bear some form of citation, such as footnotes or endnotes. These citations should allow your reader to find your sources easily. Be aware that a writer’s facts, ideas, and phraseology are the property of that individual. Anyone using a writer’s ideas or phraseology without due credit is guilty of plagiarism.

## The Use of Sources in Writing Research Papers

A writer's facts, ideas, and phraseology should be regarded as his or her property. *Any person who uses a writer's ideas or phraseology without giving due credit is guilty of plagiarism.*

Information may be put into a paper without a footnote or some kind of documentation only if it meets the following conditions: It may be found in several books on the subject; it is written entirely in the words of the student; it is not paraphrased from any particular source; it therefore belongs to common knowledge.

Generally, if you write while looking at a source or while looking at notes taken from a source, a footnote should be given. Instructors encourage students to explore, appreciate, and use the ideas of others; but we expect proper attribution for those ideas. Even when written entirely in your own words, the opinions of others must be credited.

All direct quotations should be cited. Brief phrases and even key words that are used as they appear in a source should be in quotation marks.

Summaries and paraphrases are expressions of another writer's words and ideas. You cannot simply substitute a few synonyms and call the idea your own. You must express summaries and paraphrases using your own language. Even within a summary or paraphrase, any direct quotes of phrases, however small, should be accompanied by quotation marks.

In *The Bedford Handbook*, Seventh Edition (2006, p. 704), Diana Hacker suggests how to avoid plagiarism while summarizing or paraphrasing: "Set the source aside, write from memory, and consult the source later to check for accuracy."

A primary source is a document or artifact written or created during the period you wish to study. Secondary works are books or articles written after the fact. For example, the Declaration of Independence is a primary source, while Carl Becker's study of that document, *The Declaration of Independence*, is a secondary source.

## Proper Source Citation and Plagiarism Examples

In reading Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic* (1980), you come across the following sentences on page 23:

Rousseau is well known for his sharp criticism of contemporary society and his vision of radical social change. His statements about women, however, usually reinforced the existing order.... Rousseau's conservatism about women may well have served to make his radical comments about men's behavior more palatable.

### Quotation:

*The writer has used a direct quotation from the source material and has correctly applied quotation marks and an in-text citation crediting Kerber's work.*

Kerber questions Rousseau's reputation as a social critic, noting that his "statements about women... usually reinforced the existing order" (23).

### Paraphrase:

*The writer has taken an idea from the source material and put it into her own words, using an in-text citation to credit Kerber's ideas.*

Kerber questions Rousseau's reputation as a social critic, noting that he always endorsed conventional views of women's roles (23).

### No need to cite:

*This sentence draws on common knowledge and does not require a citation.*

Rousseau was a prominent Enlightenment philosopher.

### Plagiarism:

*Here the writer plagiarized by failing to use quotation marks and by not inserting the proper citation, even though she directly quoted part of the source material.*

Rousseau was a prominent Enlightenment philosopher whose statements about women usually reinforced the existing order.

Or

*The writer presents paraphrased material but plagiarizes by failing to include a proper citation.*

Rousseau is generally perceived to have been a radical social thinker. Yet because of his traditional views on the role of women, his more extreme criticisms of male society may be more acceptable.

Note that rearranging a sentence or using a thesaurus search is still plagiarism, as is the failure to use quotation marks.

use). The particulars of your guidelines are going to reflect your own sense of good writing.

The very last point in the writing guidelines handout, on plagiarism, may require further guidelines. I have sat on honor council hearings for six years and have repeatedly heard these three defenses: (1) “The teacher did not explain plagiarism,” (2) “My culture/former school/other professors permit copying directly from the book,” and (3) “I printed the wrong file from my computer.” None of these is a good excuse, which does not prevent students’ repeated attempts to use them. Many of us therefore hand out precise explanations of plagiarism in a hopeful effort to prevent problems. My statement appears in the handout on manual page 419, and you are free to plagiarize it.

Plagiarism is usually fairly easy to discern, as you will note the complete absence of grammatical errors or the use of obscure archival sources. Proving plagiarism is a very difficult and time-consuming task, unless the miscreant plagiarizes from the textbook (a great deal more common than you might think). If you suspect plagiarism, inform your professor immediately.

Being proactive with your students’ essays is time-efficient, as it takes less time to read and grade a good essay than a bad one. So do not hesitate to welcome, or demand, outlines and rough drafts. You know from your own experience that good writing is the product of several drafts; demand the same of your students. The fifteen minutes required to go over an outline and/or rough draft with a student can save hours of explanation and defense based on an easily avoided misunderstanding.

## 6. Grading Tests and Papers

### Avoiding Uncertainty

Grading is a form of communication. The greatest complaint of students is the uncertainty of grading. You will almost always see more students in your office hours after the first grade has been awarded than at any other time during the semester; and what they will most want explained to them is why they received the exact grade they did—why a C+ and not an A. If you cannot explain the distinction, students will very often move on to the professor with bitter criticisms of incompetence on the part of the TA. The more you can make the subjective process of grading appear objective, the more useful and congenial the conversation will be with your students.

### Choosing a Grading System

With grading, it is best to provide the answer before the question is even framed. One approach is to define the

structure of your grading system in the professor’s course syllabus. Some instructors supply general rules of grading, emphasizing the characteristics they expect in a good paper. Others attempt to break down the exact parameters of grading, as much as that is possible, assigning definitions to each aspect of the grading process. Others try “blind grading,” having students use numbers instead of names on their papers. Personally, I find this approach an abdication of the teacher’s responsibility. Each student is different, each has specific needs and backgrounds, convictions and problems, all of which should be considered when grading a paper. Blind grading allows no opportunity to note improvement, let alone praise and reward it. Think very carefully about your understanding of the process of teaching before adopting such a procedure.

There is simply no way that anyone can provide hard standards for grading. On page 456 is an example of such a grading chart, which you are free to use if you like. This chart attempts to clarify the component parts of an essay and define the grade equivalent. Such a chart not only gives students a sense of the seriousness of your approach to grading but also provides the basis for any discussions about grading—if it does not forestall such conversations entirely. Obviously, this chart works on the assumption of an absolute standard rather than on some sort of modified bell curve, as is still used in a few colleges.

Two obvious points: (1) Particulars of this or any other such standard of grading will need some precise explanation, and (2) by being very rigorous in your statement on grading you allow yourself room for generosity when appropriate. Nonetheless, if you use a grading chart like this one, stick to it and use it as the basis for all conversations with students about their grades. If, in such a discussion, a student begins to wander to peripheral issues like the type style used, bring him or her back to the chart with the question, “Did I establish that as a necessary quality of your essay?” Similarly, if a student complains that you graded primarily on grammar and not enough on “my ideas” (a very common complaint), point out the importance you attached to language skills and make clear that the best ideas in the world are useless if no one can understand them. Suggest that your students think of the grading chart as the “rule book”; you do not argue with the umpire to switch to four strikes just this once.

### Commenting on Student Papers

All this preparation will be wasted if you cannot convey your judgments of their work to your students. In other words, grading is not just the assignment of a grade but an indication of the reasons for that grade. Do not just append a grade to the end of a student essay; write out a paragraph explaining your

Grade	Thesis	Analysis	Development and Support	Structure	Grammar
<b>A</b>	Essay based on a clear, precise, well-defined, and original thesis that goes beyond ideas discussed in class or the assigned readings.	Essay contains cogent analysis that demonstrates a command of interpretive and conceptual tasks required by assignment and course material.	The essay includes well-chosen examples, persuasive reasoning consistently applied, and solid evidence directly applicable to the thesis.	Essay moves easily from one point to the next with clear, smooth, and appropriate transitions, coherent organization, and fully developed paragraphs.	The author employs sophisticated sentences effectively, chooses words aptly, and observes all the conventions of English grammar to craft an eloquent essay.
<b>B</b>	A clear, specific thesis, central to the essay.	Demonstrates a solid understanding of the texts, ideas, and methods of the assignment.	Pursues thesis consistently, clearly developing a core argument with clear component points and appropriate supportive detail.	Clear transitions, the development of coherent, connected ideas in unified paragraphs.	A good command of English, though with occasional stylistic or grammatical problems (most commonly awkward syntax or excessive use of the passive voice).
<b>C</b>	A general thesis, central to the essay.	Shows an understanding of the basic ideas and information involved in the assignment, though with some errors of fact or confusion of interpretation, and a tendency toward recapitulations or narration of standard chronology.	Incomplete development of core argument; weak organization or shallow analysis, insufficiently articulated ideas, or unsupported generalizations.	Some awkward transitions, weak or undeveloped paragraphs not clearly connected to one another.	A tendency toward wordiness, unclear or awkward sentences, imprecise use of words, grammatical errors, and a vagueness of meaning brought on by the passive voice.
<b>D</b>	Vague or irrelevant thesis.	Inadequate command of course material with significant factual or conceptual errors. Fails to respond directly to the assignment.	Discursive and undeveloped, a mere narration that digresses from one topic to another.	Simplistic and discursive, tending to vague summations and digressions from one topic to another.	Major grammatical problems such as subject-verb disagreement, obscure pronouns, and sentence fragments. Language marred by clichés, colloquialisms, repeated inexact word choices, and gross spelling errors.
<b>F</b>	No discernible thesis.	Failure to understand class materials. Essay is not a response to the assignment.	Little or no development; a listing of the vaguest generalizations or misinformation.	No transitions and incoherent paragraphs.	Unreadable owing to the violation of the basic rules of grammar.

understanding of the reasons for that grade. Again, it saves time to be as precise as possible in these comments. It is vital that you leave the student with his or her self-respect intact, but you must also be completely clear as to what problems the paper has. The key here is to treat the final comments as a series of recommendations for improvement. Rather than saying something sarcastic, suggest that the student seek assistance at the college writing center. Rather than saying, "You did not understand this book," recommend that the student look again at the author's thesis as presented in the introduction. In short, work on the assumption that your students will want to go back and correct their errors in order to improve future essays.

You will no doubt feel the urge to correct every error of grammar, organization, and logic that you perceive while reading the essay. Avoid this impulse. It takes up far too much of your time and quite simply can depress a student to the point where he or she feels there is no hope. Highlight key problems with the essay, or circle examples of common errors. The student can then realistically tackle the major hurdles. An added advantage of this approach is that, should the student complain about his or her grade, you can go back and point out further problems, demonstrating the full level of your prior compassion and the justice of your generous grade.

Finally the day arrives when you must calculate a class grade for each student. Avoid sudden gifts, such as last-minute extra credit or forgiveness for some component of a grade for a specific student. Word will get out, and other students will demand similar treatment, even after grades have been turned in. Set a standard and stick to it. The course syllabus should state precisely the relative values of class assignments (for example, each essay equaling 25 percent of the class grade). The one place where you can allow yourself a little leeway in determining final grades is in class participation. Here is where you can reward those students who made positive contributions to the class over the term and penalize those who slept through class. If you have prepared well, no student will be surprised by his or her final grade. Still, it is wise to attach a clear calculation of the class grade to each student's final, reiterating the percentages assigned to each class assignment and recording every grade received by the student—for instance, "1st essay (25%): C+; 2nd essay (25%): B+; final (40%): B; class participation (10%): B+; final grade: B."

## 7. Dealing with Problems

Teaching carries with it problems large and small. Keep the distinction clear and avoid making those

problems easily solved into complicated situations that drain you of time and energy. An overly aggressive student whose conduct borders on sexual harassment is a large problem. A student who comes to you with tales of woe may become a large problem. Do not—repeat, DO NOT—attempt to deal with these large problems yourself. Every college employs people who are trained to handle these kinds of problems. At the very least, it is your professor who should address any complicated issues or threatening situations. Report any such matters to the professor immediately, and let others with more authority or professional preparation cope with them. Careers have been cut short by a TA's conviction that a major confrontation or talk of suicide was a joke. Disengage yourself as quickly as possible from an undergraduate's personal problems and let people with more experience and resources take over.

What is of concern to you are the little problems that arise as you learn any skill. No one is a born teacher any more than anyone is a born bicycle rider. Every teacher makes mistakes and confronts roadblocks; recognize them as part of your training, identify the problem, and work on it. Talk with your fellow TAs and professors about a specific difficulty and learn how they dealt with it. While students are most creative in inventing new crises for teachers, there are a few common difficulties you may encounter that we should consider.

You may not suffer from this trauma, but many students have a deep fear of speaking in public. You may observe a student who is a blabbermouth in the cafeteria yet clams up in your classroom. Usually, these students are just afraid of making fools of themselves. There are several ways of getting a shy student, or most of a quiet class, to participate. The first step is to avoid phrasing questions in a manner that implies only one answer (factual questions aside). Having the class write their responses to a specific question and read them out loud in class is very effective; even shy people feel safe reading aloud something they have already written. Breaking the class into smaller groups responsible for developing reactions to a historical problem also draws quieter students into the conversation, though you need to be particularly alert to the dynamic of each group.

On the other extreme are those who participate too much. A private conversation during your office hours is the best way to let a student know that, while you appreciate his or her contributions to the class discussion, you would like his or her help in drawing out some of the quieter students. All but the dimmest students will get the hint.

Often in the course of the day, you will find your class getting bogged down. Petty debate over minor details or a frustrating inability to understand the larger issues can prevent your making steady

progress. Worse still, you may discover that none of the students has done the assigned reading. It is important on these occasions not to lose your temper. Try, literally, to focus students' attention on something different. Illustrations in the textbook are especially effective for changing direction in a conversation or bringing home a point. For instance, if you are talking about the change from the Gilded Age to the Progressive Era and the discussion is starting to drag, turn to the illustrations in chapter 21 and ask the students to examine the presentation of children. Is there evidence in the photos by Jacob Riis of some shifting sensitivity to children, or are they just being used to make political points? Ask questions about the illustrations that require students to reflect on specific issues raised in the text or lectures. For example, turn to Paul Revere's engraving of the Boston Massacre in chapter 6 (p. 197) and ask, "What's wrong with this picture?" Once you have established that Revere manipulated the imagery of this event, you can connect the specific back to some larger point, such as the acceleration of anti-British feeling in America.

Illustrations have a way of waking up students and inspiring those who are most disengaged. Even a picture lacking obvious drama can bring forth deep passions and insights. It is easy to merely glance at an illustration such as "The African Slave Trade" in chapter 5 (p. 154) and turn quickly to the next page, but it is hard to remain passive after a close examination of the details of the image. Take the time to decode the seal of the Massachusetts Bay Company in chapter 4 (p. 108), with its central Indian saying, "Come over and help us," and consider the hypocrisy. Turn to chapter 22 and imagine yourself in 1917—how would you respond to this simple, tragic painting of the drowned mother and child? (p. 792) The textbook allows you to bring history to life and ensures that your class discussions reflect that drama.

There may be occasions when none of these methods works or when the problem persists class after class. One approach I do *not* like is that of outstaring students. Students, like most people, hate extended silences. I prefer to take the silence itself as a point worthy of discussion: "OK, my friends, why doesn't anyone want to talk today?" The few times I have found it necessary to ask such a question, the students have laughed and finally admitted that they just don't get it or that none of them has done the reading. For those who don't get it, I go back to the book, open it up, and start parsing a passage. To deal with students who simply fail to do the work, never forget—and this rule applies to all teaching problems—that you have the power of the grade. Sometimes it may just be appropriate to remind a student or the entire class that "F" is an option. A pop quiz can clarify this fact efficiently.

Better still, though, you can avoid such confrontations by careful preparation. It is important to remember that students want to resolve the intellectual problem under consideration. Begin by reaching an agreement on the nature of the topic under discussion, and keep clarifying that issue and where you are in the process—for instance, defining, suggesting hypotheses and evidence, evaluating alternatives—involving the students as much as possible. If you get a sense that many students are overwhelmed by the reading, provide them with questions beforehand to guide them through the material. It is vitally important to make sure students have done the reading, even if you are not confident of their level of understanding. Thus, the importance of never denigrating an initial interpretation; rather, build on it, find something positive to say about every comment, rephrase silly comments (and yes, there are dumb questions), write key phrases spoken by students on the board to encourage a sense of responsibility and pride in one's words, and link the comments of one student with those of another to get them to talk to each other and not just to you. Such extra energy early on will convince students that they can master the material and offer something of value. Nourish that confidence, as it is the very foundation of education.

## 8. Effective Teaching: Polishing Your Skills

Combine your enthusiasm for teaching with a practical appreciation for future employment. A TA-ship is the first step in building an academic career—every one of your professors was once a TA. The point of teaching is to be effective, to impart a body of information and a mode of analysis. The better you teach, the clearer your own perception of the workings of history, an insight that cannot but improve your dissertation.

And the accumulation of teaching experience will make any graduate student more attractive on the job market.

There are several ways of improving your teaching while building a supportive portfolio, which includes recommendations, evaluations, and references that you will show prospective employers. Ask your students for written evaluations and read them carefully. With time you may find these evaluations valuable components of a job application. Be honest with yourself in identifying weaknesses and work to correct flaws. Some methods of self-examination are more attractive than others; videotaping your class is painful but valuable. Just as you encourage your

students to show their rough drafts to friends, invite your adviser and any other professors with whom you are comfortable into your classroom so that they can suggest improvements and later attest to your teaching abilities in letters of recommendation.

Much of what is offered in this brief guide is given to you in the spirit of exploration. A great deal can be learned from talking with and observing experienced teachers, but that does not mean you should try to become some ideal type of a college professor. You will quickly discover your own voice and style as a teacher, and you should have no trouble retaining your sense of humor in the process. Do not hesitate to experiment—and abandon an idea if it flops. Some approaches work for some teachers and not for others.

One of my friends invented a game called “Pin the event on the trend.” She posts a time chart citing the major eras in American history—the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, and so on—and then hands out slips of paper with key events written on them, awarding candy to the student who places the event in the correct historical category. I have never replicated her balance of playful mockery of historical categorization and effective focus on the significance of chronology, but maybe you can. Do not be afraid to try something new. It is your classroom, your career—and teaching should be fun. With music, as Duke Ellington said, “If it sounds good, it is good.” With teaching, if it works for you, it is good teaching.

# Sample Syllabi

The following sample syllabi suggest ways to structure and pace your American history survey course using *The American Promise*, Fourth Edition; *Reading the American Past*, Fourth Edition; and several supplemental texts from the Historians at Work series and the Bedford Series in History and Culture. The syllabi cover the American history survey as taught in a two-semester sequence, a two-quarter sequence, and in a single semester.

## Sample Syllabus 1: American History to 1877 (Semester)

### Objectives

This course gives students an overview of the political, economic, social, and cultural history of America from ancient America through Reconstruction. Students will read a major textbook, selected primary documents, and three outside works. Through these readings, lectures, and class discussions, students will explore major themes in American history, such as colonization, the founding of a new nation, the forging of an American culture, the entrenchment of slavery, the coming of the Civil War, and the meaning of Reconstruction. Students will also examine the ways in which the marginalized and disaffected have struggled to ensure that America fulfills its promise.

### Required Texts

Be sure that the following assigned texts are available in the campus bookstore.

James Roark, et al., *The American Promise*, Fourth Edition, Vol. I (TAP)

Michael P. Johnson, *Reading the American Past*, Fourth Edition, Vol. I (RAP)

Neal Salisbury, ed., *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, by Mary Rowlandson

Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, eds., *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*, Second Edition

Paul Finkelman, *Dred Scott v. Sandford: A Brief History*

### Grading

Grades are based on student performance on scheduled quizzes and exams, three short essays, and class participation.

Exams—45% (15% each)

Quizzes—15% (5% each)

Papers—30% (10% each)

Class participation—10%

### Week 1: Introduction to Course and Ancient America

#### Tuesday

Introduction to Course

#### Thursday

Ancient America

Readings: TAP, chapter 1  
RAP, chapter 1

### Week 2: European Exploration

#### Tuesday

Europe in the Sixteenth Century

Readings: TAP, chapter 2, “Europe in the Age of Exploration” through “A Surprising New World in the Western Atlantic”

RAP, documents 2.1 and 2.2

**Thursday**  
 Conquest  
 Readings: TAP, chapter 2, "Spanish Exploration and Conquest" through "Conclusion"  
 RAP, documents 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5

### Week 3: The Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century

**Tuesday**  
 The Development of Chesapeake Society  
 Readings: TAP, chapter 3, "An English Colony on the Chesapeake" through "A Tobacco Society"  
 RAP, documents 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3

**Thursday**  
**QUIZ 1**  
 The Evolution of Chesapeake Society  
 Readings: TAP, chapter 3, "The Evolution of Chesapeake Society" through "Conclusion"  
 RAP, documents 3.4 and 3.5

### Week 4: The Northern and Middle Colonies in the Seventeenth Century

**Tuesday**  
 Puritan New England  
 Readings: TAP, chapter 4, "Puritan Origins: The English Reformation" through "The Evolution of New England Society"  
 RAP, documents 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5  
**Paper due on *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God***  
**Documentary: Good Wives**

**Thursday**  
 The Middle Colonies  
 Readings: TAP, chapter 4, "The Founding of the Middle Colonies" through "Conclusion"

### Week 5: Eighteenth-Century America

**Tuesday**  
 New England and the Middle Colonies  
 Readings: TAP, chapter 5, "A Growing Population and Expanding Economy in British North America" through "The Middle Colonies: Immigrants, Wheat, and Work"  
 RAP, documents 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3

**Thursday**  
 The South  
 Readings: TAP, chapter 5, "The Southern Colonies: Land of Slavery" through "Conclusion"  
 RAP, documents 5.4 and 5.5

### Week 6: Exam 1 and the Road to Independence

**Tuesday**  
**EXAM 1**

**Thursday**  
 The Colonial Crisis  
 Readings: TAP, chapter 6, "The Seven Years' War, 1754–1763" through "The Sugar and Stamp Acts, 1763–1765"  
 RAP, document 6.3

### Week 7: Independence

**Tuesday**  
 The Colonial Crisis  
 Readings: TAP, chapter 6, "The Townshend Acts and Economic Retaliation, 1767–1770" through "Conclusion"  
 RAP, documents 6.1, 6.2, 6.4, and 6.5

**Thursday**  
 The Revolution  
 Readings: TAP, chapter 7  
 RAP, chapter 7

### Week 8: A New Republic

**Tuesday**  
 Confederation America  
 Readings: TAP, chapter 8, "The Articles of Confederation" through "Confederation's Promblems"  
 RAP, documents 8.1, 8.2, and 8.3

**Thursday**  
 The Federal Constitution  
 Readings: TAP, chapter 8, "The United States Constitution" through "Conclusion"  
 RAP, documents 8.4 and 8.5

### Week 9: A New Nation

**Tuesday**  
 Stability and Change  
 Readings: TAP, chapter 9, "The Search for Stability" through "Hamilton's Economic Policies"  
 RAP, documents 9.1, 9.2, and 9.4

**Thursday**  
**QUIZ 2**  
 Conflicts  
 Readings: TAP, chapter 9, "Conflicts West, East, and South" through "Conclusion"  
 RAP, documents 9.3 and 9.5

**Week 10: Early National America****Tuesday**

Jeffersonian America

Readings: TAP, chapter 10, "Jefferson's Presidency" through "The Madisons in the White House"

RAP, chapter 10

**Documentary:** *Thomas Jefferson***Thursday**

Madison and His Successors

Readings: TAP, chapter 10, "Women's Status in the Early Republic" through "Conclusion"

**Week 11: Jacksonian Democracy****Tuesday**

Jacksonian Democracy, I

Readings: TAP, chapter 11, "The Market Revolution" through "Jackson Defines the Democratic Party"

**Thursday**

Jacksonian Democracy, II

Readings: TAP, chapter 11, "Cultural Shifts, Religion, and Reform" through "Conclusion"

RAP, chapter 11

**Paper due on** *The Cherokee Removal***Week 12: The New West and Free North and Exam 2****Tuesday**

The New West and Free North, 1840–1860

Readings: TAP, chapter 12

RAP, chapter 12

**Thursday****EXAM 2****Week 13: The Slave South****Tuesday**

The Political Economy of the Old South

Readings: TAP, chapter 13, "The Growing Distinctiveness of the South" through "Slaves and the Quarter"

RAP, documents 13.1, 13.2, and 13.3

**Thursday**

On the Margins—Free Blacks and Poor Whites

Readings: TAP, chapter 13, "Black and Free: On the Middle Ground" through "Conclusion"  
RAP, documents 13.4 and 13.5**Week 14: The House Divided****Tuesday**

Crisis and Compromise

Readings: TAP, chapter 14, "The Bitter Fruits of War" through "Realignment of the Party System"

RAP, documents 14.1, 14.2, and 14.3

**Thursday****QUIZ 3**

The Collapse of the Union

Readings: TAP, chapter 14, "Freedom under Siege" through "Conclusion"

RAP, documents 14.4 and 14.5

**Paper due on** *Dred Scott v. Sandford: A Brief History***Documentary:** *Africans in America, episode 4, "Judgment Day—1831–1865"***Week 15: The Civil War****Tuesday**

"And the War Came"

Readings: TAP, chapter 15, "'And the War Came'" through "Union and Freedom"

RAP, documents 15.1 and 15.2

**Thursday**

Union Victory

Readings: TAP, chapter 15, "The South at War" through "Conclusion"

RAP, documents 15.3, 15.4, and 15.5

**Week 16: Reconstruction****Tuesday**

Wartime and Presidential Reconstruction

Readings: TAP, chapter 16, "Wartime Reconstruction" through "Presidential Reconstruction"

RAP, documents 16.1, 16.2, and 16.3

**Thursday**

Congressional Reconstruction

Readings: TAP, chapter 16, "Congressional Reconstruction" through "Conclusion"

RAP, documents 16.4 and 16.5

**Week 17: Final Exam**

## Sample Syllabus 2: American History to 1877 (Quarter)

### Objectives

This course gives students an overview of the political, economic, social, and cultural history of America from ancient America through Reconstruction. Students will read a major textbook, selected primary documents, and two outside works. Through these readings, lectures, and class discussions, students will explore major themes in American history, such as colonization, the founding of a new nation, the forging of an American culture, the entrenchment of slavery, the coming of the Civil War, and the meaning of Reconstruction. Students will also examine the ways in which the marginalized and disaffected have struggled to ensure that America fulfills its promise.

### Required Texts

Be sure that the following assigned texts are on sale in the campus bookstore.

James Roark, et al., *The American Promise*, Fourth Edition, Vol. I (TAP)

Michael P. Johnson, *Reading the American Past*, Fourth Edition, Vol. I (RAP)

Edward Countryman, ed., *How Did American Slavery Begin?*

Harry L. Watson, *Andrew Jackson vs. Henry Clay: Democracy and Development in Antebellum America*

### Grading

Grades are based on student performance on scheduled quizzes and exams, two short essays, and class participation.

Exams—45% (15% each)

Quizzes—15% (5% each)

Papers—30% (15% each)

Class participation—10%

### Week 1: Introduction to Course and Ancient America

#### Wednesday

Introduction to Course

#### Friday

Ancient America

Readings: TAP, chapter 1

RAP, chapter 1

### Week 2: Exploration, Conquest, and Colonization

#### Monday

Europe in the Sixteenth Century

Readings: TAP, chapter 2, "Europe in the Age of Exploration" through "A Surprising New World in the Western Atlantic"

RAP, documents 2.1 and 2.2

#### Wednesday

##### QUIZ 1

Conquest

Readings: TAP, chapter 2, "Spanish Exploration and Conquest" through "Conclusion"

RAP, documents 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5

#### Friday

Colonization in the Chesapeake

Readings: TAP, chapter 3, "An English Colony on the Chesapeake" through "A Tobacco Society"

RAP, documents 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3

### Week 3: Colonization

#### Monday

Toward a Slave Labor System

Readings: TAP, chapter 3, "The Evolution of Chesapeake Society" through "Conclusion"

RAP, documents 3.4 and 3.5

**Paper due on *How Did American Slavery Begin?***

#### Wednesday

Puritan New England

Readings: TAP, chapter 4, "Puritan Origins: The English Reformation" through "The Evolution of New England Society"

RAP, chapter 4

#### Friday

The Middle Colonies

Readings: TAP, chapter 4, "The Founding of the Middle Colonies" through "Conclusion"

### Week 4: Colonial America in the Eighteenth Century and Exam 1

#### Monday

New England and the Middle Colonies

Readings: TAP, chapter 5, "A Growing Population and Expanding Economy in British North America" through "The Middle Colonies: Immigrants, Wheat, and Work"  
 RAP, documents 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3

**Wednesday****The Southern Colonies**

Readings: TAP, chapter 5, "The Southern Colonies: Land of Slavery" through "Conclusion"  
 RAP, documents 5.4 and 5.5

**Friday****EXAM 1****Week 5: The Road to Independence****Monday****Imperial Crisis, I**

Readings: TAP, chapter 6, "The Seven Years' War, 1754–1763" through "The Sugar and Stamp Acts, 1763–1765"  
 RAP, document 6.3

**Wednesday****Imperial Crisis, II**

Readings: TAP, chapter 6, "The Townshend Acts and Economic Retaliation, 1767–1770" through "Conclusion"  
 RAP, Documents 6.1, 6.2, 6.4, and 6.5

**Friday****Revolution**

Readings: TAP, chapter 7  
 RAP, chapter 7

**Week 6: A New Republic: A New Nation****Monday****Confederation America**

Readings: TAP, chapter 8, "The Articles of Confederation" through "Confederation's Problems"  
 RAP, documents 8.1, 8.2, and 8.3

**Wednesday****The Federal Constitution**

Readings: TAP, chapter 8, "The United States Constitution" through "Conclusion"  
 RAP, documents 8.4 and 8.5

**Friday****The Search for Stability**

Readings: TAP, chapter 9, "The Search for Stability" through "Hamilton's Economic Policies"  
 RAP, documents 9.1, 9.2, and 9.4

**Week 7: Early National America****Monday****Conflict**

Readings: TAP, chapter 9, "Conflicts West, East, and South" through "Conclusion"  
 RAP, documents 9.3 and 9.5

**Wednesday****QUIZ 2****Jeffersonian America**

Readings: TAP, chapter 10, "Jefferson's Presidency" through "The Madisons in the White House"  
 RAP, chapter 10  
**Documentary:** *Thomas Jefferson*

**Friday****Madison and His Successors**

Readings: TAP, chapter 10, "Women's Status in the Early Republic" through "Conclusion"

**Week 8: Jacksonian America and the Entrenchment of Slavery****Monday****Cultural Shifts**

Readings: TAP, chapter 11, "The Market Revolution" through "Jackson Defines the Democratic Party"

**Wednesday****Jacksonian Democracy**

Readings: TAP, chapter 11, "Cultural Shifts, Religion, and Reform" through "Conclusion"  
 RAP, chapter 11  
**Paper due on** *Andrew Jackson vs. Henry Clay*

**Friday****The New West and Free North, 1840–1860**

Readings: TAP, chapter 12

RAP, chapter 12

**Week 9: Exam 2 and the Slave South****Monday****EXAM 2**

**Wednesday**

The Political Economy of the Old South

Readings: TAP, chapter 13, "The Growing Distinctiveness of the South" through "Slaves and the Quarter"

RAP, documents 13.1, 13.2, and 13.3

**Friday**

On the Margins—Free Blacks and Poor Whites

Readings: TAP, chapter 13, "Black and Free: On the Middle Ground" through "Conclusion"

RAP, documents 13.4 and 13.5

**Week 10: The Road to Disunion****Monday**

The House Divided

Readings: TAP, chapter 14, "The Bitter Fruits of War" through "Realignment of the Party System"

RAP, documents 14.1, 14.2, and 14.3

**Wednesday****QUIZ 3**

Crisis

Readings: TAP, chapter 14, "Freedom under Siege" through "Conclusion"

RAP, Documents 14.3 and 14.4

**Friday**

"And the War Came"

Readings: TAP, chapter 15, "'And the War Came'" through "Union and Freedom"

RAP, documents 15.1 and 15.2

**Week 11: War and Reunion****Monday**

Union Victory

Readings: TAP, chapter 15, "The South at War" through "Conclusion"

RAP, documents 15.3, 15.4, and 15.5

**Wednesday**

Wartime and Presidential Reconstruction

Readings: TAP, chapter 16, "Wartime Reconstruction" through "Presidential Reconstruction"

RAP, documents 16.1, 16.2, and 16.3

**Friday**

Congressional Reconstruction

Readings: TAP, chapter 16, "Congressional Reconstruction" through "Conclusion"

RAP, documents 16.4 and 16.5

**Week 12: Final Exam**

# Sample Syllabus 3: American History, 1492 to Present (Semester)

## Objectives

This course gives students an overview of the political, economic, social, and cultural history of America from the age of European exploration and conquest to the present. Students will read a major textbook, selected primary documents, and three outside works. Through these readings, lectures, and class discussions, students will explore major themes in American history, such as colonization, the founding of a new nation, the forging of an American culture, warfare, the expansion of the nation-state, and the rise of the United States as a global power. Students will also examine the ways in which the marginalized and disaffected have struggled to ensure that America fulfills its promise.

## Required Texts

Be sure that the following assigned texts are on sale in the campus bookstore.

James Roark, et al., *The American Promise*, Fourth Edition (TAP)

Michael P. Johnson, *Reading the American Past*, Fourth Edition, Vols. I-II (RAP)

Jack N. Rakove, *Declaring Rights: A Brief History with Documents*

Terrence J. McDonald, ed., *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall* by William L. Riordon

James S. Olson and Randy Roberts, *My Lai: A Documentary History*

## Grading

Grades are based on student performance on scheduled quizzes and exams, two short essays, and class participation.

Exams—45% (15% each)

Quizzes—15% (5% each)

Papers—30% (15% each)

Class participation—10%

## Week 1: Introduction to Course and European Exploration of America

### Tuesday

Introduction to Course

### Thursday

Europeans Encounter the New World, 1492–1600

Readings: TAP, chapter 2

RAP, chapter 2

## Week 2: American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century

### Tuesday

The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1601–1700

Readings: TAP, chapter 3

RAP, chapter 3

### Thursday

The Northern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1601–1700

Readings: TAP, chapter 4

RAP, chapter 4

## Week 3: Eighteenth-Century America

### Tuesday

Colonial America in the Eighteenth Century, 1701–1770

Readings: TAP, chapter 5

RAP, chapter 5

### Thursday

#### QUIZ 1

The British Empire and the Colonial Crisis, 1754–1775

Readings: TAP, chapter 6

RAP, chapter 6

## Week 4: Independence

### Tuesday

The War for America, 1775–1783

Readings: TAP, chapter 7

RAP, chapter 7

### Thursday

Building a Republic, 1775–1789

Readings: TAP, chapter 8

RAP, chapter 8

## Week 5: Early Nationalism

### Tuesday

The New Nation Takes Form, 1789–1800

Readings: TAP, chapter 9

RAP, chapter 9

**Paper due on *Declaring Rights: A Brief History with Documents***

**Thursday**

Republicans in Power, 1800–1824  
Readings: TAP, chapter 10

RAP, chapter 10

**Week 6: Exam 1 and the Rise of Jacksonian Democracy**

**Tuesday**

**EXAM 1**

**Thursday**

The Expanding Republic, 1815–1840  
Readings: TAP, chapter 11

RAP, chapter 11

**Week 7: “Freedom” in Antebellum America**

**Tuesday**

The New West and Free North, 1840–1860  
Readings: TAP, chapter 12

RAP, chapter 12

**Thursday**

The Slave South, 1820–1860  
Readings: TAP, chapter 13

RAP, chapter 13

**Week 8: The Road to Disunion**

**Tuesday**

The House Divided, 1846–1861  
Readings: TAP, chapter 14

RAP, chapter 14

**Thursday**

The Crucible of War, 1861–1865  
Readings: TAP, chapter 15

RAP, chapter 15

**Week 9: America after the War**

**Tuesday**

**QUIZ 2**

Reconstruction, 1863–1877  
Readings: TAP, chapter 16

RAP, chapter 16

**Thursday**

The Contested West, 1870–1900  
Readings: TAP, chapter 17

RAP, chapter 17

**Week 10 Business and Politics in the Gilded Age**

**Tuesday**

Business and Politics in the Gilded Age, 1870–1895  
Readings: TAP, chapter 18

RAP, chapter 18

**Paper due on *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall***

**Thursday**

The City and Its Workers, 1870–1900  
Readings: TAP, chapter 19

RAP, chapter 19

**Week 11: American and the Dawn of a New Century**

**Tuesday**

Dissent, Depression, and War, 1890–1900  
Readings: TAP, chapter 20

RAP, chapter 20

**Thursday**

Progressivism from the Grass Roots to the White House, 1890–1916

Readings: TAP, chapter 21

RAP, chapter 21

**Week 12: Exam 2 and World War I**

**Tuesday**

**EXAM 2**

**Thursday**

World War I: The Progressive Crusade at Home and Abroad, 1914–1920

Readings: TAP, chapter 22

RAP, chapter 22

**Week 13: From Prosperity to the Depression**

**Tuesday**

From New Era to Great Depression, 1920–1932  
Readings: TAP, chapter 23

RAP, chapter 23

**Thursday**

The New Deal Experiment, 1932–1939  
Readings: TAP, chapter 24

RAP, chapter 24

**Week 14: World War II and Cold War America****Tuesday**

The United States and the Second World War,  
1939–1945  
Readings: TAP, chapter 25

RAP, chapter 25

**Thursday**

**QUIZ 3**  
Cold War Politics in the Truman Years, 1945–1953  
Readings: TAP, chapter 26

RAP, chapter 26

**Week 15: Conformity and Rebellion****Tuesday**

The Politics and Culture of Abundance, 1952–1960  
Readings: TAP, chapter 27

RAP, chapter 27

**Thursday**

Reform, Rebellion, and Reaction, 1960–1974  
Readings: TAP, chapter 28

RAP, chapter 28

**Week 16: Vietnam and the Conservative Counterrevolution****Tuesday**

Vietnam and the Limits of Power, 1961–1975  
Readings: TAP, chapter 29

RAP, chapter 29

Paper due on *My Lai: A Documentary History*

**Thursday**

America Moves to the Right, 1969–1989  
Readings: TAP, chapter 30

RAP, chapter 30

**Week 17: Final Exam**

























