

## CHAPTER 2

**1. Puritan Separatists/Plymouth Plantation/Pilgrims/Mayflower Compact:** Puritan Separatists were a group of English Puritans who left England to seek religious freedom. They first went to the Netherlands, and in 1620 to America. They were sponsored by Thomas Weston and other merchants who had received a patent for a settlement from the Virginia Company of London. Eighteen families went across the Atlantic in the Mayflower with the agreement that they would send back goods to England to pay for their new land. In November of 1620, the Mayflower landed at Plymouth, outside the bounds of Virginia. Since they had no legal right to be there, leaders forced adult males in the group to sign the Mayflower Compact that created a civil government for all of them, also called a "civil body politic" under the sovereignty of James I. This group of Puritans known as "Pilgrims" created the colony of Plymouth Plantation. The colony was aided by the knowledge of local Indians.

**2. Sir Walter Raleigh** came to North America as part of Elizabethan expansion in 1585, because of a lust for action and a readiness to lead overseas adventures. In 1585, Raleigh sponsored a colony on **Roanoke Island** off of what is now North Carolina. Raleigh founded this colony based on the dream of a place where the English, Spanish, and Blacks could live together in a productive colony sponsored by England. The leader of the colony, John White, went back to England to get supplies however, when he returned he found nothing. Roanoke came to be known as the "Lost Colony". The failure of Roanoke delayed the establishment of more English colonies for seventeen years.

**3. Richard Hakluyt**, an associate of Sir Walter Raleigh and a geographer, was a member of the company of adventures promoting the colonization of Virginia. He published collections of explorers' accounts *The Principle Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*. He argued that England needed colonies to protect itself against Spain. His books circulated widely, popularizing the idea of settlement and enticing interest in it throughout England.

**4. Virginia Company of Plymouth** was chartered by King James I in 1606 for merchants and others who wanted to set up trading colonies in America, from Maine to the Potomac. A colony was founded on the Maine coast, but failed after one harsh winter. The charter of the failed Virginia Company of Plymouth was bought by a group of Puritan Separatists, who were seeking to escape religious intolerance. Puritans established Plymouth Colony in 1620 near the place where the previous colony failed.

**5. Virginia Company of London** was chartered by King James I in 1606 to settle lands extending from Cape Fear north to the Hudson River (made possible after Spain renounced its claims to Virginia). This grant overlapped with the one issued to Virginia Company of Plymouth, and it was understood that the land in question would go to first successful colonizer. 105 settlers dispatched to settlement on the James River near Chesapeake Bay (called Jamestown) in 1607. First colonists (mostly single men of English gentry) searched for gold and failed to plant crops. By the time relief ships arrived in January 1608, only 38 survivors remained. Company gave control of Jamestown in September 1608 to Captain John Smith (28, experienced in wars against Spanish and Turks). Smith instituted harsh discipline, organized settlers and required them to build houses and plant food. When Smith returned England after serious injuries, of the 500 residents in Sept. 1609, only 100 lived to May 1610. By 1625, the Virginia Co. of London declared bankruptcy after years of wars against Indians and Virginia became a royal colony.

**6. Jamestown** was founded in 1607 by the Virginia Company of London, near the Chesapeake Bay. The first colonists hunted for gold instead of farming and the colony was run by anarchy until the arrival of John Smith in 1608, a soldier who instituted harsh discipline. The colony was also plagued by many problems with the Indians, except when Smith was in charge. Smith had to leave in 1609 and the colony crumbled. Shortly after John Rolfe took over and introduced the growing of tobacco, which helped them prosper. In 1619 the colony started the House of Burgesses, the beginning of representative government in North America.

**7. Captain John Smith** left for America with the London Company in 1606. Upon arrival he was appointed to the governing council of Jamestown. He helped to establish trade routes and lead colonists and settlers through the winter of "starving time" as a resourceful leader only losing 12 men. He was also successful in creating good ties with the Powhatan Confederacy.

**8. John Rolfe** was an Englishman who married Pocahontas and figured out how to grow tobacco in Virginia. Virginia had previously been relatively small due to a lack of profitable exports and war with the Powhatan Indians. By 1619, Virginia was making enormous profits by exporting the tobacco. The Virginia Company then financed the colony and brought over many more settlers (mostly families and women to encourage permanence).

**9. The House of Burgesses** was the first elected assembly in British North America. It was established in Virginia in 1619 and was comprised of 22 burgesses (2 chosen by the planters of each town or plantation) and the governor. By mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, the government of Virginia split into a bicameral legislature—the elected House of Burgesses became its lower house and the Governor's Council or upper house was appointed by the crown. This form of legislation became the prototype for US congress.

**10. Mayflower Compact (see #1)**

## CHAPTER 3

**11. Puritan Non-Separatists/Massachusetts Bay Company/"City Upon a Hill":** The Massachusetts Bay Company, made up of several Non-Puritan merchants, obtained a charter to settle north of the Separatist colony at Plymouth. The colony's seat of government was located in New England, set up as self-governing colony under Gov John Winthrop. In 1630 Winthrop led 11 ships and 700 passengers to New England. On the way, he delivered "A City Upon a Hill" sermon, which set out the new Puritan colony to be the ideal colony, an example to England, revive piety, and make England a nation of saints.

**12. Governor John Winthrop** was the leader of the Non-Separatist Puritans who sailed to New England in 1630. On the way, he delivered the famous sermon "A Model of Christian Charity", also known as the "city upon a hill" sermon. In this speech, Winthrop proclaimed his hope that Puritans would establish a "godly community", (in contrast to England), that would be an example to all. Winthrop especially denounced the economic competition that hindered the creation of a pious community and proposed to remedy it by combined forces of religion and government.

**13. Roger Williams** was a minister who preached complete separation of church and state and challenged the legal basis of congregationalism. He argued that church should remain distinct from and uninvolved with political or legal matters as he believed these would corrupt the saints and contaminate their purity. He also believed that Indians should be paid for lands taken by new settlers. Prosecuted and expelled, he moved south where he established a city he named Providence, on land he purchased from Indians. By 1647, as more dissenters moved there, Providence became based on complete freedom of religion.

**14. Harvard College** was founded by the Puritans in 1636 to train clergy for their congregations and to administer the community of saints. This made Massachusetts the only American colony with an educated elite class in the 17<sup>th</sup> c.

**15. Reverend John Cotton** was the chief architect of the Non Separatists' idea of congregationalism (see chapter outline). He gave the idea that the control of the colony should be placed in the hands of male saints. He laid the foundations for the Puritan theocracy. This eventually proved to be controversial and led to much dissent (Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson).

**16. Anne Hutchinson** presented a challenge to the traditional New England ways. Many of her ideas came from those of John Cotton who stressed that saints be free of religious or political control by anyone who had not undergone 'conversion.' She attacked the clergy, and ultimately claimed that there were only two saints in the colony, John Cotton and her brother in law. Her followers were known as Antinomians, meaning they opposed the rule of law. She was brought to trial before the Massachusetts Bay Legislature. She was "condemned by her own words" (since she claimed she had directly communicated with Holy Spirit). She was tried twice--once for sedition and then for heresy, and was banished. Thereafter, new restrictions were placed on women. She settled in New Netherlands where she died in Dutch wars against Indians.

**17. Pequot Indians** controlled lands between the Hudson and Connecticut river valleys. As more settlers moved into New England, pressure for land led to confrontations. The English waged a ruthless campaign against them, using surprise attacks on their villages and killing under torture all they captured. By late 1630s, Pequot resistance was crushed. Another New England conflict involving Indians is the **King Philip's War** in the 1670s. The conflict began in Plymouth Plantation as Separatist Puritans, eager to expand their lands, demanded that Wampanoag Indians convert to Christianity, congregate in 'praying towns' and relinquish their lands. Metacom, a Native American leader known as King Philip, gathered two-thirds of the Native Americans of New England. Their army was as well armed as the Puritans. Metacom's forces started out strong, devastating the countryside and wiping out twelve of New England's 90 towns. Things changed the next year in 1676 when the Puritan militia destroyed the opposition's food supplies and sold many of the enemies into slavery. The war reduced the Indian population in New England by almost 40% and reduced open Indian resistance to white expansion. It also ended missionary work among the Indians.

**18. Salem Witch Trials** plagued New England Puritan communities in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century (1692) Several girls in Salem Village began behaving strangely and denouncing saints and were therefore thought to be victims of witchcraft and were immediately imprisoned. Most often the women accused were middle-aged wives and widows. The accused mostly resided in the eastern section of Salem, the richer side, and the accusers resided mostly in the west, the poorer side. Those condemned were executed. The "witch hunt" was greatly a result of worry about the new social changes (see class notes). Accusations of witchcraft were simply scapegoating to avoid growing tensions between farmers that were community-minded and merchants that were individually concerned. These tensions heightened realization that "city upon a hill" was no longer relevant to new generations

**19. Lord Baltimore** received his grant or proprietorship from the crown as reward in 1632. This was the beginning of land grants being awarded to proprietors as opposed to joint stock companies. He named the large tract east of Chesapeake Bay Maryland in honor England's Queen Henrietta Maria. He exercised broad powers despite the existence of an elected assembly, which had to approve all laws, and despite the fact that matters of trade and war remained under the jurisdiction of the Crown. He intended the new colony as a haven for English Catholics, though it was mostly settled by Protestants. Catholics held important offices in government and dominated the economy as large planters. He enacted Act Religious Toleration in 1649.

**20. Act of Religious Toleration** was passed in 1649, the first such law in colonial North America. It was to tame the religious tension that had gradually developed in Maryland as Catholics and Protestants argued over distribution of power (Catholics were large planters and controlled the appointive upper house, while Protestants were mostly tenant farmers and sought office in the elective lower house). The Protestant majority eventually repealed the act.

**21. Bacon's Rebellion** began in 1676, when Nathaniel Bacon, a member of Virginia's Royal Council, was elected by many settlers to lead them against nearby Indians. Bacon wanted authority to wage war against *all* Indians. Pressured by former indentured servants seeking cheap land on the frontier, Virginia passed a law that stipulated that all Indians who left their villages were to be considered enemies and their lands could be confiscated. This unleashed a campaign of violence against them. The Governor recalled Bacon and his troops. Bacon then turned against Virginia, offering freedom to slaves and servants, to undermine the economic backbone of the landed elite. Bacon's death of dysentery brought the rebellion to an end. Bacon's Rebellion revealed a society "under deep internal stress"--the inability of the governor and legislative body to control the land-hungry ex-indentured servants as well as the fragile hold of the governor on individuals living within the colony; it also reflected the scramble for Indian lands as more people settled in the region and as freed indentured servants moved to the frontier seeking cheap land.

**22. Peter Stuyvesant** was the strict and religiously intolerant leader of the New Netherlands colony. The involvement of his colony in the fur trade often led to clashes with the Iroquois and the Algonquians. He expanded New Netherlands by conquering New Sweden (present day New Jersey and Delaware and southeastern Pennsylvania) in 1655, which led to armed conflict with the Algonquians. His lands were settled by Dutch, Swedes, English Quakers, Anglicans, Puritans, Scottish Presbyterians, and Dutch Calvinists. Economic opportunities helped maintain religious harmony until he was forced to peacefully surrender his land to England's Charles II in 1664..

**23. Society of Friends/Quakers** were a religious body originating in England in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> c. led by George Fox. Claiming that no theologically trained priest is needed to establish communion between the soul and God, Fox taught that everyone could receive understanding and guidance in divine truth from their own inner light. The Friends regarded sacraments as nonessential to Christian life. They refused to attend worship in the established church and to pay tithes. They also resisted the requirement to take oaths and opposed war. Believing in the equality of all men and women, Friends would not remove their hats before their alleged superiors. Consequently, they were subject to persecution in England. They settled in Rhode Island and in Pennsylvania, where in 1682 William Penn established his colony. After the Revolution, Friends took part in major reform movements: abolitionism, prison reform, improvement of insane asylums, mitigation of penal code, and betterment of education.

**24. William Penn** was appointed as proprietor of the last unallocated tract of English territory--Pennsylvania. A Quaker, he founded the colony as "holy experiment" and offered Quakers the opportunity to make laws according to their ideals. Pennsylvania seemed the ideal community: religious toleration and economic opportunity allowed Indians, Quakers, Presbyterians, Baptists, Anglicans, and Catholics to live in harmony. He founded Philadelphia with a grid design, allowing for parks, and his frame of government created a strong executive under his leadership. Under Penn, Indian lands were bought to accommodate increasing numbers of settlers. Named "The City of Brotherly Love," **Philadelphia** became the capital of PA and a major port.

**25. Frame of Government** (constitution), established by William Penn, featured a strong executive branch (a governor and governor's council) and a lower chamber (the assembly) with limited power. Penn hated intolerance and arbitrary governance, so he offered Quakers the opportunity to make laws according to their ideals. The frame established a strong executive (governor and his council) and a lower chamber or assembly with limited legislative powers. Quakers dominated the lower chamber and Penn often named them to government positions. Penn's "peaceable kingdom" turned into a mess after he returned to England for about 15 years, as large planters refused to pay taxes and tariffs. By the 18<sup>th</sup> c, the legislature was reduced to one chamber and was allowed to initiate legislation. Nonetheless, PA remained one of the more stable colonies in British North America.

#### CHAPTER 4

**26. Navigation Acts of 1651, 1660, 1663** were laws that limited imperial trade to British-owned ships whose crews were 3/4 British in an attempt to improve British merchant fleet. They mandated that the colonial export of "enumerated goods" pass through England. These regulations lowered profits of rice and tobacco producers only by 3%; colonial trade remained lucrative.

**27. Sir Edmund Andros** was governor of New York (1674–81) where he was bitterly criticized for his high-handed methods in disputes over boundaries and duties. When James II consolidated all New England colonies into the Dominion of New England, he named Andros governor. In 1688, New York and the Jerseys were also put under his control. The suppression of charters and colonial assemblies and Andros' overbearing ways caused intense friction. After the Glorious Revolution, the colonials in Boston rebelled (1689), seized Andros and other officials, and sent them to England as prisoners, thus directly challenging the Crown's centralization attempts. The Dominion of New England was dismantled and colonists reclaimed their original charters.

**28. Leisler's Rebellion** is the 1689 New York rebellion led by Jacob Leisler, who was one of New York's most prominent Dutch merchants and land developers. In the wake of the Glorious Revolution, he assumed the role of King William III's (himself a Dutchman) governor of New York. Leisler's administration of New York split the province into two distinct camps, along ethnic lines (Dutch and English). Leisler's rebellion controlled New York for two years, but eventually ended in 1691. Reluctant to relinquish power to the newly appointed royal governor, Leisler himself was charged and hanged for treason. The province was ultimately returned to English control, and reprisals against Dutch rebels took place. The new governor introduced Anglicanism, against the wishes of the dissenting majority. Leisler implemented a program based on direct popular representation that had wide impact from the Chesapeake to New England. The following year he called for and hosted English America's first inter-colonial congress and organized the first inter-colonial military action against French and Indians. While Dutch-English tension did not disappear with the end of Leisler's rebellion, the Dutch were never again a real threat to English control of the province.

**29. King William's War** began between a European coalition including England against France and led British colonists of the northeast to invade New France. The Iroquois fought on the British side, lost nearly 1/4 of their warriors and decided to remain neutral in future wars. This allowed them to play the British and French against one another, maintaining balance of power.

**30. Stono Rebellion** of 1739 is a slave uprising in South Carolina. The slaves stole guns and ammunition from a store on the Stono River Bridge near Charleston and began marching South toward St. Augustine, in Spanish Florida. They recruited more slaves along the way. The Spanish, looking to cause unrest within the English colonies, had issued a proclamation stating that any slave who deserted to St Augustine would be given land and freedom. Some plantations were burned and some planters were killed. Mounted militiamen captured the slaves and killed them, placing their spiked heads along mileposts to Charleston. The rebellion 'proved' southern planters' fears of imminent slave uprisings and led to the adoption of a slave code that mandated strict supervision of slaves and threatened masters with fines for not disciplining their slaves. The code also required that manumission (the freeing of slaves by an individual planter) be subject to legislative approval. The code prohibited slaves from owning food, learning to read, and assembling in groups. The harsh punishment against the runaways also postponed the occurrence of large scale slave rebellions in the South.

**31. The Walking Purchase** was a result of Pennsylvania's thrust against the Delawares' land. Having already taken over most of their lands in the early 18<sup>th</sup> c, Pennsylvania leaders produced a fraudulent document, dated 1686, in which Delawares promised to sell their land as far west as a man could walk in a day and half. Pennsylvania leaders hired three men to walk west as fast as they could and demanded that the land be ceded to PA. This episode indicates how depopulation and dislocation of Indians allowed for colonial expansion in the piedmont. The Delawares were forced to move, and the proprietors made a huge profits.

**32. Covenant Chain** was a series of agreements the Iroquois entered to relocate Indians, whose lands colonists desired. Tribes were moved to areas near NY and PA, to serve as buffers against English expansion. By agreeing to the covenant, the Iroquois created a center of Indian power that cooperated with the British, who then issued the Proclamation Line of 1763 to protect them.

**33. Georgia/James Oglethorpe:** Georgia was chartered by Parliament as a royal colony to be a refuge for debtors, whose settlements would buffer South Carolina from Spanish attacks. James Oglethorpe was an English general and a member of the English House of Commons. He and 19 associates were granted a royal charter for Georgia and became trustees of the colony. He founded Savannah, established friendly relations with neighboring Creeks, and set about perfecting the colony's defense against the Spanish, building forts. He banned rum and slavery in the colony, which aroused opposition. This led to his recall to England. Since few debtors and immigrants sought refuge in Georgia and since the monarchy's investments in the silk and wine business did not yield major profits, the trustees of Georgia removed the ban on rum and slavery in order to encourage settlement and the cultivation of rice as a cash crop. The founding of Georgia completes British settlement on the Atlantic coast.

**34. Benjamin Franklin/Poor Richard's Almanac/American Philosophical Society:** Franklin was a printer, philosopher, and scientist. Upon moving to Philadelphia, he gathered a small group of young men with a zest for learning and began publishing *Poor Richard's Almanac*, which was a collection of proverbs. Franklin believed that science and community service were intertwined. He organized the American Philosophical Society to encourage "all philosophical experiments that let light into the nature of things, tend to increase the power of man over matter and multiply the conveniences and pleasures of life." His publications, his clear and precise style, and wit helped disseminate the ideas of the Enlightenment in British North America.

**35. Jonathan Edwards** was a Congregationalist minister during First Great Awakening. He emphasized the corruption of human nature, the fury of divine wrath, and the need for immediate repentance. Edwards preached the famous sermon "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" during a revival in Northampton, Mass., in which he warned the wicked of the terrible punishments awaiting them in the afterlife. Though he upheld such Calvinistic doctrines as predestination, he insisted that man had freedom to choose alternative courses when forces outside him "inclined" his will to choose (influence of Enlightenment). He created much controversy because he refused to give communion to unconverted church members. After serving as a missionary to Indians in Stockbridge, MA, he became president of College of New England (now Princeton) in 1758, but died that same year.

**36. George Whitefield** was an English cleric whose overpowering presence and booming voice awed many crowds. He pulled together the "diverse threads of revival" but also attracted many extremists, which led to divisions within the revival movement. Whitefield was the leader of the Calvinistic Methodist Church.

## CHAPTER 5

**37. King George's War**, known in Europe as the War of the Austrian Succession, pitted England against France 1740-1748. During this war, the New Englanders' assault of the French fortress of Louisbourg in Nova Scotia, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, resulted in the victory of the American colonists. However, in a treaty signed with the French in 1748, the British traded Louisbourg back in exchange for privileges in South Asia. This led to colonist resentment because it showed that the American colonies did not present a focus of Great Britain's imperial policy.

**38. Louisbourg** was a French fortress in Nova Scotia, at the entrance to the St. Lawrence River. Colonial recruits from New England attacked it during King George's War, and after 7 weeks of fighting, emerged victorious. In a 1748 treaty with the French, the British traded Louisbourg for a trade outpost in India. Colonists were upset at how their victory was put aside as unimportant. This also showed that the attention of British foreign policy was not focused on North America at this time.

**39. Albany Plan of Union** was a proposal by Ben Franklin of Pennsylvania and Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts. Seven northern colonies sent delegates to Albany, NY, to plan their mutual defense against French retaliation, Indian raids, and British inaction. Delegates endorsed a plan for a colonial confederation—Albany Plan of Union, which collapsed because no colonial legislature would surrender control over its powers of taxation. However, it provided a precedent for colonial cooperation.

**40. The Proclamation of 1763** was issued by the British at end of Seven Years' War. It asserted royal control of land transactions, settlements, and trade of non-Indians west of the Appalachians. It also recognized existing Indian land titles west of the "proclamation line," which ran down the crest of the Appalachians. This angered colonists because it subordinated western land claims to imperial authority. The establishment of the proclamation line showed that the British were planning for future expansion in America and undermined the agreement they had signed with Spain ceding them land west of the proclamation line.

**41. James Otis** was the former prosecuting attorney for Boston's vice-admiralty court. He resigned to protest the use of the writs of assistance. He argued that "an act against the Constitution is void". He declared that Parliament had no authority to violate the traditional "rights of Englishmen" and that there were limits to the validity of certain laws passed.

**42. The Sugar Act** was passed to offset part of Britain's North American military expenses. It began with a 3-pence-per gallon tax, and triggered tension between Britain and the colonies. The act brought a lot of colonial commerce under imperial control, as valuable raw commodities would have to pass through Britain instead of going directly to foreign ports. It also complicated

the requirements for shipping, in that a captain had to have all documents with him to demonstrate his trade legal. This was put in place to counteract smuggling. The Sugar Act also discarded English protections for a fair trial. Vice-admiralty courts now delivered the verdict. The enforced tax on molasses caused the almost immediate decline in the rum industry in the colonies. The combined effect of the new duties was to sharply reduce the colonists' trade with the French West Indies, an important destination for lumber, flour, cheese, and assorted farm products. The situation disrupted the colonial economy by reducing the markets to which the colonies could sell, and the currency available to them for the purchase of British manufactured goods.

**43. The Stamp Act** was passed to force colonists to pay their share of the expenses in maintaining royal troops in North America after the Seven Years' War. **British Prime Minister George Grenville** thought that fairness demanded a larger colonial contribution and enacted the Stamp Act. Americans were to use specially marked /stamped paper for newspapers, documents, wills, contracts, etc. It was an internal tax levied directly on property, goods, and services in the North American colonies. The Act raised the issue of representation and taxation: colonial opponents argued that there could be "no taxation without representation," while Grenville argued that the colonists had virtual representation, that members of Parliament represented *all* constituents of the empire. He also believed that colonial assemblies had no powers except those granted to them by Parliament. These decisions gave rise to widespread protests in America that eventually boiled over into the War for Independence. These 2 issues of representation and taxation (esp. external taxation) were sources of on-going friction for colonies

**44. Patrick Henry**, a Virginia lawyer and a member of its House of Burgesses, strongly opposed to the Stamp Act. He helped establish committees of correspondence. He convinced the Burgesses to adopt resolutions denying Parliament's power to tax the colonies.

**45. Loyal Nine** was created by middle-class artisans and businessmen to fight the Stamp Act. They used mob tactics and threats to drive out stamp distributors, who held the exclusive right to sell stamps the use of which the law required. They realized that if public pressure could be put on stamp distributors to resign before the tax went into effect, the Act would not work. The Loyal Nine enlisted the help of Boston street fighters to help oust stamp distributors, pushing the city to the forefront of resistance.

**46. Sons of Liberty** evolved from the Loyal Nine, as a secret group of merchants and workers, who organized demonstrations against the Stamp Act. Their objective was to force Stamp distributors, who had the exclusive right to sell the required stamps, to resign. The group applied pressure to any merchants who did not share their opposition. They also resisted the tax on tea by instituting a boycott as well as the Boston Tea Party. They publicly showed the resentment against England's taxation policy and represented the political organization of the colonists. Their most effective work was performed in newsprint as a great many of the Sons were printers and publishers themselves (It was they who would pay the most in duties). Nearly every colonial newspaper carried daily reports of their activities; accounts of their dramatic escapades spread throughout the colonies, emboldening both citizens and colonial legislatures.

**47. Stamp Act Congress/Repeal of the Stamp Act:** The Stamp Act Congress was a meeting in New York called by the Massachusetts legislature at the suggestion of James Otis. It brought together representatives from nine colonies (New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Delaware, South Carolina, Maryland, and Connecticut) to discuss what should be done about taxes (specifically the Stamp Act). The Congress unified the colonies, which adopted a Declaration of Rights and Grievances. Delegates agreed that Britain had no right to tax the colonists without their consent or deny any person a fair trial by jury. The public outcry against the Stamp Act became so strong that many stamp distributors fled and many officials refused to carry out the law. This triggered panic in England's economy and Parliament finally repealed the Stamp Act in 1766.

**48. Declaratory Act** was passed by Parliament at the same time that it revoked the Stamp Act. It affirmed Parliament's power to legislate for colonies in all circumstances. Colonists saw this as a face saving measure and ignored it. Parliament envisioned the act to mean that colonists were not exempt from its jurisdiction.

**49. The Quartering Act**, which was passed by Parliament in 1765, ordered the colonial legislatures to provide barracks, transportation, and supplies to British troops stationed in North America because they were protecting the colonists against the French. The law aroused much resentment, (especially in New York where many troops were stationed) because it was seen as an indirect tax. It also showed the clashing perceptions between the British and the colonists: the British believed they were protecting colonists against Indians and French; while colonists believed that the British were merely protecting their empire.

**50. Revenue Act of 1767**, also known as the **Townshend Duties**, were taxes on imports of glass, paint, oil, lead, paper, and tea to the colonies. The act was made by exploiting a loophole in the colonial arguments against the Stamp Act (the colonists had objected to internal taxes but had said nothing about *external* taxes). However, it soon became evident that the purpose was not to phase out foreign products by raising their prices, but to raise revenue for the Crown to pay for governors' salaries (to make them independent from pressures of the colonial legislatures). The colonists protested the placement of taxes for the sole purpose of raising revenue, without consent. This led to publications by John Dickinson and Samuel Adams. Adams crafted a circular letter, denouncing the Townshend Duties and calling for boycotts and non-importation. Though most colonial legislatures refused to abide by the Duties, they continued to accept Parliament as "the supreme legislative Power" over them.

**51. Samuel Adams**, a Harvard-educated Massachusetts assemblyman and Boston tax collector, was opposed to the Sugar and Stamp Acts. He led the fight against the Townshend Acts, headed demonstrations that led to the Boston Massacre, and directed the Boston Tea Party. He galvanized the resources of New England against the British.

**52. John Dickinson/Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania:** Dickinson was a Delaware planter and a Philadelphia lawyer. He participated in the Stamp Act Congress where he drafted its Resolutions. He wrote an important series of essays, *Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer*, regarding the non-importation and non-exportation agreements against England. These essays were

published in London in 1768 by Benjamin Franklin. In 1774, he attended the first Continental Congress and advocated taking up arms against the British, though he opposed independence and abstained from voting on and signing the Declaration.

**53. The Daughters of Liberty**, a similar group, was comprised of upper-class women who organized spinning bees that allowed Americans to buy clothes from the colonies as opposed to those shipped from England. They successfully proved that women's involvement in politics could be beneficial. Their boycott of imported products made America less dependent on British textiles.

**54. John Hancock** was the head of a Boston mercantile firm and a smuggler. He opposed the Stamp Act and other British trade restrictions. In 1768 his ship *Liberty* was seized as a smuggler and confiscated by the Crown. Hailed as a martyr, he was elected to the Massachusetts legislature, where he joined Samuel Adams in advocating resistance to England. He later presided over the Continental Congress and became governor of Massachusetts after the Revolution.

**55. Boston Massacre (1770)** was a conflict between British troops and civilians in Boston. Five civilians were killed by redcoats. During their trial, the British captain and his men were defended by John Adams. Most were acquitted; two others were found guilty of manslaughter and discharged from the army. It showed the rising tensions in Boston that were partly a result of Samuel Adams' and the Sons of Liberty's propaganda actions. Adams used this incident to further incite Bostonians against the redcoats. He raised the people's emotions by calling the event a massacre. In addition, he made the whole fiasco an even larger spectacle by holding a martyrs' funeral for the victims. It was one of the confrontations that led to the Revolutionary War.

**56. The Tea Act of 1773** eliminated import duties on tea, it gave the British East India Company the exclusive right to sell tea in North America and allowed the Company to sell tea directly to the consumers instead of through wholesalers, thus effectively lowering the price of tea. *Significance:* The act angered some colonists who thought the British were trying to make them accept parliamentary taxation for the simple sake of tea. Colonists also recognized that revenue from the tea would eventually end up in the hands of the royal governors, thus freeing the governors from their dependence on colonial assemblies for their salaries. This anger eventually led to the Boston Tea Party as the committees of correspondence decided to boycott the sale of tea.

**57. The Boston Tea Party (1773)** occurred as the colonists tried to prevent the port authorities in New York and Philadelphia from accepting taxed tea and were successful. At Charleston the tea was landed but was held in government warehouses. At Boston, three tea ships arrived and remained unloaded but Gov. Thomas Hutchinson refused to let the ships leave without first paying duties. A group of indignant colonists, led by Samuel Adams, Paul Revere, and others, disguised themselves as Native Americans, boarded the ships on the night of Dec. 16, 1773, and threw the tea into the harbor. In reply Parliament passed the Boston Port Bill (see Intolerable Acts). This was an act of open defiance of the British and tantamount to a declaration of war. The Intolerable Acts that followed exacerbated tensions further, paving the way for the Continental Congress and independence.

**58. The Intolerable or Coercive Acts** were laws imposed by the British on the colonists, which limited their political and geographical freedom. Four of these laws were punishment for the Boston Tea Party rebellion and involving the closure of Boston harbor, a request for payment for the damaged tea, and a demand to quarter troops. One of the laws was the Quebec Act, which gave French Canadians complete religious freedom, recognized Catholicism as the established religion of Quebec, and restored French law in the province. Furthermore, it extended Quebec's territorial claims to the Ohio River and west of the Mississippi, an area much desired by the colonists. The Quebec Act ensured Canada's loyalty to the Crown during the Revolution. The outcome was the First Continental Congress.

**59. The First Continental Congress** was a meeting of delegates from all of the colonies except for Georgia. It convened in Philadelphia in the wake of the Intolerable Acts and served to deal with colonial complaints and unrest. **The Second Congress** convened in Philadelphia and Baltimore after the battles of Concord and Lexington and reflected the radicalization of the opposition to the British. It led to the creation of a Continental Army with George Washington as its commander. American ports were opened in defiance of the Navigation Acts. And on July 4, 1776, the Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence. The First and Second Continental Congresses acted as a legislature for the unified colonies and later the US. The First Congress' most important act was the creation of the Continental Association, which forbade importation and use of British goods and proposed prohibition of colonial exports. The Second Congress' most important achievement was to bridge the gap between supporters of the monarchy and supporters of independence, while ensuring a transitional leadership for the colonies.

**60. Suffolk Resolves**, endorsed by the First Continental Congress, proclaimed that the colonies owed no obedience to the Coercive Acts; the Resolves also advocated for a provisional government until the Massachusetts Charter was restored, and warned that the colonies would defend themselves if royal troops attacked. The Resolves conceded that Parliament can tax colonial commerce, but refused to accept the imposition of taxes, the enforcement of laws through admiralty courts, and the revocation of colonial charters. By sending these statements to King George III instead of Parliament, the Continental Congress was demanding that he end the crisis by dismissing the ministers responsible for the Coercive Acts. The King saw this as rebellion, for any reply would mean he was recognizing Continental Congress as a power over his own Parliament.

**61. The Olive Branch Petition** was sent to King George III by the Second Continental Congress, demanding a cease-fire in Boston, the repeal of the Coercive Acts, and the beginning of negotiations to establish guarantees of American rights. The Petition happened to reach London along with the news of the battle of Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill (both of which took place outside of Boston.) *Significance:* It was an attempt to accommodate the concerns of the Loyalists and to present a unified front to the British. Its rejection by the king (due to news of clashes in Bunker Hill) opened the way for the Revolutionary War.

**62. Thomas Paine/Common Sense:** Thomas Paine wrote *Common Sense*, a book that sold more than 100,000 copies (1/4 of the adult male population). It argued that colonists did not need a connection to Britain, and that at the root of the conspiracy against

American liberties lay in the institutions of monarchy and empire. The book ended any sentimental attachment colonists may have had to the King, popularized idea of independence, and helped provide a clear and understandable rationale for secession.

## CHAPTER 6

**63. Whigs/ Tories: Whigs** were supporters of the Revolution. Those opposed to the Revolution called themselves Loyalists while the Whigs dubbed them **Tories**. Both opposed parliamentary taxation of the colonies. But Loyalists believed that separation from England was illegal and was not necessary to preserve the colonists' constitutional rights. Loyalism thrived among ethnic and religious minorities. Some French, German, and Dutch colonists as well as Indians and slaves felt they would be at an even greater disadvantage if a Revolution were to occur. Each side saw its cause as sacred and viewed opposition to it by a fellow American as a betrayal. On the eve of the Revolution, one fifth of the colonial population consisted of Loyalists (in NY, GA, and the piedmont, the percentage was 25 to 40 percent of the white population).

**64. Continental Army/George Washington:** The state militias lacked the training necessary to fight pitched battles during the Revolution. Thus, the Continental Army, created by the Second Continental Congress, had to rely on precision movements and mass formations of troops. The Continental Army had no experienced officers in 1775. **George Washington**, a Virginia surveyor, an early opponent of parliamentary taxation, a former member of the VA House of Burgesses, and a former member of the Continental Congress, was seen as a perfect candidate to head the Continental Army. With his political and military experience, Washington learned that Americans fought best when led by example and treated with respect. The Continental Army did not have to destroy the British army; its aim was to prolong the rebellion long enough until Britain's taxpayers would no longer support the war effort. Entrusting the leadership to Washington was to ensure VA's participation in the drive toward independence.

**65. The Articles of Confederation** began as a proposal drafted by John Dickinson for national government. It was sent by the Second Continental Congress to the states for ratification (1781). They reserved each state its "sovereignty, freedom and independence." The Articles proposed a unicameral Congress, elected by the state legislatures, and in which each state delegation had one vote. The Articles allowed Congress to request funds from states but could not tax without state approval. The Articles did not allow Congress regulation of interstate or overseas commerce. All 13 states had to approve the Articles. The Articles did not provide for executive or judicial branches. They became law in March 1781 when Maryland finally relented. The new government represented an important step in the process of defining the role of national sovereignty and in creating a formal government. It reflected the founders' apprehensions about mobocracy, as well as a centralized government with a strong executive. The Confederation Congress was responsible for the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

**66. Battle of Yorktown** was the culminating battle of the American Revolution. It took place in Virginia, by the Chesapeake Bay. British commander Lord Charles Cornwallis hoped to fan out into Virginia and Pennsylvania and to sever communications between colonists in the south and the north. In August 1781, a French fleet, in support of the colonists, dropped anchor off the coast and landed troops near Yorktown. Cornwallis' troops became trapped and were forced to surrender, ending the war.

**67. The Peace of Paris (1783)** was the result of peace talks between the American delegation (John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay) and the British government in the wake of the Revolutionary War. It marked the end of the War and recognized American independence. It called for the immediate removal of royal troops from US soil and awarded the United States the territory east of the Mississippi where many colonists had settled. Although the settlement favored the US, there were many issues it did not address, including boundaries between the new nation and Spanish territories. The American government also promised to urge states to compensate Loyalists for lost property. Many states refused and the issue remained controversial. The Peace of Paris also failed to address the issue of Indian lands, leaving it open for negotiation with the new nation.

**68. Abigail Adams** was the wife of President John Adams and mother of President John Quincy Adams. A lively, intelligent woman, she began her social activism as a Daughter of Liberty. She was one of the most influential of the first ladies in US history. Her detailed letters are a vivid source on her struggle to ensure woman's suffrage in the wake of the Revolution.

**69. Jefferson's Statute for Religious Freedom** was introduced in 1786 to the Virginia legislature to ensure both religious freedom and eliminate established religion. It was one of many bills Jefferson wrote to create a feeling of equality among the citizens of his state, in the wake of the Revolution. It ended state-run Anglican church, and brought about a new era of religious acceptance.

**70. The Federalist** (also known as the *Federalist Papers*) was a series of eighty-five newspaper articles written by **Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay** in an effort to sway the popular vote of New York, during the debates on the ratification of the Constitution, to the Federalists (The vote did not end up being swayed significantly). The writers tried to show that the main purposes of the Constitution were twofold: To protect the majority from a radical minority while at the same time protecting minority rights. The Federalist offers an insight into the original intent of the creators of the Constitution, since its authors were part of the Philadelphia Convention. Since no records were kept at the convention (save Madison's secret journal), the Federalist is the only source of such information and thus is one of the most important founding documents. It also reflected how the Founders used the media to ensure the ratification of the Constitution.

**71. Newburgh Conspiracy** occurred in 1783 during the tenure of the Confederation Congress. It was instigated by then NY Congressman Alexander Hamilton and the Confederation's Superintendent for finance, Robert Morris, a Philadelphia merchant who had proposed a 5% tariff to finance the congressional budget. When the bill did not pass, both Hamilton and Morris convinced military officers who were stationed in NY to threaten a coup d'etat, unless the treasury received the power to tax, which would then help raise the money to cover the cost of their pay. It revealed the economic problems plaguing the military and the country in general in the wake of the Revolutionary War. The situation was saved because of the personal intervention of President Washington, who appealed to the soldiers' honor and patriotism to prevent an escalation of the conflict.

**72. Shays' Rebellion (1786–87)** was an armed insurrection by farmers in rural Western Massachusetts against the state government. Debt-ridden farmers, struck by the economic depression that followed the American Revolution, petitioned the state senate to issue paper money and to halt foreclosure of mortgages on their property and their own imprisonment for debt as a result of high land taxes. Resentment was particularly high against the commercial interests who controlled the state senate in Boston, and the lawyers who hastened the farmers' bankruptcy by their exorbitant fees for litigation. In 1786, when the state senate failed to undertake reform, armed insurgents, under the leadership of Daniel Shays, a former Revolutionary Army captain, began forcibly to prevent the county courts from sitting to make judgments for debt. The governor countered by sending the militia, which inflamed the rebels further. The rebels were eventually captured. Shays escaped to Vermont and other leaders were sentenced to death for treason in 1787, though they were later pardoned. Shays was finally pardoned in 1788. The rebellion influenced Massachusetts's ratification of the Constitution as it proved the fear of "mobocracy."

**73. Constitutional Convention (1787):** The government created by the Articles of Confederation and adopted by the Thirteen Colonies soon showed serious faults. The threat of economic instability alarmed the wealthy conservative class, who were anxious to have a stronger federal government to guarantee order and property rights. The men who had money invested in Western territories also favored a stronger federal government. Therefore, agitation for the adoption of a stronger union grew steadily in force (James Madison and George Washington in Virginia, Alexander Hamilton in New York, and James Wilson and Benjamin Franklin in Pennsylvania). It was chiefly through their efforts that delegates from VA, PA, NY, NJ, and DE met at Annapolis in 1786 and called for a general convention to revise the Articles of Confederation, to meet at Philadelphia in 1787. While it met to revise the Articles, the Philadelphia Convention eventually found itself analyzing the VA and NJ plans, which basically redrew the structure of government by writing the US Constitution. All the states except Rhode Island sent representatives. The delegates mainly came from the wealthier and more conservative ranks of society, thus showing their dominance in policy-making in the early Republic. George Washington was elected to preside, foreshadowing his emergence as one of the few people all states respected. The convention decided the fundamental question of apportionment of power in the new government; achieved the Great Compromise, the 3/5 Compromise, and the Commerce Compromise.

**74. The New Jersey Plan** was a proposal that strengthened national government through a unicameral legislature in which each state delegation was treated equally and had one vote. It also proposed that the country have one single high court to be responsible for the interpretation of the Constitution. The NJ Plan allowed the 7 smallest states (25% of the US population) to have their equitable representation in Congress. When the NJ Plan was combined with the VA Plan, the "Great Compromise" was formed, which incorporated the ideas of a bicameral legislature, proportional representation, and a strong national gov't.

**75. The Virginia Plan**, introduced by James Madison during the Philadelphia Convention, it proposed a national government where sovereignty resided in the states. It gave Congress virtually unrestricted rights of legislation and taxation, power to veto state laws, and authority to use military force against states. The Virginia Plan proposed a bicameral legislature with proportional representation based on population in both houses, the lower of which was elected and the upper was appointed by the lower house. The VA Plan reflected the interests of the southern planters: strong states dominating national government, and national government dominated by the large states by basing representation on population.

**76. Ordinance of 1785 (also known as Land Ordinance of 1785)**, issued by the Confederation Congress, established uniform procedures for surveying the region north of the Ohio River. The law made the basic unit of settlement a township that was six miles square. Each township was divided into 36 sections of 640 acres, with one section reserved as a source of income for public schools. Each of the 36 sections would support four families on a 160-acre plot each. Along with the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, it was a major contribution to American expansion. Setting principles for surveying the frontier, it allowed territorial self-government at an early stage of settlement and provided reasonable standards for statehood.

**77. Northwest Ordinance of 1787**, issued by the Confederation Congress, defined the land north of the Ohio River as the Northwest Territory and provided for its future division into states. It also forbade slavery in this territory. The Ordinance outlined the 3 steps for admitting states to the union: 1) Congress appoints a territorial governor and judges. 2) As soon as 5,000 adult males living in territory, the people would write a temporary constitution and elect a legislature and govern itself as a Territory. 3) When the population exceeded 60,000 people, a state constitution would be crafted; upon approval by the US Congress, the territory would be admitted into the Union. The prohibition of north of the Ohio River, became an important precedent of government-legislated limitation on the expansion of slavery. It also allowed for territorial self-government, which encouraged settlement, which, in turn, expedited the process of territories applying for statehood (westward expansion).

## CHAPTER 7

**78. Judiciary Act of 1789** was an act of Congress that created the federal court system and established a federal district court in each state to be operated according to local procedures. The Supreme Court continued to retain final jurisdiction on constitutional interpretation. The power to create this is given to Congress in the Constitution. This Act represented a compromise which respected state traditions while still offering the people wide access to federal justice. It ensured the Federalists that the strong national government will be represented in the way justice was administered across the nation, while reassuring Democratic Republicans (the Anti-Federalists) by stipulating that federal district courts in each state would operate according to local procedures. This reflected the ongoing tug of war between Federalists and Anti-Federalists on the issues of states' rights.

**79. Bill of Rights of 1791** consists of the first ten amendments to the Constitution. James Madison played a leading role in the drafting of the Bill of Rights. Madison, at the time a member of the House of Representatives, wanted to preserve a strong national government while simultaneously guaranteeing personal liberties. The first 8 amendments guarantee personal liberties (freedom of expression etc.), the ninth gives the people rights not enumerated in the Constitution. The tenth gives to the states or the people powers not delegated to the federal government. The Bill of Rights was an effort to protect people from the tyranny



that they feared would develop from too strong a federal government. Also, it was the compromise worked out to achieve the ratification of the Constitution by those states (such as Virginia) that had concerns over the Constitution and federal powers.

**80. *Chisholm v Georgia/Hylton v US/Ware v US/Eleventh Amendment (1798)***: In *Chisholm v Georgia* (1793), the Supreme Court ruled that a non-resident could sue a state in federal court. In *Hylton v US* (1796), the justices ruled that the Supreme Court had the right to assess and determine the constitutionality of laws issued by the federal government. That same year, the Court established its right to rule on the constitutionality of acts passed by the state governments (*Ware v US*). In order to circumvent this trend toward the reinforcement of federal powers over the states, Congress passed the **11<sup>th</sup> Amendment** in 1798. The 11<sup>th</sup> Amendment limits federal court jurisdiction by providing that the citizens of one state cannot bring suit in federal court against the government of another state except by its consent, nor can the subjects of any foreign country. This limitation was extended later by the Supreme Court to include suits against a state by its own citizens or by a foreign state. The amendment, however, does not restrict the rights of individuals to appeal a decision from the highest court of any state to the U.S. Supreme Court in cases involving federal laws or constitutional issues. Since these court cases had revealed the vulnerability of states to federal review and action, the proponents of states' rights pressured Congress to pass the Eleventh Amendment, which prevents private individuals from undermining states' powers by using the federal courts. This showed the ongoing tensions over the issue of states' rights in the early Republic and showed that constitutional amendments by Congress could be used to check what was perceived to be an encroachment on their legislation or states' rights.

**81. Report on the Public Credit** was Hamilton's policy to help US government repay its debt to Americans and foreigners. He recommended that the government raise securities [stocks and bonds] to honor the Revolutionary debt of \$ 54 million. This way the debt would be funded; that is, the federal government would convert its debts into interest bearing bonds, which would mature after an assigned period of time. Those who purchased the securities had several choices. As mandated by the constitution, the foreign debt and interest would be paid in full according to the terms initially agreed to. The principal of the domestic debt would be paid at par to current bearers. State debts would be assumed by the federal government with interest payments deferred until 1792. Federal stocks would circulate as money, thus making capital readily available and encouraging commerce, as well as agriculture and manufactures. Hamilton's plan for revenue was based upon an import tariff and an excise tax. The federal assumption of state debts was a chance for the national government to win the gratitude and loyalty of state creditors. There was some resentment with this Report for the policy rewarded rich profiteers and ignored ordinary citizens (Hamilton wanted to lure the financial interests of New York and have them invest in the government). By enacting the report, Congress created an opportunity for the new republic to get out of debt.

**82. Report on a National Bank** presented to Congress by Secretary of Treasury Hamilton was intended to direct money towards projects, which would diversify the national economy through a federally chartered bank. The proposed bank would raise \$ 10 million through a public stock offering. Hamilton explained that a national bank would provide a safe depository for gov't funds, regulate banking practices around the country, provide a uniform currency, provide capital for investments and industry, and loan the government money in times of emergency. This federal bank would be able to fund the economic expansion of the new nation. The bank would also help to pay off much of the national debt while creating a stable investment for shareholders. Southerners raised the familiar point that the bank was another policy, which would only benefit northern merchants and speculators, not the southern planters. Madison and Jefferson challenged the bank proposal by claiming that it was unconstitutional: he stated that since the constitution did not *explicitly* sanction a bank, the US government had no power to create one.

**83. Report on Manufactures** was a report presented to Congress by Secretary of Treasury Hamilton. He hoped to create protective tariffs on imports and assist the merchant marine against the British trade restrictions. This report was meant to create an influx of manufacturing in the US thus drawing immigrants and creating a national wealth. Jefferson and Madison strongly opposed protective tariffs because, they argued, these tariffs made foreign products highly expensive to consumers and reduced the motivation to produce low-cost goods. They also feared that the tariffs would merely benefit the national government and those who had invested in the national bank. Finally, the excise taxes on whiskey led to the Whiskey Rebellion.

**84. The Whiskey Rebellion** was a reaction against an excise tax on domestically produced whiskey. The tax was suggested by Secretary of Treasury Hamilton in order to distribute the expense of financing the national debt evenly but would also improve the country's morale by lowering liquor consumption. If distillers were caught evading the tax they would be summoned to attend court in far off Pennsylvania. The rebellion began with peaceful protest, then in 1794 men attacked a U.S. Marshal serving delinquent taxpayers with summonses to appear in court. Roving bands torched buildings, assaulted tax collectors, and raised a flag symbolizing an independent country they wished to form from six western countries. This was the first incident to severely test the new federal authority, was a milestone in determining the limits of public opposition to federal policies. President Washington sent armed forces to quell the rebellion, demanding that protestors use the courts, rather than the streets, to express their dissatisfaction. This created an important precedent on how the new gov't would address challenges to national authority.

**85. "Mad" Anthony Wayne/Treaty of Greenville: Anthony Wayne** was sent by President Washington to negotiate trade agreement with the Indians of the Ohio Valley. The Indians "scoffed" Wayne until "Mad Anthony" led troops into their homeland, ravaging villages. Wayne's troops routed 2000 Indians at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. He built Fort Defiance to challenge British authority in the Northwest. Wayne compelled 12 northeastern tribes to sign the treaty of Greenville. This was part of President Washington's initiative to avoid war with Great Britain (Jay's Treaty) and Spain (Pinckney's Treaty) and to pacify the Indians, who could be manipulated by them (Treaty of Greenville). Treaty of Greenville opened up most of Ohio River Valley to white settlement and temporarily ended Indian hostilities. Also allowed Chief Justice John Jay to gain a promise from the British (Jay's Treaty) that they would withdraw troops from American soil.

**86. Jay's Treaty**, an agreement signed in 1794 between the British and the Americans. required the removal of British troops from American soil. The treaty also allowed American access to West Indian markets. It seems as though most Americans would not welcome the treaty because it gave Britain the ability to control U.S. trade with French ports during the war. In addition, the treaty did not give American merchants the right to load cargoes of sugar, molasses, and coffee from the Caribbean. The treaty did not end impressment and failed to gain compensation [to the masters] for slaves taken and freed by the British during the Revolution. Despite these limitations, American trade actually benefited from the treaty as British governors in the West Indies opened their harbors to U.S. ships. Its most important achievement was to end the state of war between Britain and the US.

**87. Treaty of San Lorenzo** (also known as **Pinckney's Treaty**) was brokered between the United States and Spain by Thomas Pinckney in 1796. This treaty established the southern boundary of the US, removed Spanish forts in the US, and ensured Spanish cooperation in discouraging Indian attacks against western settlers. The treaty gave settlers on the western frontier unrestricted and duty-free access to world markets via the Mississippi River. This helped the Washington administration ensure the US's territorial integrity, and open the Mississippi for western exports.

**88. The Twelfth Amendment (1804)** provides for the reform of the method by which the Electoral College elects the president and vice-president. Under the Constitution, the electors were to cast their votes for both offices on a single ballot without specifying which of the two candidates on their ballot was preferred as president and which as vice-president. The candidate receiving the highest number of electoral votes would then become President, and the runner-up would become Vice-President. The unforeseen election in 1796 brought together of a president (Federalist candidate John Adams) and vice-president (Democratic Republican candidate Thomas Jefferson) from different parties. The election reflected another unforeseen result: a tie between two presidential candidates (Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr). The House of Representatives voted for Jefferson after a protracted deadlock. This triggered the demand for the 12th Amendment, which provides the following: (1) separate ballots are used for each office; (2) persons with the greatest number of votes for each office will be elected if that number constitutes a majority of the total electors; (3) if no such majority is met for either or both of the two highest offices, the House of Representatives will then vote for the president from among the three highest candidates and the Senate will vote for the vice-president from among the two highest candidates; (4) no person constitutionally ineligible to be president can be vice-president.

**89. XYZ Affair:** To avoid war over the French trade restrictions on American ships, President John Adams dispatched a peace commission to France, but Charles de Talleyrand, the French foreign minister, refused to meet with the Americans. He instead promised through his three unnamed agents, (X, Y, and Z) that he would negotiate with the Americans after he received \$250,000 and France obtained a \$12 million loan. This bribe, known as the XYZ Affair, pitted Federalists against Democratic Republicans. Federalists supported a strong show of force, while Republicans tried to excuse French behavior. This helped the Federalists carry the next congressional elections and adopting defensive measures against France (expanding the armed forces).

**90. Alien and Sedition Acts** were four measures passed by the Federalist Congress in 1798. The **Alien Enemies Act** was designed to prevent wartime espionage or sabotage. It outlines procedures for determining whether a country's citizens, when staying in the US, posed a threat to national security. The **Alien Friends Act**, which was enforceable in peacetime, authorized the president to expel foreign residents whose activities were considered dangerous without proof of guilt. Democratic Republicans maintained the Federalists passed this law to deport immigrants who were against Federalists' policies. The third law, the **Naturalization Act**, increased the residency requirement for US citizenship from 5 to 14 years to reduce Irish voting. The **Sedition Act**, the only one of these laws that applied to US citizens, was designed to distinguish between free speech and criminal activity or revolution. It forbade an individual or a group to oppose or criticize any gov't measures. These acts were designed by the Federalist Congress to silence the Democratic Republican opposition. The Democratic Republicans argued that these laws interfered with free speech. The Federalists wrote the law to expire in 1801 so that it could not be used against them should they lose the next election. These laws aroused much discontent because they violated the Bill of Rights.

**91. Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (1798):** The passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts led to much criticism in southern and western states. Democratic Republicans warned that the federal gov't was overstepping its powers and jeopardizing the Bill of Rights. They pointed out that, since Federalists controlled all three branches of government, the chances for the checks and balances to work were slim. James Madison and Thomas Jefferson wrote two anonymous manifestoes for Virginia and Kentucky respectively, demanding that the states have the right of judicial review, so that state legislatures may review the constitutionality of federal statutes. They further argued that the states should have the right of 'interposition,' standing against the federal government to protect the civil and individual liberties of their citizens; they also argued that the states can 'nullify' federal government's actions and decisions, if they were considered unconstitutional by the states. This showed the potential for rebellion in the early Republic as tension between the Federalists and Democratic Republicans increased. Also, it reflected the suspicions by the southern and western states of the powers of the central government and their continued vigilance for potential abuses.

**92. John Adams** was the 2<sup>nd</sup> resident of the United States (1797-1801). During his administration, the balance of power between the federal government and the states was threatened by the Alien and Sedition Acts, which prompted the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions. In 1798, Adams's independent policy averted a war with France, Spain, and Great Britain, through a series of treaties that opened up the seas for American trade. A staunch Federalist, he ensured that his party dominates the three branches of government. His ongoing antagonism with Alexander Hamilton over the nature of federal powers eventually split the Federalists. As Federalists lost the presidency and Congress in the 1800 election, he expanded the federal courts and made last minute appointments (midnight appointments) to these new judgeships to ensure the continuation of Federalists' policies.

**93. Handsome Lake** was a Seneca prophet. After a long illness he had a vision (1800) and began to preach new religious beliefs. His moral teachings showed a similarity to Christian ethics and had a profound effect among the Iroquois. He advocated giving up the nomadic life in favor of agriculture. His efforts reflected the desperate efforts of Indian tribes in the post-Revolutionary

period to survive in face of expanding frontier, the move of farmers westward, and the loss of Indian control on the fur trade. His efforts were geared toward ending alcoholism and developing a new source of livelihood through agriculture.

**94. Fugitive Slave Law of 1793** was passed by Congress as a means to protect Southern "property" (slave) rights. It stated that to reclaim an escaped slave a master needed only to go before a judge and provide oral or written proof of ownership. He would then obtain an order for the arrest of the slave. The slaves were not given a trial in court or allowed to present evidence on their own behalf, including proof of having previously earned their freedom. Many Northern states passed "Personal Liberty" laws that granted fugitive slaves rights, such as trial by jury. Other states, such as Pennsylvania, passed strong kidnapping laws, which functioned to punish slave catchers. The Fugitive Slave Law angered many free blacks residing in US. In January of 1800 a group petitioned for Congress to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law and abolish slavery. This petition and others like it sent by free blacks, was ignored by Congress on the basis that blacks were not recognized by the Constitution and thus not their equals.

**95. Gabriel Prosser** was the leader of a planned insurrection of more than 1,000 slaves in Richmond, VA, in 1800. The state militia put down the conspiracy and executed 35 slaves as well as Prosser. **Significance:** Although isolated slave rebellions continued in the United States for years after "Gabriel's Rebellion," the abolitionist movement suffered a setback because of this.

## CHAPTER 8

**96. Judiciary Act of 1801** was sponsored by Federalists after the election of 1800 threw them out of the executive and legislative branches. The act created 16 new federal judgeships to relieve Supreme Court justices of circuit riding responsibilities but reduced the number of justices from 6 to 5. The act threatened to strip Jefferson of his first opportunity to appoint Republican-minded justices to a Supreme Court dominated by Federalists (because of Adams' midnight appointments). Thus, it threatened to perpetuate Federalist domination of the judiciary branch. It showed the ongoing conflict between the three branches.

**97. Marbury v. Madison (1803):** William Marbury was appointed as a justice on the last day of President John Adams' term but Marbury's commission was not delivered. Jefferson's Secretary of State, James Madison, refused to release the commission and thus Marbury petitioned the Supreme Court for a writ of mandamus ordering Madison to make the delivery. Marshall proclaimed that the commission did not have to be delivered to be valid, so Marbury could actually begin his new position. Marshall also ruled that, although an article of the Judiciary Act of 1789 *did* allow the Supreme Court the right to issue writs of mandamus to other branches of government, this was in fact unconstitutional because it destabilized the basic principle of balance of power and checks and balances. Marshall established the principle of judicial review when he ruled a section of the Judiciary Act of 1789 unconstitutional. This solidified the role of the Court as a third, coequal branch of the federal government.

**98. Chief Justice John Marshall**, an established Richmond attorney, was a staunch Federalist, who was appointed the fourth Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court by President John Adams, as part of his midnight appointments. A Revolutionary war veteran, he had served on a mission to France and Great Britain and had served as Adams' Secretary of State. Under his judgeship, the Supreme Court became an equal part of the government, able to balance the powers of the executive and legislative branches. His beliefs in the supremacy of the Constitution and the need for a strong federal government underscored his loose interpretation of the Constitution. He upheld the government's control of interstate commerce (*Gibbons v. Ogden*) and weakened the states' powers to control contracts (*Dartmouth College v. Woodward*) and federal agencies (*McCulloch v. Maryland*). He also established the principle of judicial review (*Marbury v. Madison*).

**99. Samuel Chase's Impeachment:** Incoming President Thomas Jefferson, angered about the Midnight Appointments, led the impeachment attack against Samuel Chase, a staunch Federalist. Jefferson claimed that he wanted to impeach Chase because he was known for being openly partisan, but the trial was actually a test of how involved the other branches could become in the judiciary branch (Jefferson wished to change the overwhelmingly Federalist Supreme Court). Chase was acquitted. The acquittal of Chase put a limit to the intrusions of Jefferson into judicial affairs. After this the Supreme Court remained independent, and judges did not have to fear impeachment due to differing party ideas.

**100. Louisiana Purchase (1803):** In 1800 Spain returned the Louisiana Territory to Napoleon through the treaty of San Ildefonso. This frightened Jefferson because now the US would be sandwiched between French Louisiana and British Canada. He also feared that if the British seized the territory, the US would be surrounded. The French, attempting to create an empire in the West Indies, failed miserably after a bloody slave uprising in Santo Domingo. This led them to reconsider their imperial goals in North America. This came at a time when the Americans were concerned over a last minute Spanish decision to prohibit the deposit of American products in New Orleans for shipment overseas. Jefferson then appointed James Monroe and Robert R. Livingston to initiate talks with France over the purchase of New Orleans and as much of the Floridas as possible. The congruence of the French and American objectives led to the purchase of all of Louisiana for \$15 million. Jefferson passed the purchase off as a treaty, which was ratified by the Senate. Although the constitutionality of this problematic 'treaty' was questioned, the purchase doubled the size of the US, led to westward expansion, and set the precedent for American expansion through "purchases." This new territory included New Orleans and the Mississippi, giving western farmers access to sea outlets for their products. It also offered protection from a potential alliance of Great Britain, France, and Spain against the US. Finally, it weakened the Federalists' influence (based in the Northeast and New York) by shifting the country's center of gravity westward.

**101. Lewis and Clark Expedition 1804:** This trip, planned before the Louisiana Purchase, became more than just an exploratory expedition after the addition of the large territory. Jefferson instructed Lewis and his assistant Clark to chart this new territory: take accurate longitude and latitude measurements, gather information about Indians, and study the geography, climate, and wildlife. Lewis and Clark produced the first map of this area, which showed how vast the purchase actually was. The large number of Indian tribes in the purchase foreshadowed the up coming conflicts that westward settlers would have with them. This expedition excited American's interest in the West.

**102. Aaron Burr and his treason trial:** Aaron Burr, Jefferson's vice president during the first term, ran against Jefferson in the election of 1804. However, Alexander Hamilton who had thwarted Burr's grab for the presidency in 1800 by supporting Jefferson, now foiled Burr a second time by allowing publication of his horrible opinion of Burr. Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel and mortally wounded him. Indicted for murdering Alexander Hamilton, Burr joined forces with the military governor of the Louisiana Territory and launched a campaign to create an independent confederacy of the western states, conquer Mexico, and invade West Florida. However, the governor notified Jefferson of the plot and the president denounced Burr of conspiracy. Burr was captured and brought to Richmond to stand trial. Chief Justice John Marshall used a strict interpretation of the Constitution's section on treason, to demand that the jury actually *prove* treasonable *acts*. However, since the conspiracy had not really taken place or been completed, the jury returned a 'not proved' verdict—a clear embarrassment to Jefferson. This was the first time that section of the Constitution was interpreted to convict a high government official and established an important precedent about the meaning and interpretation of that section.

**103. John Randolph/ the Quids/ the Yazoo land scandal:** John Randolph was the Virginian leader of a group of Democratic Republicans known as the Quids. Originally Jefferson agreed with their ideas (moral superiority of agrarian life) but found that, once in office, he was forced to compromise. This alienated the Quids. The Yazoo land scandal turned the Quids against Jefferson. In 1795 the Georgia legislature had sold the huge Yazoo tract for a fraction of its value to land companies that had bribed virtually the entire legislature. Though the next legislature canceled the sale, many investors had bought in a good faith and brought suit to keep their purchases. It was a moral challenge to Jefferson because of the good-faith purchases and a political dilemma as well. Since some of the investors were northerners whom Jefferson wanted to attract to his power base, the President validated part of the sales. The compromise alienated the Quids from Jefferson. John Randolph believed Jefferson had sold out on his agrarian virtue ideas.

**104. The Embargo Act (1807),** one of the most controversial pieces of legislation during Jefferson's presidency, prohibited vessels from leaving American harbors for foreign ports. Jefferson believed this was a way of forcing France and Britain to respect American neutrality, but it did not work. This reflected Jefferson's policy of "peaceable coercion." Although technically the act prohibited exports only, it stopped imports as well (since foreign ships would not come into US harbors if they could not leave with merchandise). Therefore, US itself felt its harshest effects: Thousands lost their jobs, went bankrupt, and debtors swelled the jail population. There were some *long term* gains for the northern states. Merchants used their capital and began manufacturing (cotton mills). **The Non-Intercourse Act (1809)** opened US trade to all nations except Britain and France and authorized Jefferson to restore trade with either of those nations if it stopped violating neutral (US) rights. However, neither nation complied. And since American shippers kept up their profitable trade with the British and French, despite the restrictions, Congress passed **Macon's Bill No.2 (1810)**. It reopened trade with both France and Britain and stated that, if either nation repealed its restrictions on neutral shipping, the US would halt all trade with the other. These last two acts indicate the collapse of "peaceable coercion" because they did not prohibit Americans from trading with the English and the French; and did not prohibit Britain from continuing impressment; and did not prohibit the French from pressuring Americans into joining them, by setting them up against the British.

**105. The "War Hawks"/Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun:** Elected to Congress in the congressional elections of 1810, Democratic Republicans **Henry Clay** of Kentucky and **John C. Calhoun** of South Carolina are known as "**War Hawks**." They represented the southern and western interests. They advocated that war was the solution to the British and French challenges to American foreign policy, neutral navigation, and trade, *not* peaceable coercion. They wanted to expel Britain from Canada, and Spain from the Floridas. The southern planters were concerned with the declining prices and recession of 1808-1810 and westerners feared that the British in Canada were recruiting Indians to halt their settlement in the Louisiana Territory. Though a Senate minority by 1812, the war hawks were an influential voice in the country's drive toward war, which was highly opposed by Federalists.

**106. Tecumseh** was the Shawnee Indian chief who tried to unite several Ohio and Indiana tribes against westward-moving settlers. He tried to revive traditional values to help end continuing loss of tribal lands and to fight alcoholism. He and his half-brother, known as the Prophet, believed that Indians had to purge themselves of liquor and corrupting influences of white civilization. They did not sign the Treaty of Fort Wayne prepared by Indiana Gov William Henry Harrison, which had led to the purchase of Miamis' and Delawares' lands. This reflects the struggle for the control of the Ohio River Valley and resulted in the Battle of Tippecanoe, which made Harrison a national hero, and led the Shawnee to join the British in the war of 1812.

**107. The Treaty of Ghent (1814),** signed in Ghent, Belgium, between the US and Britain, ended the War of 1812. At first England demanded territories from America but took back the demand after the battle of Plattsburgh. The treaty restored the *status quo ante bellum*, which means neither country gained or lost land despite two years of war. It brought an end to the War of 1812. After dealing with Napoleon England just wanted peace and realized it wasn't worth fighting a minor war in North America. The treaty created a joint commission to fix the Canadian-American border and did not clarify the impressment issue.

**108. The Hartford Convention (1814)** was a meeting of New England Federalists that convened to express regional grievances to the government in the wake of the War of 1812. Some supported secession, but moderates eventually prevailed. They asked for constitutional amendments to abolish the 3/5ths clause; to require a 2/3 majority in Congress to go to war and to admit new states into the union; to limit presidents to a single term; to disallow successive presidents from the same state; and to ban all embargoes lasting more than sixty days. With the signing of the Treaty of Ghent and the victory at New Orleans, these demands lost all public support and were not heeded by the national government. The Convention represented the fears of New Englanders of being marginalized by the expanding country. The focus of the country was moving west, the embargo was hurting New England trade, and the war was damaging their homes and incomes, and threatening their safety. This Convention was the last major political move by the Federalists, because after its failure to achieve anything, the party gradually faded away.

**109. Andrew Jackson and the Battle of New Orleans (1815):** Two weeks after the Treaty of Ghent, a British forces attacked New Orleans. US troops commanded by General Andrew Jackson succeeded in driving them out, inflicting heavy casualties. The

battle was a great victory for the US and Jackson, a famed Indian fighter. Although it did not affect the outcome of the war, the Battle of New Orleans launched the political career of Andrew Jackson. It also destroyed the support base of the Federalist party as their primary views were anti-war and anti-Madison (the president) at a time when this victory had strengthened support for Madison and the war. Federalists lost the next election in a landslide. This signified the end of the Federalists as a political force.

**110. Dartmouth College v. Woodward (1819)** focused on New Hampshire's attempt to transform a private corporation, Dartmouth College, into a state university by taking over its colonial charter and appointing a new Board of Trustees. The Supreme Court ruled that Dartmouth's original charter was a contract and therefore was protected under the Contract Clause of the Constitution, which prohibited state interference. The Court's opinion said that once a state had chartered a college or business, it surrendered its power to alter the charter. The Court thus upheld the sanctity of contracts and private property rights.

**111. McCulloch v. Maryland (1819)**, a landmark Supreme Court case, raises the question of whether the state of Maryland had the power to tax an agent of the federal government, in this case the Baltimore branch of the Second Bank of the United States. Chief Justice John Marshall ruled that the *broad* sweep or interpretation of enumerated (listed in the Constitution) powers, especially of the Elastic Clause [which gives Congress the power "to make all laws which shall be necessary or proper for carrying into execution" the powers the Constitution gives the legislative branch] could be construed to *imply* the power to charter a bank, although the Constitution did not explicitly grant this power. He also ruled that any power of the national government, enumerated or implied, was supreme within its sphere, therefore states could not interfere with the exercise of federal power; thus Maryland's attempt to tax the bank was clearly unconstitutional. Marshall's decision dismayed Democratic Republicans because it placed the unpopular bank beyond the regulatory power of any state government. Furthermore, the decision attacked state sovereignty. This case helped Marshall establish the principle of federal supremacy and gave the Supreme Court the exclusive right to interpret the Constitution.

**112. The Monroe Doctrine (1823)** was a message to Congress by President, James Monroe. Written largely by Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, the "Doctrine" stated three principles: 1) to avoid European wars unless American interests were involved 2) "American continents are not subjects for future colonization by any European power" 3) US will look upon European attempts at colonization as unfriendly acts. Europeans mocked the Monroe Doctrine as a unilateral demand that the young, inexperienced US could not enforce (It was Europeans' fear of Britain's Royal Navy, not the Monroe Doctrine, that prevented their involvement in South America). The Doctrine implied two important US plans: 1) The US would not support any revolution in Europe; 2) The US claimed a preeminent position for itself in the New World by keeping its options open to annex territory in the Americas.

## CHAPTER 9

**113. The National Road**, begun in 1811, was a highway that reached Vandalia, Illinois, by 1838. The road was quite popular as it helped intrastate and interstate commerce and as many westbound settlers traveled along it. The Road was the result of western lands ceded (Articles of Confederation), surveyed and sold (Land Ordinance of 1785), and transformed into states (Northwest Ordinance). It had become an important linkage between the original 13 states and the new states created in the Louisiana and Northwest Territories, in the wake of the Treaty of Ghent and the Adams-Onis Treaty. The treaties and subsequent National Road "aided whites and brought misery to the Indians". The Louisiana Purchase and Adams-Onis Treaty took Spain's protection away from Indians, and the War of 1812 removed British protection over them. While initially opposed by Jefferson who did not see transportation as being a federal task, the National Road involved the federal government in the economy more directly.

**114. The Indian Removal Act (1830)/Treaty of New Echota/Trail of Tears:** The "Five Civilized Tribes" (Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles) lived on the piedmont, northern Georgia and Alabama, and eastern North and South Carolina. Inter-marriage had created influential minorities of mixed-bloods within the tribes. These minorities embraced the European culture, Christianity, and agriculture. They were generally more cooperative with the US, ceding and selling western lands. Under Andrew Jackson, as gold was found in lands claimed by the Cherokee and disputed by Georgia, the federal government became more involved in trying to find a federal solution to the 'Indian problem.' At the beginning of his presidency, in 1830, Jackson pushed the **Indian Removal Act** through a reluctant Congress. The Act granted the president authority to remove the Indians, by force if necessary. The Indian Act gave authority to the states to force out or attack Indians. All of the "Five Civilized Tribes" were severely affected and eventually removed to "Indian Territory." The Act was challenged by the Cherokee in the US Supreme Court; nonetheless, Jackson went through with it, jeopardizing the balance of power in the republic. **Treaty of New Echota (1835)** was a "fraudulent" treaty Jackson negotiated with a handful of "unauthorized individuals" from the Cherokee nation. It ceded most remaining Cherokee lands to the US for \$ 5.6 million in exchange for the Indians' transportation west. Principal signers were killed by other Cherokees, but to no avail, their "fate" was already sealed. 16,000 Cherokees were forced to walk west to the Indian Territory between 1835-1838 (**Trail of Tears**). Almost 4,000 died in the on the trail to the lands reserved to them in 'perpetuity' in Oklahoma (Indian Territory).

**115. Cherokee Nation v Georgia (1831):** When gold was discovered on Cherokee tribal lands in 1829, thousands of white settlers sought to move there. The State of Georgia refused to protect tribal claims acknowledged by previous treaties, and passed a law forbidding the Cherokee to mine gold. The Supreme Court ruled that the tribe was a "domestic dependent nation" under the guardianship of the federal government and not subject to state jurisdiction. Marshall denied Georgia its desire to deal independently with the Cherokee nation. Marshall used the case to reinforce federal powers and to provide a final, *legal*, solution to the Indian problem, *under federal jurisdiction*. **Worcester v Georgia (1832):** Samuel Worcester, a pastor working with the Cherokee, was arrested for violation of a Georgia law requiring whites to get permits to work in the Cherokee territory. The Supreme Court declared the Cherokee Nation to be sovereign and reiterated its decision in *Cherokee Nation* that all dealings with them fell under federal jurisdiction. Marshall further ruled that the laws of Georgia had no force within Cherokee lands. Jackson ignored Marshall's decision and used *federal* troops to remove the Indians (Trail of Tears).

**116. Panic of 1819** was a period of economic recession under James Monroe. State banks issued their own bank notes, promising to pay the holder a certain amount of specie in gold or silver. This led to more borrowing and use of credit because the bank notes were plentiful. As westward expansion allowed opportunities for land purchases at competitive prices, and as the Industrial Revolution in England created larger demands for cotton and wheat, more and more farmers and planters borrowed, relying on the hopes of profits and large harvests to pay their debts. However, unrestricted speculation and an unexpected economic slump in England, jeopardized the repayment of the loans. When the Bank of the United States started insisting that state banks deal in specie, the state banks demanded that farmers and planters pay their loans in specie. This made land prices collapse because farmers could not pay their debts, land speculators could not collect their money. This led to much distrust of banks, especially the Bank of the United States (this helped with Jackson's veto on the renewal of its charter). Americans recognized how vulnerable their factories were to foreign competitors and wanted higher tariffs, and farmers realized how dependant on distant markets they were and tried to find better, cheaper ways to transport goods (National Road, Erie Canal).

**117. *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824)** is a landmark Supreme Court case concerned with federal control of interstate commerce. Aaron Ogden had purchased monopoly rights to running a ferry in New York and he thought it was also a monopoly of moving things from New York to New Jersey. Ogden filed a suit against Gibbons who had been given a license by the *federal* government to service coastal waterways in the New York area. The Supreme Court upheld Gibbons' right to his concession. By stating that Gibbons' license was valid, Marshall upheld the national government's right to regulate interstate commerce. This also showed that Marshall felt that the federal government should be superior to the states. This decision came at a time when such interstate transportation projects, such as the National Road and the Erie Canal, were raising issues of state and federal jurisdiction.

**118. Missouri Compromise (1820)** was a series of congressional agreements to resolve the conflict over accepting Missouri, a slave state, into the Union because it would unbalance the equal power between slave and free states (11 each, in 1820). James Tallmadge Jr (R-NY) tried to work out a compromise by proposing a prohibition on the importation of new slaves into Missouri and by requiring that existing slaves be emancipated after a certain age. The proposal did not pass a divided Senate. Congress admitted Maine as a free state and Missouri as a slave state to balance the number of free states and free states. It also prohibited slavery in the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase north of the 36°30', Missouri's southern border. It also prohibits Missouri from discriminating against the citizens of other states from entering Missouri. The Compromise was largely considered a "southern victory" because the South had gained admission of Missouri. The Compromise also reinforced the principle that Congress could prohibit slavery in some territories. Votes in Congress reflected the clear divisions between North and South, and between the fading Federalists and the Democratic Republicans.

**119-120. Erie Canal (1825)**, which stretched ten times longer than any existing canal in North America, linked Lake Erie to the Hudson River, New York City, and the Atlantic Ocean in 363 miles from Buffalo to Albany. The Erie Canal was part of the "canal boom" that slashed shipping costs. Before the Canal, transporting wheat, corn, and oats were three, six, and twelve times its market value, respectively. The Erie also dramatically cut freight charges, which dropped from 19 cents to 2 cents a ton per mile between the 2 cities. These reductions dramatically helped transportation and shipping costs. This was the first major canal project in North America. **Boston Manufacturing Company/Lowell Mills:** The Boston Manufacturing Company, opened in 1813, built textile mills in the Massachusetts towns of Lowell and Waltham, within a 40 mile radius of Boston. Unlike the mills of **Samuel Slater** in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, the Boston Manufacturing Company turned out finished products. The workers in the Lowell mills were mostly unmarried women who were 15-30 years old. The Company enforced high moral standards, and controlled employees' lives outside the factory (e.g. church attendance, housing, etc.). Working conditions were extremely poor and wages were low. This was part of the industrial boom that began with Robert Fulton's and Robert Livingston's steam engine (North) and with Eli Whitney's cotton gin (South).

**121. Alexis de Tocqueville and *Democracy in America*:** de Tocqueville was a French nobleman who came to America and was one of many who sensed changes sweeping over the country. His classic, *Democracy in America*, cited the "general equality of condition among the people" as the fundamental shaping force of American society. He was also aware of inequalities in that society, and saw the divisions between the classes. He also observed that Americans were "a society of joiners."

## CHAPTER 10

**122. John Quincy Adams**, son of former president John Adams, and Secretary of State to James Monroe became president in 1824. He made several decisions that made his presidency controversial and ensured him a single-term presidency. He alienated supporters by appointing his opponents to high office. As well, he infuriated southerners by sending American delegates to a conference of newly independent Latin nations, thus recognizing Haiti (the Black republic created by slave revolutionaries.). In addition, his administration was marred by charges of a 'corrupt bargain,' levied by Jackson's supporters (during the **election of 1824**, none of the three candidates—JQ Adams, Andrew Jackson, and Henry Clay—had achieved a majority of the electoral votes and the decision had been transferred to the House; however, when Clay threw in his support to Adams in exchange for his appointment as Secretary of State, Jackson cried foul). This election led to the division of the Democratic Republican Party.

**123. Martin Van Buren** was Andrew Jackson's vice-president (second term) before becoming president in 1836. A New York politician who controlled a statewide party machine, he was instrumental in bringing together the forces within the Democratic Republican party who had supported Jackson in the election of 1824 to form the Democratic Party by 1828. He believed that the election had shown the necessity of a two-party competition for elected office, to concentrate the votes around the parties' choices and to avoid the rise of splinter groups within a party. This movement split Jefferson's Democratic Republican Party into the supporters of Jackson and Van Buren who began to call themselves Democrats, and the National Republicans (later called Whigs), who backed John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay. This led to the creation of the **second party system** (see #132).

**124. National Republicans/Whigs:** The National Republican party formed in the split of the Democratic Republican Party after the 1824 election. The National Republicans endorsed the presidency of John Quincy Adams and enjoyed the support of Henry Clay. They brought together the remnants of the Federalist Party and western farmers who supported a strong central government, a national bank, and the printing of paper money. During Jackson's second term, the National Republicans changed their name to the **Whig Party**. By 1836, Whigs had become a national party with widespread appeal. As Jackson's policies alienated his followers, some began to side with the Whigs. Eventually, the party split over slavery.

**125. Maysville Road Veto:** In 1830, Jackson vetoed a bill that would provide federal support for a road in Kentucky between Maysville and Lexington. Similar to most southerners, Jackson maintained that "federal support for internal improvements was simply a lavish give-away." As well, he thought that it violated the Constitution that said that the Congress could only provide money for *national* purposes. This veto enhanced Jackson's popularity in the south.

**126. Tariff of Abominations/John C. Calhoun:** This high protective tariff was passed under President John Quincy Adams in 1828. It inevitably raised the price of domestically manufactured goods and proved to be more profitable for New Englanders and Western farmers. However, it was greatly opposed in the South because England, who purchased most of the southern cotton and produced textiles which it then sold in the US, became reluctant to rely on southern cotton if that meant that British textiles would have to be charged a tariff as they were imported into the US. The crisis came to a head when Andrew Jackson became president. While the president considered a compromise solution, Vice President John C. Calhoun, who had his own presidential ambitions, lent his support to South Carolina's efforts at the nullification of what had come to be called the 'Tariff of Abominations.' This tariff created a rift between Calhoun and Jackson. Jackson's support base was mainly in the West, so Southerners felt as though their president was not heeding their interests. This hostility led to a major crisis over nullification (where South Carolina declared that the state was to nullify the tariff); Jackson even feared the outbreak of a civil war in the South. The crisis ended when the president signed the Compromise Tariff of 1833.

**127. Compromise Tariff of 1833/Force Bill** were measures proposed by President Jackson to get out of the nullification crisis created by the Tariff of Abominations. The **Compromise Tariff** gradually lowered the tariff duties on imports. The **Force Bill** allowed the President to use force if necessary to collect duties in South Carolina. These compromises reflected the president's policy of "the olive branch and the sword," making a concession with one measure and flexing the muscle with the other. Jackson had to do whatever possible to prevent secession or a civil war. The compromise was worked out by Henry Clay, who wanted to take the control of the tariffs issue away from the executive branch.

**128. Henry Clay's American System** involved ideas such as federal support for internal improvements, tariff protection for new industries, and the rechartering of the national bank that Clay proclaimed would help make the nation economically self-sufficient. This system led to Congress chartering the Second Bank of the United States and enacting a moderate tariff. However, after the War of 1812, when Congress tried to pass an internal improvements bill that was to be federally supported, Madison vetoed it, claiming that a constitutional amendment was needed in order to permit such improvements.

**129. The National Bank** (or the Bank of the United States), under the leadership of its president Nicholas Biddle, was first chartered under Washington. It was rechartered in 1816 as the Second Bank of the United States. Based in Philadelphia, rather than Washington, DC, it was established and operated as a *private* organization, in which the federal government was a *shareholder*, along with *foreign and local* investors. It was the official repository of federal funds and therefore had a larger lending power than state banks. It controlled the ability to print and lend paper money and specie. The Bank was blamed for the Panic of 1819. Since it included foreign investors, and was a privileged institution that viewed itself as above politics and separate from the federal government, the Bank came under much suspicion that eventually resulted in Jackson's decision not to renew its charter, which was due to expire in 1836. Jackson was concerned that the foreign investors in the bank could, at any time, pull out their moneys, jeopardizing US economy. He vetoed the bank's rechartering and began removing money from the bank and put it in state banks, further reinforcing his advocacy for states' rights. The money issue eventually split the Democratic Party between supporters of soft money (paper--strong in the West) and those who advocated the use of hard money (specie).

**130. The Panic of 1837** was a depression that occurred after Andrew Jackson left office but was due primarily to his policy of placing federal funds in state banks. This resulted in inflation affecting mostly manufactured goods and land, an increase in the number of banks, and in the value of notes banks were issuing (and which they promised to redeem in specie). After Jackson's presidency, prices fell and banks suspended specie payments, causing an economic crisis. The Panic was caused in part by Jackson's Specie Circular of July 1836 (declared that only specie could be used to purchase land), which dried up credit during the large scale westward expansion of the 1810-1830s. It was also caused by Britain's decision to stop its flow of specie to the U.S. The Panic led to President Van Buren's signing of the Independent Treasury Bill in 1840. This showed that the US will be subject to economic crises so long as there was no agreement as to which type of currency to use and how and who regulates lending.

**131. The Independent Treasury Bill** was adopted under President Van Buren in 1840. It created an independent treasury for the safe-keeping of government funds, keeping them away from the control of corporations. The bill was created as a solution for the Panic of 1837. It reflected the "Jacksonian suspicion of an alliance between the federal government and banking." It helped save the federal government from financial problems caused by the fluctuations of the state banks' and corporations' unrestricted and unregulated lending policies. However, it failed to address the increase in the number of state banks, an issue that launched another wave of speculative lending for westward expansion and divided the Whigs and the Democrats.

**132. Second Party System** came about after the election of 1824, when the Democratic Republican Party of Jefferson split into the Democratic Party led by Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren, and the National Republicans, later called Whigs, led by John Quincy Adams, and later by Henry Clay and William Henry Harrison. The Whigs, which included the remnants of the

Federalist Party, had its support base in the unprecedented alliance of southern planters, western farmers, and urban workers. They sought a more activist federal government. One of the sources of their strength was the anti-Masonic movement, directed against masonic lodges, which provided many a rich investor with a financial and a customer base. The Second Party System, like the first, reflected regional differences. Most of the South remained Democratic and Jackson's party became a strong advocate of states' rights. The parties disagreed on the national bank: Whigs believed that the economic panics were caused by Jackson's insistence that public lands be bought by specie. Democrats believed that the depression was caused by paper money issued by the national bank. The Second Party System will characterize Antebellum politics until the Civil War.

**133. Can Ridge Revival, Kentucky**, was a frontier revival camp during the Second Great Awakening, where people would gather to sing hymns, experience divine grace, and listen to thunderous sermons. This was part of the Great Kentucky revival of 1800-1801. The convincing speakers were often common people who experienced 'conversions.' They promoted law, order, and morality, sought to purify a decaying society, and protect the 'integrity of the frontier' or the 'moral life of the farmer.' It helped to steer the focus of religion to feelings rather than disputes over religious doctrine.

**134. Methodists** began as a frontier denomination and became the largest Protestant congregation in America. They believed that religion was a matter of the heart, not of the mind, thus putting religious feeling or faith above doctrine or dogma. A fast-spreading religion, it relied on the proselytizing efforts of young, single men, who would travel from town to town to spread the faith. Converts held 'weekly classes' to provide mutual encouragement and to act as a community authority, able to punish transgressors (alcohol, fighting, sex, corrupt business practices, etc.). One of the leading movements of the Second Awakening, it drew the largest number of converts. It eventually split over (North v South) the issue of slavery.

**135-136. The Burned-Over District** was an area in Western New York where the Second Great Awakening spread to after its beginnings in Kentucky and the frontier. Inhabited by descendants of the Puritans and those seeking economic opportunities near the Erie Canal, Western New York presented an environment where "high expectations and bitter discontent" made people eager to engage in revivals. A Presbyterian minister, **Charles Grandison Finney**, organized a revival center in Rochester in 1830-1831. Known as the 'father of modern revivalism,' he called for cooperation among Protestants though he rejected Calvinism's doctrine of human's inevitable attraction to sin (he believed sin to be a 'voluntary act, and sinners could therefore choose to redeem themselves). He laid the foundations of evangelical Protestantism, "which focused on the need for an emotional religious conversion." His belief in the possibilities of redemption through will power attracted men and women alike.

**137. Unitarians** were a Protestant group whose primary doctrine held that Jesus Christ was less than fully divine. They rejected the Calvinist ideal on the wickedness of human nature and believed that the main goal of Christianity is to seek perfection and moral elevation. When Unitarianism became a formal doctrine in New England the early 1800s, several Congregational churches were torn apart as prominent families became Unitarians. The church, though not large in numbers, gained influence because it attracted many wealthy and intelligent individuals who attacked the revivalist movement, labeling it as uncouth. They doubted the lasting effects of a conversion based on an emotional connection.

**138. Mormons/Joseph Smith/Book Of Mormon/Brigham Young:** The **Mormons** are the followers of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This Church was founded when **Joseph Smith** claimed an angel led him to a book of revelation from God, the **Book of Mormon**. Smith's teachings were treated with either following or with extreme dislike. Smith and his followers had to keep heading west to escape persecution. After Smith proclaimed he was the "Prophet of the Kingdom of God," he was killed by a mob in western Illinois. **Brigham Young** took over and led his followers to Utah (under Mexican control), where he established an independent republic based on Mormon teachings and rank and file control. Mormonism developed in the midst of the various Protestant revival movements and sought to offer a purely *American* Christian religion. It also sought to resolve the doctrinal differences between the Protestant movements by suggesting that there had been legitimate revelations, in addition to the ones in the Bible. These two aspects of Mormonism accounted for its appeal. Mormonism offered the downcast and outcast of society an alternative to established religions and practices. They helped to colonize the west.

**139. Shakers** were sect established by an Englishwoman, Mother Ann Lee. The religious group derived its name from a dance used in their worship. It started as a group of agricultural/artisan communities in colonial period. Mother Ann Lee believed that Shakers have to live in gender-segregated communities, away from mainstream society, to pave the way for the imminent arrival of Jesus, who would appear in the form of a woman. Shaker communities sprang up in western Massachusetts and the central piedmont (Kentucky), where they dedicated themselves to hard work and worship. The group was considered radical because of its stance against materialism and the teaching that Jesus Christ would come again as a woman. They advanced farming techniques and invented many tools, for which they were granted patents. During the Civil War, they gathered orphans and took care of them, in exchange for exemption from military service, which they opposed. The last known Shaker died in 1980s.

**140. American Temperance Society**, founded by **Lyman Beecher**, was reform movement during the Second Great Awakening that opposed all use of alcohol. An offshoot of the Evangelical Protestant movement, it demanded total abstinence and flooded the country with tracts denouncing the 'amazing evil' of strong drink. Because so many of the forces dislocating workers in late 1830's were beyond their control, Evangelical Protestants looked to something that they could control: drinking. As Temperance gained more support, their emphasis shifted from banning liquor in individuals to the community. This led to decline in alcohol consumption, 1820-1840.. The movement was supported by manufacturers and factory owners, seeking a sober and disciplined work force. Women formed the power base of the movement, because of alcohol's association with domestic abuse.

**141. Horace Mann / McGuffey readers:** Mann was Massachusetts' first secretary of the newly created board of education. He wanted to transform schools (white schools..) from loose organizations into highly structured.. institutions that occupied most of a child's time and energy. He also shifted the burden of educational support from parents to the state. **The McGuffey readers**



were textbooks that preached industry, honesty, sobriety, and patriotism. Educational reform enjoyed the support of manufacturers, urban workers, and women, who found in teaching a professional opportunity. The public schools became a vehicle for forging a common American (often anti-immigrant) culture out of an increasingly diverse society.

**142. American Colonization Society (1817)** was main antislavery organization of early 19<sup>th</sup> c. It proposed gradual emancipation, compensation for slave owners when slaves became free, and shipment to Africa of freed Blacks. The creation of this society led many authors to write about the importance of abolition and emancipation. It led to formation of American Anti-Slavery Society.

**143 -144. Benjamin Lundy**, a White Quaker, began a newspaper, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in 1821. It called for the repeal of the 3/5 Compromise, the outlawing of the internal slave trade, and the abolition of slavery in US territories. One of his assistant editors, **William Lloyd Garrison**, later became a major figure in abolitionist movement. In 1831, Garrison began his own abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator*. In time he grew more radical, advocating immediate & unconditional emancipation. Eventually he renounced all laws and government, stating that government was force and thus did not conform to his Christian ideals. He believed his paper had a role to play in demonstrating to people the evil nature of slavery. He advocated immediate emancipation and equal legal and civil rights for Blacks. Though White himself, most of Garrison's early supporters were Black. He also supported the women's rights movement, establishing a linkage among all movements for emancipation.

**145. American Anti-Slavery Society** was founded in 1833 and was the largest abolition group in the country. It experienced much internal trouble and split several times. One came as a result of disagreements as to whether or not the group should form a political party. A part of the society formed the antislavery Liberty party in 1840. The second split was over women's rights and their role in the society itself, and it occurred when Abby Kelley was elected to a committee within the party. Despite its internal turmoil, the society was still effective in that local societies continued their work. They opposed Congress' 'gag rule' on their petitions to outlaw slavery in the nation's capital. The 'gag rule' was eventually abolished in 1845.

**146. Sarah and Angelina Grimke**, daughters of a North Carolina slaveholder, were abolitionists and became women's rights activists when they were criticized for giving lectures to both men and women on their tour of New England. Sarah authored *Letters on the Condition of Women and the Equality of the Sexes*. They were met much opposition because many abolitionists felt that women's rights issues were insignificant in comparison to the injustices of slavery. They advocated not merely reform, but complete fundamental equality across racial and gender lines. They belong to the group of early feminists who started their careers as abolitionists, and moved to feminism because of the gender bias they encountered.

**147-149. Elizabeth Cady Stanton/Seneca Falls Convention:** Stanton was one of the strongest advocates of women's right throughout the 19th century. A part of the abolition movement, she traveled to London in 1840 for the World Anti-Slavery Convention. She and other women, who attended the conference, including **Lucretia Mott**, a Quaker minister, were relegated to a screened-off section. This incident made a deep impression on Stanton, and shifted her focus from abolition to women's rights. In 1848, she and Mott, together with **Susan B. Anthony**, also a Quaker, organized a women's rights convention at **Seneca Falls** in New York. At this conference, a "Declaration of Sentiments" was issued, the participants passed a series of resolutions including a call for women's suffrage. One of the most important players in the struggle for women's right, Elizabeth Cady Stanton wrote numerous influential articles, essays, and books. Her influence helped the women's rights activists ultimately achieve their goal of women's suffrage and the improvement of the treatment of women in the post-Civil war period.

**150. Dorothea Dix** was an idealistic Unitarian schoolteacher, who devoted herself to reforming prison conditions and the treatment of the insane. She visited numerous jails where the mentally ill were kept, and wrote numerous articles and essays that documented her findings. With help from such reformers as Horace Mann, she encouraged legislatures to create separate institutions for the mentally ill. She later served her country as a superintendent of women nurses during the Civil War. After years of appealing to legislative bodies, in 1860, 28 states, 4 cities, and the federal government had built public mental institutions. Dix is part of the Antebellum reform movement that rejected the idea that poverty and insanity were divine punishments and made her case that these were caused by social and economic conditions that needed to be addressed.

**151. New Harmony/Robert Owen:** **New Harmony** was a utopian community founded in southwestern Indiana in 1825 by **Robert Owen**, a British mill owner. He felt that the problems of the time were social rather than political, and that if social arrangements were perfected then vice and misery would disappear. He wanted to create small, planned communities with perfect balances between working, religious and social groups. Owen hoped New Harmony would become a model for the US and that northern states would adopt its principles, but by 1827 the community had fallen victim to religious fanatics and idlers.

**152. Brook Farm** was a utopian community near Boston founded by religious philosophers called **Transcendentalists**. This group was an offshoot of Unitarians "proclaiming the infinite spiritual capacities of ordinary men and women." Philosophers gardened during the day, and spent their evenings in discussion or study. Brook Farm was meant to be both a retreat and a model for society outside of the community. It attracted many prominent writers like Ralph Waldo Emerson and Nathaniel Hawthorne, and its literary magazine, *The Dial*, helped spread Transcendentalist ideas to the outside world.

**153. Oneida Community:** Founded in 1848, this utopian community survived much longer than the less radical experiments like New Harmony or Brook Farm. Its founder, John Humphrey Noyes, was considered crazy during his time. By 1875 the community was still quite large, but by then Noyes had begun an experiment to breed a perfect race. A committee within the Oneida Community decided on sexual partners for the residents, and children aged four and older were raised in a common nursery. The younger members of the community rebelled, and Noyes fled to Canada in 1879 to avoid prosecution. The Oneida Community challenged traditional ideas of religion, property, gender roles, marriage, sex, dress, and motherhood.

## CHAPTER 12

**154. Fredrick Douglass** was an antislavery and early civil rights leader. Much abused as a slave, he escaped and settled in Massachusetts where he became active in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church. William Lloyd Garrison enlisted him as an antislavery speaker. By mid-1840s, he became a leading advocate of emancipation. He published his autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, in 1845. He moved to Rochester, New York, where he published the *North Star*, a newspaper dedicated to abolitionism. He helped plan John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry and endorsed Abraham Lincoln's bid for the presidency in 1860. He supported the enlistment of black soldiers during the Civil War. He supported the Radical Republicans during Reconstruction. His Narrative was a 'brutal' introduction for most northerners to slavery. His dedication to the cause of immediate and unconditional emancipation made him the leading abolitionist of the Antebellum era.

**155. Denmark Vesey** was a slave bought his freedom for \$1,500 with his lottery ticket. He bought a carpentry store, preached at the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and built a sizable following. Using church meetings as a cover, he devised a slave insurrection and an attack on Charleston, South Carolina. However, he was betrayed by his own followers, captured and executed. This event showed the internalized fears of slaves of their masters and of government retribution. This also represents the important role of the Methodist church in offering a refuge and a platform for Black activists.

**156. Nat Turner's Rebellion** erupted in 1831. Believing himself to be appointed by God to lead fellow slaves to their freedom, Turner organized a revolt with approximately 60 followers. After killing the family of his own owner, Turner and his followers ravaged the neighborhood, killing a total of 55 white people. The revolt was soon crushed, however, and 13 slaves and 3 free blacks were hanged immediately. Though Turner was initially able to escape, he was eventually captured and hanged. The Rebellion was the most serious and most threatening in the history of southern slavery. Unfortunately, it proved to southern planters that their fears of an imminent slave rebellion were justified, which led southern legislatures to adopt stricter slave laws.

**157. Methodist Episcopal Church**, founded in the colonial days in 1784, it based its order of worship and articles of religion prepared by the Englishman John Wesley. In 1830, after controversy over lay representation in church conferences and the question of slavery, the Methodists split on a north-south axis. The Wesleyan Methodist Connection was organized (1843) at Utica, NY, in a strong antislavery protest. The independent Methodist Episcopal Church (South) began in 1845. Southern Blacks continued with Methodism by establishing their own churches. Black Methodist denominations, founded by pastors such as Richard Allen, include African Methodist Episcopal Church, which was organized nationally in 1816.

**158. Baptist Church** was founded in Holland by a group English Separatists who came under Mennonite influence around 1608. They were mostly concerned with an egalitarian approach to conversion, sainthood, and purification, and the issue of free will in baptism. In colonial New England, Baptists gained influence among the Puritans when Roger Williams rejected infant baptism and established a church in Providence in 1639. Persecuted in New England, some Baptists emigrated to Charleston, S.C. in the 1680s. In the Southeast Baptist views found acceptance, but their strict Calvinistic ideas suited the pioneers who settled the southern mountains after the Revolution. When the question of slavery became a dividing wall, the Southern Baptist Convention was established (1845). As in the case of Methodists, southern Blacks formed the National Baptist Convention.

## CHAPTER 13

**159. Adams-Onis Treaty (1819)** was signed between the United States and Spain after Jackson invaded West Florida in 1818, hanged two British subjects, and captured Spanish forts, a raid which John Quincy Adams supported (not authorized) because he correctly guessed that it would panic the Spanish into further concessions. In 1819, Spain agreed to cede East Florida to the United States, renouncing all claims to West Florida, and agreed to a border that ran north along the Sabine River, then west along the Red and Arkansas Rivers to the Rockies, and then along the forty-second parallel to the Pacific. The treaty gave United States a legitimate claim to the Pacific coast. It wiped out the remnants of Spanish control East of the Mississippi.

**160. Commonwealth v. Hunt** (1842) is a case adjudicated by Massachusetts Supreme Court involving the Boston Journeyman Bootmakers' Society. The Court ruled that trade unions are legal. It revised the common law that treated such unions as criminal conspiracies that restrain trade by establishing monopolies on labor. Since only less than 1% of workers at that time belonged to unions, employers brushed the decision aside and hired non-union immigrants, ending unions' hopes to establish the 10-hr work day.

**161-166: Stephen Austin/Santa Anna/Sam Houston/The Texas Revolution:** In 1824, the Mexican government started encouraging American settlement in Texas, to bring in money from manufacturing and to protect them from the Indians. The Mexican government gave land grants to agents known as empresarios to bring in American settlers. **Stephen Austin**, the most famous empresario, brought in many families. As the settlers refused to obey stipulations of Mexican law they did not like, the Mexican government eventually closed Texas to American settlement and forbade the introduction of more slaves into the areas under Mexican authority. Despite the ban, Americans continued to settle in Texas and many came with their slaves. When **Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna** became president of Mexico, he restricted the power of individual states, including Texas. His actions ignited a series of rebellions in the Mexican states; the most important of which became the **Texas Revolution**. At the beginning the rebels, under the leadership of Austin, demanded more autonomy in Texas, not independence, but Santa Anna's invasion of the state and the massacres at **Alamo and Goliad** radicalized the Americans in Texas. **Sam Houston**, another empresario, organized a Texas army and confronted the Mexicans at **Battle of San Jacinto**, which gave Texas its independence. The issue of slavery and how it led to the organization of Americans against Mexico was a precursor to the Civil War. Texas' independence opened the way for discussions in Congress over a possible annexation of Texas, which in turn raised the issue of expanding slavery outside of the territory of the Louisiana Purchase.

**167. The Oregon Trail** was one of the great emigrant routes to the Northwest, running from Independence, Mo., to the Columbia River region of Oregon. It crossed about 2,000 miles of rugged terrain, including desert and Indian territory. First used by fur traders and missionaries, by the 1840s, the trail became the main overland route for about 12,000 westward emigrants. The six month-long journey was difficult: disease, harsh weather, moving across mountains and rivers, and Indian attacks were problems. Nonetheless, families, gold seekers and, beginning in 1847, thousands of Mormons followed most of this route. Of all the overland routes west, the Oregon Trail was in use for the longest period; after railroads replaced wagon travel, the trail was often used for eastward cattle and sheep drives. Missionaries played a role in westward settlement through the Oregon Trail, prompting Congress to raise the issue of U.S. claims and rights to the region. By 1844 the British government had concluded that the Columbia River boundary line would have to be abandoned. In spite of the “**fifty-four forty or fight**” slogan of the presidential campaign of 1844, the 49th parallel was accepted by both the US and Great Britain as their boundary, and the Oregon country was added to the United States in 1846. The influx of population led to political agitation, and in 1853 the Washington Territory was given independent status. Oregon became a state in 1859.

**168. The Republic of Texas (1836-1845):** The Texan Revolution was not simply a fight between American settlers and Mexican troops; it pitted *Texans* against what many of them regarded as tyrannical rule from a distant source. Many of the leaders in the revolution and many of the armed settlers who took part were Mexicans. The Republic of Texas was officially established with Sam Houston as president and Stephen Austin as secretary of state. The republic had a difficult 10-year life. Financing proved critical, and efforts to secure loans from foreign countries were unsuccessful. Protection against raids from Mexico and occasional attacks by Indians required a mobile armed force. As early as 1836, Texans had voted for annexation by US, but the proposition was rejected by Jackson and Van Buren. Great Britain favored continued independence for Texas to block further US westward expansion, but this attitude only helped to swing Americans toward annexation. Annexation was approved by the Texas and the U.S. congresses in 1845, and the transfer of authority took place in 1846. Annexation and dispute over Texas' southern border (Rio Grande and the Nueces River) brought about the **Mexican War**. In the Treaty of Guadalupe Hildago (1848), Mexico gave up its claim to Texas and also ceded an area now in the states of New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, California, and western Colorado. Texas claimed most of this additional area but later relinquished it in the Compromise of 1850.

**169. Webster Ashburton Treaty (1842)** was signed by the United States, represented by President Tyler's Secretary of State Daniel Webster, and Great Britain, represented by Alexander Baring, 1st Baron Ashburton. The treaty settled the Northeast Boundary Dispute (between Maine and New Brunswick), which had caused serious conflicts since Independence. Over 7,000 sq mi of the disputed area were given to US, and several waterways were opened to free navigation by both countries. The Treaty also settled the disputed position of the U.S.-Canada border in the Great Lakes region and provided for cooperation in the suppression of the slave trade. The dispute over Oregon boundary was ignored. Tyler used this treaty, together with the annexation of Texas, to build a national following to win a second term in 1844.

**170. James Polk**, a representative from Tennessee, had acquired a reputation as an undeviating supporter of Jackson. In 1839 he left the House to become governor of Tennessee. In 1844, Polk, facing a Democratic Party, which was divided between Martin Van Buren and James Buchanan, emerged as the first dark horse candidate in US history. People in Washington could hardly believe their eyes when Polk's name came over the nation's first telegraph line, then only five days old. During the campaign the Whigs, who were running Henry Clay, taunted the Democrats with the cry: "Who is James K. Polk?" It was thought that Polk, as a party man from what was then the West and a former member of the House of Representatives, would bring about legislative and executive cooperation. While Clay hedged on the question of whether to annex Texas, Polk demanded annexation. Whereas Clay evaded the problem of joint occupancy of Oregon with England, he openly laid claim to the whole territory that extended as far north as latitude **54°40'** with the campaign slogan "Fifty-four forty or fight." Polk was the youngest successful presidential candidate up to that time. His administration was marked by large territorial gains. The annexation of Texas resulted in a two-year war with Mexico, which ceded the Southwest and far West (California) to the US. During this period the northwestern boundary became fixed by treaty, and the continental United States emerged a recognized reality. The expansion of the country westward led to the creation of the Department of the Interior. He established the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland, and authorized the Smithsonian Institution, a national foundation for all areas of science.

**171. Annexation of Texas** was controversial because it involved foreign relations with Mexico and the expansion of slavery beyond the territory of the Louisiana Purchase. Whig President and reelection candidate John Tyler launched a national campaign for annexation in 1843, though antislavery northerners saw the issue as part of a southern conspiracy to extend American territory into Mexico, Cuba, and Central America where new slave states would be created. Tyler packaged his campaign as an attempt to halt a British move to claim Texas. His secretary of state, John C. Calhoun, reinforced this by playing upon southern fears of British attempts to use abolition as a way to destroy rice, sugar, and cotton production. Though a Senate vote failed, the issue of annexation dominated the election of 1844. Polk argued that Texas had been part of the Louisiana Purchase until it was ceded to Spain in the Adams-Onis Treaty. Polk won the election and began the campaign to annex Texas. Both houses of Congress passed a resolution annexing Texas. However, the Texas Republic balked, as Texans feared that union with US would entail an invasion from Mexico. To sweeten the pot, Polk supported their claim about the border with Mexico being at the Rio Grande. Texas voted for annexation in 1845. It was reannexed through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

**172. 54°40' (The Whole or None):** The question of the joint US-British administration of Oregon also underscored the 1844 election. To soften Whigs' criticism of his plans to annex Texas, Polk asserted the US claim "to the whole of the Territory of Oregon." He argued that the border should be set at the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel. His forceful advocacy encouraged mass meetings where the slogan was "The Whole or None." In 1846 he notified Great Britain of the US intent to terminate its joint administration of the Oregon Territory with Great Britain. Overwhelmed with domestic issues, the British chose to negotiate as opposed to fighting the US: it was agreed that Oregon will be divided at the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel.

**173. Manifest Destiny/John O'Sullivan:** **Manifest Destiny** was the American ideology of expansion that believed that the extension of US borders to the Pacific was not only natural but inevitable. In addition, many supporters of Manifest Destiny used "God" and "nature" in their language, to justify it as a natural mandate sanctioned by God. For most, this destiny included Texas as well as California and Oregon. **John O' Sullivan**, a New York Democratic journalist, coined the term "Manifest Destiny" when he wrote of "our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent, which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government entrusted to us." The Southerners were the ones who used the romantic language describing Manifest Destiny. The northerners focused more on the practical advantages of expanding (trade, maritime outlet on the Pacific for eastern goods, etc.). In fact, the northerners distrusted the southerners' stated intentions, interpreting everything as simply their way to extend their "slave power." Manifest Destiny attracted different supporters for different reasons: some expansionists set their sights on the trade opportunities with Asia that California and Oregon offered; Democrats saw expansion as a way to extend agriculture and the "area of freedom." Some saw in expansion the possible acquisition of resources, while others viewed it as a necessary step against fears of British (in Oregon and Washington) plans to free American slaves. Eventually, it was used by the Polk government to justify the war against Mexico.

**174. Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo** was signed on February 2, 1848, to end the Mexican-American War. In it Mexico ceded Texas with the Rio Grande boundary, as well as California, and New Mexico to the United States. The United States, in turn, assumed the claims of U.S. citizens against the Mexican government and paid Mexico \$15 million. The territory ceded by Mexico would become the states of New Mexico, California, Nevada, Utah, most of Arizona, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming. Though some Senators wanted to annex all of Mexico, the prospect of including more Mexicans and Indians in US territory led the Senate to ratify the treaty in 1848. The Mexican-American War was the first fully reported war in US history because of the presence of war correspondents, whose reports captured the public imagination and fueled the war effort.

**175. Wilmot Proviso** was an amendment to an appropriations bill made by David Wilmot, a young Democratic congressman from Pennsylvania. It required that slavery be prohibited in the territories of the Mexican session. He thus opposed President Polk, who argued that the easier solution to the slavery problem in the conquered territories would be to extend the Missouri line westward. The proviso raised unsettling constitutional questions. Calhoun and other southerners believed that the Constitution protected slaveholders' right to carry their slaves (aka properties) wherever they chose, concluding that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional. Northerners, however, believed that Congress had all power to make rules and regulations regarding the territories, thus justifying the Missouri Compromise. The Whigs also raised the moral argument against the existence and extension of slavery. Northern Democrats, unlike their party members in the South, opposed the extension of slavery in the Mexican session because they feared it will discourage free laborers from moving westward.

**176. Free Soil Party:** During the election of 1848 when both the Democratic and Whig parties attempted to avoid the issue of slavery, a faction of northern Democrats joined with the abolitionist Liberty party and antislavery Whigs to create the Free-Soil party. Dedicated to "Free Trade, Free Labor, Free Speech, and Free Men," they nominated Martin Van Buren as their presidential candidate, proclaiming their party's opposition to any extension of slavery in the territories. Most Free Soilers believed that the federal government had the jurisdiction and moral responsibility to prohibit slavery in the territories, though some were advocates of the westward settlement of whites only. Although it failed to carry any state in the presidential election, the Free-Soil party gained enough support in the North to reflect the popular opinion against the extension of slavery. While they sought to limit (not eradicate) slavery at this stage, their protests helped raise the debate over slavery to the national level. They were opposed to the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which they saw as manifestations of "Slave Power."

## CHAPTER 14

**177. The Compromise of 1850:** As President Zachary Taylor advocated the idea of popular sovereignty (allowing the people in the territories to choose whether their state would be free or slave upon admission to the United States), southerners rejected his plans and the Whigs failed to galvanize enough support. Kentucky senator Henry Clay then introduced a bill intended to challenge Taylor's leadership: 1) The admission of California as a free state; 2) The division of the remainder of the Mexican cession into two territories, New Mexico and Utah, without federal restrictions on slavery; 3) The settlement of the Texas-New Mexico boundary dispute on terms favorable to New Mexico (Gadsden Purchase); 4) The federal government's assumption of the Texas debt (as a pot sweetener for the border issue with New Mexico); 5) The continuation of slavery in the District of Columbia but abolition of the slave trade; 6) The promulgation of a more effective fugitive slave law. This was called an omnibus bill because it had many sub bills. The compromise didn't fix the main differences between North and South.

**178. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850** was passed as part of the Compromise of 1850 to appease southern slaveholders who felt beat by the loss of California when it was admitted as a free state. The law "denied alleged fugitives the right of trial by jury, forbade them to testify at their own trial, permitted their return to slavery merely on the testimony of a claimant, and enabled court-appointed commissioners to collect ten dollars if they ruled for the slaveholder but only five if they ruled for the fugitive." This law paralyzed abolitionists because their work of rescuing fugitives was undermined. Also, this law targeted all fugitives, even those who had lived in a free state for years. This law also raised issues of states' rights and the authority of states' legislatures, since a claimant did not need the permission of local authorities to reclaim their property. This law, originally seen as a southern blessing, became a pernicious force against the slaveholders, for it evoked anti-slavery sentiments in northerners.

**179. Stephen Douglas**, a Democratic representative and senator from Illinois, had supported the popular Democratic causes, such as the War with Mexico, slavery, the Compromise of 1850. He believed in rapid internal developments (roads, railroads, moral support for democratic revolutions abroad, and the possible annexation of Latin America (!). In 1854, he proposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which repealed the Missouri Compromise, prohibited slavery in lands north of 36 30", and opened Kansas and Nebraska territories for slavery under the principle of popular sovereignty. This made him controversial in the North and contributed to his failure to obtain the presidential nomination in 1856. Reelected to the Senate in 1859, having defeated

Abraham Lincoln, he advanced the theory that the *Dred Scott* decision was meaningless because, under popular sovereignty, local residents could keep slavery out by refusing to enact protective legislation on the movement of human property (Freeport Doctrine). This led many southerners to abandon him. In the election of 1860, he was nominated by the northern Democrats to the presidency, which he lost to Abraham Lincoln.

**180. Harriet Beecher Stowe/*Uncle Tom's Cabin*:** Stowe is noted as one of the most popular novelists of 1850's. Slavery was Stowe's main target, and she hoped that her novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) would influence both northerners and southerners into action. She believed the kind intentions of benevolent masters were irrelevant in view of the evil institution they participated in and perpetuated. Stowe's novel was powerful and an instant best seller. Although it did not convert all Americans to abolitionism, it pushed many waverers towards an aggressive antislavery stance.

**181. American or Know-Nothing Party** came to be as the Whig party disintegrated after the election of 1852. It was a political offshoot of the Nativist movement of the Antebellum period. Originally called the Order of the Star Spangled Banner, the party advocated the exclusion of Catholics and foreigners from government service and sought to increase naturalization's residency requirement from 5 to 21 years. Just like the Democrats and the Whigs, it became factionalized over the slavery issue. After the collapse of the two party system, this party as well as the others that emerged indirectly took attention away from the debates surrounding tariffs, banking, and westward expansion and refocused attention on the issue of slavery.

**182. Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854):** In 1854, in accordance with the wishes of farmers, Democratic senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois proposed a bill to organize the territory west of Missouri and Iowa. This would also allow a railroad to be built, linking the Midwest to the Pacific (which he believed would bring national benefits and unite the Democratic Party). However there were two sources of potential conflict: Southerners had no desire to see more free territory in the North, and they also wanted a southern-based railroads. Douglas compromised by declaring the Missouri Compromise voided by the Compromise of 1850, by accepting to divide the new territory into two--Nebraska in the North and Kansas in the South. The south understood this to mean that Nebraska would be free and Kansas would be slave. The Act renewed and increased sectional strife. It failed to appease either party. Northerners protested against this because it violated the Missouri Compromise, potentially allowing slavery in the North. It also shattered the Second Party System by straining the Democratic Party and wrecking the Whig Party.

**183. Gadsden Purchase:** In 1853, James Gadsden of South Carolina, an advocate of railroad expansion and southern trade, was sent by President Franklin Pierce to negotiate the stretch of the Mexican-American border along the Gila River, left vague by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. President Pierce wanted to insure U.S. possession of the Mesilla Valley near the Rio Grande-the most practicable route for a southern railroad to the Pacific. This was strongly supported by the advocates of a railroad to link the South to the Pacific, but was opposed by Free Soilers, who saw it as another manifestation of "Slave Power." The Senate approved this treaty by a narrow margin, after slashing 9000 square miles from the purchase(1854). The area of about 30,000 sq miles, purchased for \$10 million, now forms Southern New Mexico and Arizona, South of the Gila.

**184. The Ostend Manifesto (1854)** was a US diplomatic statement to pressure Spain into selling Cuba. In 1854, Cuban authorities in Havana seized an American ship by error. US sought to induce a diplomatic crisis to provoke war with Spain. However, Spain apologized and agreed to pay reparations. The US, frustrated, in a meeting with French and British ministers in Ostend, Belgium, issued a manifesto declaring that Cuba was essential to US security and protection of slavery, and offered to buy it from Spain for \$130 million. Spain refused. This reflects American ambitions in the Caribbean long before the war in 1898.

**185. Conscience Whigs/Know Nothings:** By the late 1840s the Whig party was beginning to unravel as factions of "Conscience" (antislavery) Whigs and "Cotton" (proslavery) Whigs emerged. The Compromise of 1850 further estranged the Conscience Whigs from the party. In 1848 several important Whigs joined the new Free-Soil party, along with the abolitionists. In New England a bitter struggle developed between antislavery "Conscience Whigs" and proslavery "Cotton Whigs," or between "lower law" Whigs and "higher law" Whigs (the term "higher law" had originated from a speech by William H. Seward, who declared that there was a higher law than the Constitution). The loss in the election of 1852 brought about a quick end to the party, and its remnants gravitated toward the newly formed (1854) Republican Party and the sharply divided Democratic party. Other Whigs drifted into the **Know-Nothing movement**. Efforts were concentrated on electing only native-born Americans to office and on agitating for a 25-year residence qualification for citizenship. Popular in New York, Massachusetts, and Delaware, the disintegration of the Whig party aided them in their strides toward national influence. They openly assumed the name American Party and adopted a proslavery platform. Those who opposed the move went into the Republican party.

**186. The Republican Party (Grand Old Party, GOP)** came to be as the Whig party disintegrated after the election of 1852. The Whigs broke down as a result of Stephen A. Douglas putting forth a proposal in 1854 to organize the vast Nebraska territory with no restrictions on slavery. By doing so, he exposed the already fragile political parties to the divisive issue of slavery. The Republicans brought together such disparate groups as the Free Soilers, some Northern Democrats, Conscience Whigs (no slavery Whigs), abolitionists, and Know Nothings. They believed in a strong central government, which would be entrusted with the constitutionally mandated tasks of foreign policy, defense, and domestic oversight. It also opposed slavery and advocated its unconditional removal from the states and territories of the United States. In this early period, the Republican party was a purely sectional party, drawing its support solely from the North. Its members were both former Whigs and discontented northern Democrats. The creation of the Republican party essentially exacerbated the geopolitical boundaries of the sectional divide: the Northern Republicans, who would eventually bring President Lincoln into power, and the Southern Democrats, who would eventually secede from the Union to create the Confederacy. Its success in the 1860 presidential election (Abraham Lincoln) propelled the Republicans into the national scene.

**187, 188, 189, and 191: Bleeding Kansas/Preston "Bully" Brooks and Charles Sumner:** **Bleeding Kansas** refers to the violent conflict between pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces within Kansas following the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Popular sovereignty had been designated the method to determine Kansas's status as a free state. Pro-slavery "border ruffians" from Missouri crossed over into Kansas to vote illegally for slavery. They used guns to silence those judges that objected. Thus **the LeCompton Legislature** became pro-slavery. Angry at the fraud, free-staters created a rival government at Topeka. The LeCompton Legislature's response came in the form of a posse to Lawrence that burned several buildings and destroyed two printing presses. The most violent action came from John Brown. Following the LeCompton posse, he led a group of abolitionists to **Pottawatomie Creek** and killed five white people. This led to a "battleground in Kansas between the North and the South". Bleeding Kansas showed that popular sovereignty could fail to solve the issue of extension of slavery in the territories. In fact, popular sovereignty (and corruption) had only succeeded in institutionalizing the split between pro-slavery and antislavery forces as shown in the LeCompton and the Topeka legislatures. Neither did popular sovereignty keep the discussion of slavery out of politics. **Republican Senator Charles Sumner** denounced Congress for its participation in (he was beat with a cane the next day by Democratic representative **Preston Brooks**, which shows the amount of passion over the matter. This came to be known as "Bleeding Sumner"). Bleeding Kansas, the "sack" of Lawrence, and President Buchanan's recognition of the fraudulent and proslavery LeCompton legislature provided a rallying cry for Republicans.

**190. Dred Scott v Sandford:** Argued before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1856-57, this case involved the contested issue of the status of slavery in the federal territories. In 1834, Dred Scott, the slave of Dr. John Emerson, a U.S. army surgeon, was taken by his master from Missouri, a slave state, to Illinois, a free state, and then to Wisconsin Territory, where slavery was prohibited by the Missouri Compromise. There he married before returning with Dr. Emerson to Missouri. After Emerson's death, Scott sued (1846) Emerson's widow for freedom for himself and his family on the ground that residence in a free state and then in a free territory had ended his bondage. He won his suit before a lower court in St. Louis, but the Missouri Supreme Court reversed the decision. After a federal district court decided against Scott, the case came on appeal to the Supreme Court. While they initially wanted to avoid raising the issue of the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise, the justices decided to consider the whole question of federal power over slavery in the territories. They decided that Congress had no power to prohibit slavery in the territories. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney delivered the Court's opinion that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional. The justices also held that a black " was not entitled to the rights of a federal citizen and therefore had no standing in court." The court's verdict further inflamed the sectional controversy; it is considered one of the precipitating causes of the Civil War.

**192. Slave Power:** Since the signing of the Constitution to the eve of the Civil War there persisted the belief that slaveholding southerners held the reins of the American national government and used their power to ensure the extension of slavery. Later termed the Slave Power theory, this idea was endorsed at midcentury by Abraham Lincoln and Charles Sumner, the *New York Times* and the *Atlantic Monthly*. It represented the northern outcry against the perceived slaveocracy, in view of the three-fifths compromise in Congressional representation; the admission of Missouri as a slave state in 1820; the Indian removal of 1830; the annexation of Texas in 1845; the Wilmot Proviso of 1847; and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

**193. Lincoln-Douglas Debates** were a series of seven public debates during the congressional elections of 1858 between incumbent Illinois senator Stephen A. Douglas and challenger Abraham Lincoln of the Republican Party. Issues of expansion, slavery, funding and extension of the railroad and telegraph network gave these debates extended coverage. Lincoln, a Springfield attorney, opened the debates with his House Divided speech and challenged Douglas' views on slavery. He showed that Douglas' principle of popular sovereignty was legally untenable, since the people of a US territory cannot exclude slavery "in any lawful manner" from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution. Lincoln did not advocate racial equality (even though Douglas accused him of as much); neither did he accept that Congress had any constitutionally stipulated authority to abolish southern slavery. Lincoln lost the election and, though elected, Douglas lost the respect of his supporters among Southern Democrats. Because of the extensive media coverage, the Lincoln-Douglas debates brought the issue of slavery to the forefront and the possibility of secession into the limelight. They were Lincoln's springboard into the presidency in 1860.

**194. John Brown/Raid on Harper's Ferry:** **John Brown** was a devout Protestant who was adamantly opposed to slavery. A veteran of the Pottawatomie creek massacre, he and twenty other men (blacks and whites) attacked the federal armory in **Harper's Ferry**, Virginia. John Brown hoped to ignite a slave rebellion that he could supply with weaponry from the armory. With an army of slaves he would march south, growing in support from the myriad of plantation slaves who would rally to his cause. Brown's plan failed because slaves in the South had no idea that an armory in Virginia had been attacked, nor did they want to be involved in a futile rebellion that would immediately be suppressed. John Brown and his men eventually had to barricade themselves in the engine house of the armory where they were overpowered by local militia and Marines led by Lt. Robert E. Lee. A quarter of Brown's men escaped, half were killed outright, and another quarter (including Brown) were captured and subsequently executed. When investigation into the raid revealed Brown's ties to Northern abolitionists, the South became suspicious that the North was conspiring to bring southern slavery to an end. When Northerners rang church bells and held memorial services honoring Brown, Southerners became convinced Republicans were in cahoots with abolitionism.

## CHAPTER 15

**195-196. Confederacy Conscription Act of 1862** called "all able-bodied white men aged eighteen to thirty five" to serve in the Confederate military, previously made up of volunteers. The act was prompted by mounting casualties and the expansion of the war. The act was not popular, especially that a later amendment exempted owners of 20 or more slaves from service. This encouraged more people to volunteer in the war, and four out of every five eligible white southerners served in the Confederate army. This was the first conscription law in US history. Since slavers could exempt themselves from the war (substitution and commutation), farmers (yeomen) saw this as "**a rich man's war but a poor man's fight.**"

**197. Impressment Act (1863, Confederacy)** authorized Confederate officers to take food from reluctant farmers at prescribed rates. It also empowered agents to impress slaves into labor for the army—a measure that was highly resented by planters.

**198. Unions Enrollment Act of 1863** was very similar to the Conscription Act of the Confederates in that it required every "able-bodied white male citizen aged twenty to forty five to join the draft." It did however, offer two ways of escaping the draft. One was substitution, or paying another man to serve, or commutation, paying a \$300 fee to the government. People known as "bounty jumpers" often enrolled and then deserted after collecting their money. Democrats denounced the act as a violation of individual liberties, while the poor were angered with the commutation and substitution because only the few privileged could afford not to fight. As in the Confederacy, this did encourage volunteering and only 8% of the Union's army were draftees.

**199. Legal Tender Act of 1862** was passed to meet currency needs during the Civil War. Signed by President Lincoln, it authorized the issue of \$150 million in paper "**greenbacks**" or legal tender notes, unsecured by specie (coin). These were placed on a par with notes backed by specie. Greenbacks were made acceptable when paying for most public and private debts. The paper money depreciated in terms of gold and became the subject of controversy, particularly because debts contracted earlier could be paid in this cheaper currency. Many cases concerning greenbacks were entered in the courts, but it was not until 1870 that the Supreme Court declared the act unconstitutional as a violation of Fifth Amendment protections against the taking of property without due process. Under President Ulysses Grant, the Court reversed its own decision, ruling that the act was valid on the basis of Congress' implied powers. Farmers who supported the issuance of greenbacks later formed the Greenback Party.

**200. National Bank Act (1863)** allowed banks to obtain federal charters and to issue national bank notes backed by the federal government. Together with raising taxes, floating bonds, and printing greenbacks, this measure reflected the concerted efforts of Republicans in Congress to reinforce the economic role of the federal government.

**201. Abraham Lincoln**, elected in the controversial election of 1860 (he was not on the ballot in any one southern state), he is one of the greatest American presidents. He devised plans for the expansion of the United States, just as he was waging war against the south to maintain the country's unity. His vision involved a country unified on an East-West axis through continental railroads, with government support for the expansion of lines (see #214) and the movement westward of settlers (see #215), as well as the enhancement of agricultural techniques to exploit the resources of the Great Plains more effectively (Morril Act). His vision also involved the emancipation of slaves—though he ended up proclaiming it for *military* purposes (see #210). Finally, he did not see a Union victory to be *punitive* on the South: he did not believe that southerners needed to be punished for decisions of politicians (see #220). Finally, he did not believe that states had the right to secede from the Union for it was created by the Constitution, which was the document of the *people* not the states (see #237).

**202. Suspension of Habeas Corpus** was a measure Lincoln adopted at the beginning of the war to ensure that border slave states—Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri—did not join the Confederacy. This allowed him to move federal troops into those states and to arrest individuals suspected of southern sympathies without having to charge them with specific offenses. The presence of federal troops forced the Maryland and Delaware legislatures to vote down secession, while Kentucky and Missouri decided to stay neutral (although Lincoln had armed Union sympathizers in both these states to protect them in case of a Confederate attack; Kentucky especially was fragile because it had a Unionist legislature and a secessionist governor!)

**203. The Anaconda Plan** was the first military strategy offered to President Lincoln for crushing the rebellion of Southern states. It argued that an effective "Blockade" of Southern ports, a strong thrust down the Mississippi Valley with a large force, and the establishment of a line of strong Federal positions there would isolate the Confederacy. He proposed that 60,000 troops move down the Mississippi with gunboats until they had secured the river from Illinois to the Gulf, which, in concert with an effective blockade, would seal off the South. Then, he believed, Federal troops should stop, waiting for Southern Union sympathizers to turn on their Confederate governors and compel them to surrender. It was his belief that sympathy for secession was not as strong as it appeared and that isolation and pressure would make the "fire-eaters" back down and allow calmer heads to take control. The plan, because of its constricting feature, was named after a snake, the anaconda. The plan was not adopted, but in 1864 it reappeared as Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant's 2-front war, in Virginia and Tennessee, pressed the Confederates, while Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman's march to the sea helped "squeeze the South to military death."

**204-209, 213-214: Battles of Bull Run (First Manassas), Antietam, Vicksburg, Gettysburg:** In the **First Battle of Bull Run**, July 1861, a small Confederate force encamped at Manassas Junction, just south of the Potomac, in Virginia, defeated Union General **George McClellan's** much larger Union force that was trying to get to the Capitol. Following the **Second Battle of Bull Run** came the **Battle of Antietam** (Sharpsburg, on the Maryland-Virginia border by the Blue Ridge), September 1862. The battle ended as a "tie," although altogether the North and South suffered 24,000 casualties, the single bloodiest day in the entire war. The war's greatest battle, the **Battle of Gettysburg**, was fought in the first 3 days of July 1863, pitting 90,000 Union troops against 75,000 Confederate troops in rural southeastern Pennsylvania. On July 4, **Confederate General Robert E. Lee's** army of Northern Virginia withdrew to Virginia having lost more than a third of his troops. Just earlier (May 1863), the Union had won the **Battle of Vicksburg**, in western Mississippi, on the river. After six weeks of siege, the Confederate commander surrendered to Union General **Ulysses S. Grant**, which eventually allowed the Union forces to capture **New Orleans**. The First Battle of Bull Run led to the appointment of General McClellan as the Commander of the Union's Army of the Potomac, whose hesitation in his Peninsula Campaign let General Lee take the offensive in the eastern front. The Battle of Antietam was technically a draw, but was strategically a major Union victory because it forced Lee to withdraw south of the Potomac River. Also, it allowed Lincoln to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing all slaves under Confederate control. Gettysburg and Vicksburg were a part of the 1863 turning point for the Union army. Lee's stab northward had been halted and the Union now held the key to the Mississippi. Soon after, the fate of the Confederate was sealed – the North had all but won.

**210. Final Emancipation Proclamation** was issued on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1863, by President Lincoln, *in his capacity as commander in chief of Union forces*. It declared "forever free" all slaves *in areas in rebellion*. The proclamation enabled Blacks to join the Union army, albeit in segregated units. While it did not end slavery everywhere, the Proclamation made clear that the Union was fighting a war against slavery, thus adding a moral cloak to its cause. The proclamation had limited practical impact because it only applied to areas in which it could not be enforced—the states still in rebellion. In addition, it did not rule on slavery in border states. Through the proclamation, Lincoln was able to mobilize support for the Union among European liberals, pushed the border states toward emancipation (Missouri and Maryland abolished slavery before war's end), and increased slaves' incentives to escape as Union troops neared. This was a military NOT a political decision—yet another strategy to defeat the South.

**211. The Freedmen's Bureau** was a federal agency formed to aid and protect the freed Blacks in the South after the Civil War. Established by Congress in 1865, under the name "Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands," it was to function for one year after the close of the war. A bill extending its life indefinitely and greatly increasing its powers was vetoed by President Johnson, who viewed the legislation as an unwarranted (and unconstitutional) continuation of war powers in peacetime. The bill was passed over Johnson's veto and operated under the War Dept. The Bureau's work consisted of relief work for both Blacks and Whites in war-stricken areas; regulation of Black labor; administration of justice in cases concerning Blacks; management of abandoned and confiscated property; and support of education for Blacks. In its relief and educational activities the Bureau compiled an excellent record, though its efforts toward establishing the freed Blacks as landowners were nil. To a great degree the bureau worked to organize the Black vote for the Republican party. The Bureau was discontinued in 1869.

**214. Pacific Railroad Act of 1862** was passed to provide railroad companies with public lands to build the transcontinental railroad. The government chartered the Union Pacific Railroad and Central Pacific corporations and gave each large public land grants and generous loans, a total of 60 million acres of land and \$20 million. It is the start of building the railroad that would eventually link the Eastern half of the United States with the Western half. Because of this act, the railroad companies became the largest landholders in the west. They engaged in land speculation, construction of towns, and land sales.

**215. Homestead Act of 1862** provided for the transfer of 160 acres of unoccupied public land to settlers after five years of residence on the land upon payment of a nominal fee (\$100) (land could also be acquired after six months of residence at \$1.25 an acre). The Homestead Act was the culmination of years of debate on the ways government would distribute public lands in the West. With the ascendancy of the Republican party (which had committed itself to homestead legislation) and with the secession of the South (which had opposed free distribution of land), the Homestead Act became law. In 1976 it expired in all the states but Alaska, where it ended in 1986. By 1865 more than 20,000 homesteaders had occupied land in the West. Despite its idealism, it benefited the wealthy more than the poor. It embodied the Republicans' ideals of "free soil, free labor, free men".

**216. Peace Democrats/Copperheads** was a reproachful label used by opponents to describe northern Democrats opposed to Lincoln policies during the Civil War. They were called Copperheads by their opponents to suggest a resemblance to a species of poisonous snakes who can easily conceal themselves. They demanded a truce and a peace conference when the Lincoln administration was debating the Anaconda Plan and emancipation. They thought that the administration's war policy would exterminate the South, make reconciliation impossible, and spark terrible social change and revolution worldwide.

**218. Clara Barton** is the founder of the American Red Cross. During the Civil War, she established a service of supplies for soldiers and nurses in army camps and on the battlefields. She was called the Angel of the Battlefield. In 1865 President Lincoln appointed her to search for missing prisoners; the records she compiled also served to identify the dead at Andersonville Prison. In Europe for a conference at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War (1870), she went to work behind the German lines for the International Red Cross. She returned to the United States and in 1881 organized the American National Red Cross.

**219. William Tecumeh Sherman's 'March to the Sea.'** A colonel in the first battle of Bull Run, he was made a brigadier general of volunteers and sent to Kentucky and later Missouri. Sherman distinguished himself at Shiloh (Apr., 1862) and was promoted to major general. He was instrumental in the fall of Memphis and Little Rock to the Union in late 1863. In the successful move on Vicksburg, Sherman distinguished himself as well. When Grant became commander in chief, Sherman succeeded him as supreme commander in the West (1864). His Atlanta campaign (May-Sept., 1864) resulted in the fall of that city, which he then burned. With 60,000 men, he began his famous march to the sea. With virtually no enemy to bar his way, he was in Savannah in 24 days, leaving behind him a ruined and devastated land. After the fall of Savannah fell in Dec. 1864, Sherman started northward to close in on Robert E. Lee in Virginia. Every step now reduced the area upon which the Confederates in Virginia could depend for aid. His advance through South Carolina (the state that in the eyes of Sherman's men had provoked the war) was slower but even more destructive than the march through Georgia. He maintained that only by breaking the war spirit of the enemy, noncombatant as well as combatant, could victory be won, hence the march through Georgia and South Carolina. His destruction of the South's infrastructure precipitated its fall, but also undermined the region's recovery after the war.

## CHAPTER 16

**220. The Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction** was issued by President Lincoln in 1863 and allowed the southern states to form new governments if a minimum of 10% of those who had voted in the 1860 elections swore an oath of allegiance to the Union and accepted the emancipation proclamation. This plan excluded most Confederate officials and military officers who would have been forced to apply for presidential pardons. The plan also excluded African Americans who had not voted in the 1860 election. It was issued by Lincoln in hopes of undermining the Confederacy and building a southern Republican Party.

**221. Wade-Davis Bill** was passed by the Radical Republican Congress in 1864. It stated that a military government would rule each former Confederate state. It also stated that at least one half of the eligible voters would have to swear allegiance to the Union before they could convene a constitutional convention to repeal secession and abolish slavery. The new state constitutions



needed to abolish slavery, repudiate secession, and disqualify Confederate officials from voting or holding office. A southerner would have to take the ironclad oath, swearing that he had never voluntarily supported the Confederacy. This represented the Republican Congress' desire to slow the process of readmission of the southern states into the Union, as a *punitive* measure for secession. Lincoln failed to sign the bill (pocket veto), thus essentially killing it.

**222. Thaddeus Stevens** was the leader of the Radical Republicans. He began his political career as a representative in the Pennsylvania legislature, before entering Congress as a Whig. He quit in disgust at his party's moderate stand on the slavery issue. A leading organizer of the Republican party in Pennsylvania, he returned to Congress before the Civil War where he led the radical wing of the party, which opposed Lincoln's moderate plan of Reconstruction. In Stevens's view, the Southern states were "conquered provinces" and were to be treated as such. With the congressional elections of 1866, the Radical Republicans defeated the Reconstruction program of President Andrew Johnson, placed the South under military occupation, proscribed most ex-Confederates, and enfranchised the freedmen. He proposed confiscation of large Confederate plantations to create a new self-sufficient Black farming class. Stevens himself proposed the Fourteenth Amendment. While he sincerely believed in struggle for freedmen's rights, he nevertheless understood that such legislation would help the Republican party in power. He was instrumental in drawing up the impeachment charges against Johnson and was one of the House managers in the subsequent trial before the Senate. Stevens requested to be interred in a cemetery with Blacks rather than in one closed to them.

**223. Thirteenth Amendment (1865)** prohibited slavery in US. It stated that slavery and involuntary servitude were illegal except in cases of convicted criminals doing labor for punishment. It was ratified by Congress in Dec 1865. It was the first in a series of Constitutional amendments passed during Reconstruction to circumvent the judiciary's and executive's attempts to water down measures enacted by Congress, dominated by Radical Republicans, to ensure and safeguard freedmen's constitutional rights.

**224. Presidential Reconstruction (1865)** is a series of measures that President Andrew Johnson tried to enact in fierce struggles with a Congress dominated by Radical Republicans. Taking advantage of summer recess in 1865, he stated that all southerners who took an oath of allegiance would receive pardon and amnesty, and all their property except slaves would be restored to them. Confederate civil and military officers would still be disqualified, as would well-to-do former Confederates. Oath takers could elect delegates to state conventions, which would call for regular elections, proclaim secession illegal, repudiate debts incurred under the Confederacy, and ratify the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment. He began to deliver pardons liberally, which threatened to restore the status quo ante bellum. Confederate officers and large planters resumed state offices, and former Confederate congressmen and generals won election to Congress. Thus protected, most southern states, beginning with Mississippi, passed "Black Codes," to ensure a landless, dependent Black labor force. Johnson believed that the Union's defeat should not translate into punitive measures of the South; he argued the South should not be as a defeated party, if the US was to be united. His ideas led to fierce clashes with Congress, especially after congressional elections of 1866 gave large majorities to Radical Republicans.

**225. Black Codes** were a series of measures passed in southern states to disfranchise the freedmen and to ensure a landless, dependent Black labor force. They basically replaced the earlier slave codes. Some states established segregation in public accommodations, prohibited racial intermarriage, jury service by Blacks, and court testimony by Blacks against Whites. They also included economic restrictions to prevent Blacks from leaving the plantations through the establishment of labor contracts and the enactment of laws that stipulated that not having a contract would make one a vagrant, thus subject to arrest. Finally, poll taxes, property requirements, literacy tests, and grandfather clauses were used to disfranchise Blacks from voting in local or national elections. Unlike previous slave codes, the Black Codes allowed freedmen to marry, own property, and testify in court against other Blacks... Black Codes basically did not give freedmen equal protection of the laws, thus making them vulnerable to groups like the KKK. They were not abolished till the Civil Rights Act of 1957, 1964, and 1968, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

**226. Civil rights act of 1866** was enacted by Congress, overriding a veto by President Johnson. The act made blacks US citizens and authorized federal intervention to ensure their rights in court. The bill was proposed by the Radical Republicans to fight the Black Codes of Mississippi and other southern states. The conflict between the Executive and Congress over the passage of this and other bills supported by Republicans eventually led to impeachment proceedings against Johnson. The act also paved the way for the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Amendments, as a way of circumventing judicial and executive intervention.

**227. Fourteenth Amendment**, enacted in 1866, was created by Congress to solve problems posed by the Reconstruction, specifically how to deal with the freedmen. It proclaimed that all persons born or naturalized in US were citizens and that no state could limit or infringe upon their rights without "due process" of the law or deny them "equal protection of the law." The amendment stipulated that if a state denied suffrage to its male citizens—black or white—its congressional delegation would be reduced in proportion. The amendment disqualified from any state and national office all Confederate office holders. It also repudiated the Confederate debt. This was adopted as an *amendment* as opposed to a congressional act to thwart judicial and executive attempts to limit the scope of Congress' Reconstruction work. The Amendment voided the *Dred Scott* decision, invalidated President Johnson's pardons of Confederate office holders, gave legal and constitutional protections to Blacks, and reiterated the law on citizenship, which now included Blacks as well. The 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment was the first national effort to limit the states' control of civil and political rights. Its passage pitted the three branches of government against each other.

**228. Congressional Reconstruction (1867):** In the wake of the Radical Republican victory in the congressional elections of 1866, Johnson's Presidential Reconstruction was replaced by Congressional Reconstruction, a series of legislative acts and constitutional amendments geared toward asserting northern control over southern politics, extending rights and protections to freedmen, providing federal support for public schools, confiscating Confederates' estates redistributing their property among yeomen farmers and Blacks, and circumventing the possibility of the executive or judicial branches to undermine these efforts. Every single legislative Act, such as the Reconstruction Act of 1867, was vetoed by Johnson and only passed because the Radical Republican majority had the numbers to override the presidential vetoes. The leader of this movement was Th. Stevens.

**229. The Reconstruction Act of 1867** divided all former Confederate states (except Tennessee which had already been readmitted to the Union) into five military districts. It also set new guidelines for re-admittance into the Union. First it invalidated the state governments formed under the Lincoln and Johnson Reconstruction plans. Then it allowed all black and white men not disqualified by the 14th Amendment to vote for delegates who would write a new state constitution. States would be re-admitted upon the state legislature's ratification of the 14th Amendment and Congress' approval of the state's new constitution. Because Congress had to pass this act over a presidential veto, the Reconstruction Act of 1867 is evidence of the ongoing conflict between Johnson and Congress during Reconstruction. Because it supported Black male suffrage and denied White Ex-Confederates the same right, it was considered to be radical and controversial by most southerners.

**230. Tenure of Office Act (1867)** was a measure passed by Congress over the veto of President Johnson; it forbade the President to remove any federal officeholder appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate without the approval of the Senate. It also provided that members of the President's cabinet should hold office for the full term of the President who appointed them and one month thereafter, subject to removal by the Senate. With this measure the radical Republicans hoped to assure the continuance in office of the Secretary of War and thus prevent any presidential interference with the military occupation of the South. In order to bring about a court test of the constitutionality of the act, Johnson dismissed the Secretary of War, but the Supreme Court, intimidated by the radicals, refused to rule on the case. After the Senate refused to approve his dismissal, Johnson's alleged violation of the Tenure of Office Act was the principal charge in the impeachment proceedings against him. The law was eventually declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1926.

**231. The Fifteenth Amendment**, adopted in 1870, prevented the states from denying the right to vote based on "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Today it is interpreted to mean that it granted freedmen the right to vote. Intended to protect Black suffrage in the south and to extend it to all states, the wording of the amendment became the focus of *US v Reese*, which almost nullified the intent of the radical Republicans. Republicans thought that grateful black voters would help Republicans gain control of the southern states. Democrats opposed the amendment on the grounds that it violated state's rights, but they did not have enough states backing them to prevent its ratification. The right to vote, the amendment had many loopholes. It did not grant the right to hold office, and it did not prevent states from mandating property or literacy requirements to vote.

**232. KKK or the Ku Klux Klan** was an organization established by six Confederate war veterans in Tennessee in 1866. They strove to end Republican rule, topple Reconstruction governments in the southern states, restore white supremacy, and obliterate Blacks. They were distinguished by elaborate rituals, hooded costumes, and secret passwords, intended to intimidate onlookers. The movement spread quickly among the frustrated former Confederate sympathizers throughout the South. Their actions targeted Union officials, Freedmen's Bureau representatives, black militia units, successful blacks, and black voters in general. As the KKK threatened the very fabric of southern society and the future of Reconstruction, Congress passed three successive Enforcement Acts geared toward protecting Black voters, providing for federal supervision of southern elections and the use of federal troops, and the suspension of habeas corpus. Though by the end of Reconstruction, the federal government had suppressed the KKK, the rise of the southern Black Codes, segregation and lynching undermined the social, political, and legal rights Blacks acquired during Reconstruction. KKK was revived again after WWI.

**233. Civil Rights Act of 1875** was passed to undermine the institution of Black Codes. It attempted to guarantee to the African Americans those social rights that were still withheld. It penalized innkeepers, proprietors of public establishments, and owners of public conveyances for discriminating against African Americans in accommodations, but was invalidated by the Supreme Court in 1883 on the ground that these were not properly *civil rights* and hence not a field for federal legislation. After the Civil Rights Act of 1875 there was no more federal legislation in this field until the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

**234. President Ulysses S. Grant**, the candidate of the Radical Republicans in the presidential election of 1868, was elected mostly based upon his heroism in the Civil War more than on issues. He pledged to execute all laws, whether he agreed with them or not, to support sound money, and to follow a humane policy towards the Indians. However, Grant proved to be a weak president with little political skill; he was mediocre with cabinet appointments and scandals plagued his administration. This corruption reflected the practice of the day (Democrat boss William M. Tweed's looting of the New York treasury). In the election of 1872, Republicans worried that "Grantism" would ruin the party. Former radicals and other Republicans who were left out of Grant's "Great Barbecue" formed their own party, the Liberal Republicans.

**235. Panic of 1873:** Throughout the first years immediately following the Civil War, many northerners were taking advantage of all available opportunities like railroads and easy credit to make easy and much money. This led many entrepreneurs to over-speculate. For many years the Northern Pacific Railroad was an important place for investment, but in 1873 construction costs outran the bond sales. Jay Cooke, the banker in charge of the Northern Pacific, defaulted on his obligations to pay the bonds and his bank shut down, leading to the collapse of the stock market, as other banks and companies collapsed as well. This led to a 5-year depression where unemployment soared and thousands of businesses went bankrupt. This led to the formation of the first workers' unions. This also brought up the debate that split both major parties over whether or not to continue greenbacks.

**236. Ex Parte Milligan:** Lambden P. Milligan, a pro-South Indiana lawyer, was sentenced to death by a military commission in Indiana during the Civil War when he was accused of having engaged in acts of disloyalty. Milligan sought release through habeas corpus from a federal court. The question confronting the Supreme Court was: Does a civil court have jurisdiction over a military tribunal? The Court held that trials of civilians by presidentially created military commissions are unconstitutional. Martial law cannot exist where the civil courts are operating. **Significance:** The ruling reflects the Taney court's persistent efforts to undermine what they perceived to be the unwarranted increase in presidential powers. It also sets a precedent for the judicial Reconstruction, where one branch of government undermined the other.

**237. *Texas v White*:** This case raised the issue of whether a state could leave the Union. It involved the legality of financial actions of the Confederate government of Texas. In 1851, Congress had authorized the transfer of \$10 million worth of United States bonds to the State of Texas. The bonds were payable to the State and were to be redeemable in 1864. In 1862, Texas' Confederate legislature authorized the use of the bonds to purchase supplies for the Confederacy. Four years later, during Reconstruction, the federal government tried to reclaim the bonds. The Court (5-3) held that, secession being inadmissible, the Confederate state authorities had never legally existed. The Court further held that individual states could not unilaterally secede from the Union and that the acts of the insurgent Texas legislature—even if ratified by a majority of Texans—were "absolutely null." The Court found that Texas continued to be a state even during its rebellion against the Union. ***Significance:*** The Supreme Court affirmed President Lincoln's position that the Union was indissoluble. At the same time, however, the Court upheld Congress' authority to reconstruct the states.

**238. Slaughterhouse Cases (1873)** mark the first judicial pronouncement on the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment. In 1869, the Louisiana legislature had granted a monopoly over the New Orleans slaughterhouse business to one firm and had closed down all other slaughterhouses in the interest of public health. The excluded butchers argued that this created "involuntary servitude," abridged their "privileges and immunities" as US citizens, denied "equal protection of the laws," and deprived them of "liberty and property without due process of law." The Supreme Court upheld the Louisiana legislature by issuing a doctrine of "dual citizenship." The 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment, declared the Court, protected only the rights of *national citizenship*, such as the right of interstate travel. It did not protect those basic civil rights that citizens enjoyed by virtue of their *state citizenship*. Therefore, the federal government was not obliged to protect such rights against violation by the states. This case came close to nullifying the intent of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment—to secure freedmen's rights against state encroachment.

**239. *US v Reese*:** This case centered on Kentucky officials who, after barring Blacks from voting, had been indicted by a Kentucky federal court. In its decision in favor of the officials, the Supreme Court stated that the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment did not "confer the right of suffrage upon anyone." It merely *prohibited the hindrance of voting on the basis of color, race, or previous condition of servitude*. The Court declared the indictment invalid. This is a reflection of judicial Reconstruction, where the justices undermined the Radical Republican agenda. By focusing on the Amendment's preventive aspect, the Court postponed Black franchise for a century.

**240. *US v Cruikshank*:** This case concerned the indictment under the 1870 Enforcement Act of white men from Louisiana, after a confrontation between armed whites and black members of the state militia. Even though 70 blacks had surrendered, half of them were later murdered. The Supreme Court stated that the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment *prohibited only the encroachment on individual rights by a state, not by other individuals*; "ordinary crime" was not the target of federal law. The decision threw out the indictments.

**241. Civil Rights cases:** These were 5 cases from California, Kansas, Missouri, New York, and Tennessee, where Blacks had been refused equal accommodations, in defiance of the 1875 Civil Rights Act. Though privately owned, these businesses were for the benefit of the public and, thus, subject to federal regulation. The Supreme Court declared the Act invalid for protecting social rather than political rights. The Court held that the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment prohibited invasion by the states of civil rights. *Private acts of racial discrimination were simply private wrongs that the national government was powerless to correct*. Exception is only made for interstate travel and jury duty. The Civil Rights cases mark the end of judicial Reconstruction. The Supreme Court, under Chief Justices Chase and then Waite, effectively blocked Black franchise, as well as the legal and constitutional protections they were granted through constitutional amendments. The next civil rights act was not passed by Congress until 1957!!

**242. Election of 1876/Compromise of 1877:** The election of 1876 pitted republican Rutherford B. Hayes against democrat Samuel J. Tilden. Former Civil War veteran, congressman from Ohio, and governor of that state, Rutherford B. Hayes was chosen as the Republican candidate for President in 1876, opposing Samuel J. Tilden, the Democratic candidate. A successful New York attorney, Tilden was a Free Soil Democrat who had opposed the Civil War. He was a supporter of reform within the Democratic party, eager to dismantle the party machines in urban centers. The campaign resulted in the most famous election dispute in American history (until ... recently). Tilden received a majority of the popular vote, but there were double and conflicting returns of electoral votes from Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina and a contest over one Oregon elector. To settle the unusual question, not covered by the Constitution, Congress created an electoral commission of five Senators, five Representatives, and five Supreme Court Justices. Eight were Republicans and seven were Democrats, as plans for one independent failed. In 1877, the commission, by partisan division, awarded Hayes all the disputed votes, making his total of electoral votes a majority of one (185 to 184). Tilden discouraged further contest. The election marked the resurgence of the Democrats and the political reentry of the South into the Union. Indignation over the obviously partisan decision affected Hayes's administration (he was referred to as His Fraudulency or Rutherford B. Hayes). As part of the compromise that got him elected, Hayes withdrew federal troops from Louisiana and South Carolina, and the Reconstruction era was ended. His conciliatory policy toward the South and his genuine interest in civil service reform alienated important Republicans.

## CHAPTER 17

**243. Bozeman Trail Massacre/Powder River War:** From the 1860's through the 1880's the Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapahos, Kiowas, Comanches, Nex Percés, and Apaches faced the U.S. Army in a battle for control of the West. In 1864, the Teton Sioux fought a bloody war against U.S. cavalry to defend the land along Wyoming's Powder River. The Tetons lured eighty soldiers out of their stockade and killed and mutilated them, attempting to stop construction of the Bozeman trail, a road from Wyoming to the gold fields of Montana that intersected Sioux buffalo-hunting grounds. This massacre helped rekindle public debate over federal Indian policy. After the Civil War, the federal government had abandoned its previous policy of treating much of the West as a vast Indian reservation and created a system of reservations. In 1867, Congress halted construction on the Bozeman Trail, sent a peace commission to end the fighting, and set aside two large districts where they hoped nomadic Sioux Indians would settle.

**244. George Armstrong Custer** was a WestPoint graduate from Ohio who became a Brigadier General at the age of 23 during the Civil War. In 1865 he helped hasten General Robert E. Lee's surrender by vigorously pursuing Confederate troops retreating from Richmond. In 1874 he led US troops to the Black Hills in South Dakota, sacred Indian hunting ground, in search of rumored gold. His affirmative report sparked a gold rush creating hostile encounters with Indians. In 1876, he led an attack on an Indian encampment of Indian warriors near Little Bighorn because they had refused to return to their reservations. Having underestimated the number of Indians, he and his men were killed in what came to be known as Custer's Last Stand. Custer's ventures reflected the role of the army in the opening of the West and the forced settlement of the Plains Indians.

**245. The Board of Indian Commissioners** was established by Congress in 1869 in response to appeals by Christian reformers who sought to convert Indians to Christianity and to change their into a western model of agriculture. The Board was made up of church-appointed Indian agents who hoped to halt Indian raids on white settlements in the West. The inability of the Indian agents to protect white settlers and the internal struggles among Christian denominations in the appointment of agents weakened the effectiveness of this policy. Congress soon began appointing its own officials thus federalizing Indian policy.

**246. Red River War** occurred in 1874 when Kiowa, Cheyenne and Comanche Indians attacked a trading post in Texas. As a result the US army retaliated by attacking Comanche lands in Kansas. The Red River War was an example of how some of the Native Americans responded to the US government pushing them out of their land.

**247. Treaty of Fort Laramie** (1868) was signed between the US and Sioux Indians after the Powder River War on the Bozemon Trail. The treaty stipulated that, "No white person or persons shall be permitted to settle upon or occupy any portion of the territory [the Black Hills], or without the consent of the Indians to pass through the same." The treaty also set aside the Great Sioux Reserve to be held in perpetuity by the Sioux. However, since not all Sioux had signed the treaty, its stipulations about Indian settlement remained idle letter. This was further compounded when gold was discovered in the Black Hills, resulting in a land rush by white miners and settlers, further jeopardizing the Treaty. Though the Treaty was a victory for Indians, the U.S. went back on its word and eventually attacked them, increasing tension in the Black Hills (Battle of Little Bighorn).

**248. Custer's Last Stand/The Battle of the Little Bighorn/Sitting Bull:** Col Custer led the US cavalry in the Black Hills of South Dakota ostensibly searching for a suitable fort location. In truth, his mission was to confirm the existence of gold in the area. The affirmative report led the government to justify the forceful placement of the Sioux Indians in reservations. In late 1875, the government tried to buy the Indian land, but by early 1876, force became the popular resolution. Finally, on June 25, Custer led his largely outnumbered troops against the Sioux (led by Sitting Bull) at the Battle of the Little Bighorn. Custer and his men were killed (making the Battle his "Last Stand"). Sitting Bull eventually surrendered because of the army's embargo. The death of Custer brought the discussion of Indian policy to the mainstream and led to the advocacy of a very harsh resolution. His participation in the search of gold, which was disguised as a search for a new fort, furthered the antagonisms between the US and the Indians). His ventures reflected the army's role in the West's opening and the forced settlement of the Plains Indians.

**249. Carlisle Indian School** was founded in 1879 by Richard Pratt, and was located in Pennsylvania. Pratt wanted to remove the Indian traits from the students but "save the man." Teachers at the school did not respect Indian traditions and proceeded to try and reeducate (aka reprogram) the student. *Significance:* Although this establishment was designed to "give Indians the skills and cultural attitudes necessary to succeed in American Society," this was also created as a way to resolve the "Indian Problem."

**250. Dawes Severalty Act** was sponsored by Republican Senator from Massachusetts, Henry Dawes. It provided for the granting of landholdings (allotments, usually 160 acres for farming or 320 acres for grazing) to individual Indians, replacing communal tribal holdings. The law forced Indians to be landowners as well as farmers, and severed their ties to tribes. The act also gave full U.S. citizenship to participating Indians, including the benefits of protection under law and the burden of taxes. Allotments could be sold after a statutory period (25 years), and "surplus land not allotted was opened to settlers. Within decades following the passage of the act the vast majority of what had been tribal land in the West was in white hands. Though supported by pro-Indian activists such as Helen Hunt Jackson, it allowed Western speculators to acquire tribal lands (a decrease by 65% by 1934).

**251. Helen Hunt Jackson** rallied public opinion against the government's record of broken Indian treaties in her *A Century of Dishonor*. She opened the public's eye to the Indian situation, which eventually led up to the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887.

**252. Battle of Wounded Knee** (1890) resulted from a "misunderstanding" between the Sioux Indians in South Dakota and the Seventh Cavalry. On December 29, 1890, the Cavalry began rounding up 350 starving Sioux at Wounded Knee and asked them to disarm. In response to the Ghost Dance, an Indian warrior pulled a gun and wounded an officer. U.S. troops opened fire and within minutes killed 300 Indians—one of the bloodiest episodes in the history of Plains Indian-white relations. It ended Sioux resistance to white settlement, and triggered a mass reaction against the army's use of violence against the Indians.

**253. The Grange** or the Patrons of Husbandry (also known as Granger Movement) was organized in Washington, DC, around 1867. It begins as a secret society but will ultimately become the voice of the farmers. The Grange starts out as an educational, social, non-political society, which even admitted women and supported woman suffrage, pure food laws, and conservation. As it undertakes the challenge of the railroads, its membership soars to 1 million by 1870s. By 1880, 85% of its membership had fallen away and it settled into a social and educational role. The Grange offered education, emotional support, and fellowship. They wished to make their farms more self-sufficient. They negotiated discounts on machinery and established cash crop stores, which left out the middleman. The Grange attacked the railroads, which exploited the farmers. Although the Grange movement eventually faltered, it laid the groundwork for an even more powerful wave of agrarian protest. Some state legislatures passed laws protecting farmers' rights. These were referred to as Granger Laws. Also, the Grange's anti-railroad stance played a critical role in the *Munn v. Illinois* and *Wabash v. Illinois* cases.

254. In *Munn v Illinois* (1877): Illinois regulated grain warehouse and elevator rates by establishing maximum rates for their use. The constitutional question at stake here was: Did the state-imposed rates deny the warehouse and elevator owners equal protection and due process under the 14th Amendment? The Supreme Court ruled no on both counts. The Court took a broad view of the state's police power and argued that the states may regulate the use of private property "when such regulation becomes necessary for the public good." In *Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific Railroad Company v. Illinois* (1886), the Court declared invalid an Illinois law prohibiting the inclusion of long- and short-haul clauses in transportation contracts as an infringement on the exclusive powers of Congress to monitor interstate commerce. Thus the Court denied the states the power to regulate interstate rates for railroads. The decision led to creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission. These two cases indicate increasing popular awareness of the abuses of the mammoth corporations and lack of federal oversight.

255 and 259: **Interstate Commerce Act/Interstate Commerce Commission (1887):** The Interstate Commerce Commission was created in 1887 when Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act. The purpose of the ICC was to oversee railroad practices and ban pooling, rebates and other monopolistic activity. The passage of this act was largely due to Granger-led protests over rate discrimination of railroads. Despite the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission the Supreme Court continued to rule in favor of railroads over regulators until the Hepburn Act of 1906 granted the ICC the right to set rates. The creation of the ICC was an attempt to regulate interstate commerce, which had become more and more important for the national economy due to the railroads. Finally, this act reasserted federal power in interstate transportation.

256. **Chisholm/Shawnee Trails** were north-south trails used by ranchers to transport cattle to major urban centers in the mid-West, on their way to the north and the east. Until railroad shipment costs became stabilized at affordable prices, cattle trails were the only realistic way of transporting cattle. With the presence of railroads, cattle trails soon became obsolete as freight trains were able to carry cattle at a far greater speed to the larger markets. The development of specialized compartments such as refrigerated freights also allowed meat to be transported from the far-lying farms of the frontiers to the urban areas in the East.

257. **Frederick Jackson Turner** was a speech delivered at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago in 1893 by historian Frederic Jackson Turner. It included the idea that the expansion of the United States into western territories brought an end to the frontier, thus bringing to an end a period in US history. Turner held that American democracy was shaped by the frontier: the contest of the settler with the wilderness taught the former self-reliance and distrust of external authority and formal institutions of government. In short, the frontier molded an American national character that was individualistic and egalitarian. In his thesis, Turner linked the idea of economic opportunity to the development of the West. His idea was widely popular and created a new outlook on the evolution of the American democracy and factors that affected it.

258. **John Muir**, a Scottish immigrant, was the most articulate publicist for wilderness protection in 19<sup>th</sup> c.. Not only an advocate of the enjoyment and protection of wilderness, he also loved the redwoods and tramped in the wilderness to experience nature at its most elemental level... His campaign for preservation of the wilderness was a contributor to the establishment of Yosemite National Park in 1890 and the Sierra Club in 1892. He was part of the wilderness-protection movement that "reaffirmed the image of the West as a unique region whose magnificent landscape produced tough individuals of superior ability."

## CHAPTER 18

260. **Hepburn Act of 1906** was a strict railroad regulation enacted by President Teddy Roosevelt. It allowed stricter railroad regulation which allowed the Interstate Commerce Commission to set maximum prices and to look at the railroads' financial records. It made them keep standardized books to make these inspections run smoothly, as well as stop the distribution of free passes. It increased the government's ability to regulate the railroads. It also showed Roosevelt's vision for a strong executive, which could command power over the growing influence of the mammoth corporations on the economy during the Gilded Age.

261. **J. Pierpont Morgan** came from a well to do family in CT. He began a career in finance on Wall Street, established his own firm, and made it a leading broker in federal securities (government bonds). After the Civil War, as railroad industry expanded, he began to reorganize railroad companies where he obtained shares, thus amassing large fortunes. During the panic of 1907, he bailed out the government for \$62 million under President Cleveland. He also reorganized the finances of many rail companies and such corporations as General Electric and US Steel through a process that's been called morganization: he would invest capital to save the failing company and reissue its stocks for lower prices to make them attractive for people and in the process he emerged as a major shareholders by buying most of the stocks, thus expanding his control of the market share. He thus controlled much of the steel, railroad, and electric industries. He revolutionized business, by forming huge corporations, which almost completely controlled the entire market. He developed the modern day investment system by using major investment houses in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston to back his company's mergers. **Andrew Carnegie** was an immigrant from Scotland. He worked several low level jobs in the telegraph industry before going big. While working for a railroad company, Carnegie used his creative mind to dramatically increase the profits of the company. In 1870 he decided he decided to purchase his own steel mill. This mill was the beginning of the Carnegie Steel Company, which in 1900 was the largest industrial company the nation had ever seen. When Carnegie and Charles Schwab, the president of Carnegie Steel bought JP Morgan's Federated Steel, they formed United States Steel, the first multi-billion dollar company in US history. Carnegie was also notorious for his philanthropy (libraries, universities, and international-peace causes). By adopting the Bessemer process, he raised the quality of iron and reduced the price of Carnegie steel. He used vertical integration to control the raw materials he needed as well as the distribution network and the financing. He controlled the American steel industry through his control of the iron deposits and the purchase of key railroad companies in the northeast that connected the mines to the distribution centers.

262. **John D. Rockefeller/Standard Oil** started out as a bookkeeper in Ohio. He soon partnered up with colleagues to establish an oil refinery. Emphasizing cost saving and expansion through horizontal and vertical integration, Standard Oil Company of Ohio became a million-dollar company by 1867. He purchased companies that made lubricating oil, pipelines, and cooerage

plants, buying out competitors, doing occasional price-cutting. By 1870, he owned 90% of petroleum industry in US. In 1881, to avoid scrutiny by the Interstate Commerce Commission, he established the Standard Oil Trust, which brought together the stocks of the major companies he owned. The Supreme Court of Ohio ruled the trust illegal. Rockefeller divided up the companies and created a holding company, an umbrella organization to supervise the operations of his twenty-some businesses. Like Carnegie, Rockefeller integrated the petroleum industry vertically, knowing all the processes necessary in the production and transportation of oil. This knowledge enabled him to increase his revenue. Rockefeller also went one step further and integrated Standard Oil horizontally by merging with competing companies to form one giant industry, which dominated the market and spread internationally. His monopolistic practices led to the first large-scale trustbusting in US history in 1911, when the Supreme Court ordered the dismemberment of Standard Oil Trust.

**263. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act** was passed by Congress in 1890. It outlawed trusts and other contracts, which could potentially create a monopoly and therefore restrict trade. The penalties of breaking this law were fines and possible jail-time. Due to the ambiguity of the language in the Act, for example its definition of 'trust' and 'restraint of trade', companies like Standard Oil were able to find loopholes through which they could reorganize into a similar body. This is one of the first times the government intervened in the management of businesses, along with minimum wage requirements and labor protection laws. The indistinct wording of the Act meant that only a few cases were ever prosecuted before 1904. Congress passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Act in response to the public concern in the growth of giant combinations controlling transportation, industry, and commerce. The Act aimed to stop the concentration of wealth and economic power in the hands of the few.

**264. *United States vs. E.C. Knight Company* (1895)** was Supreme Court case which involved the 1895 federal government suit against the sugar trust under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The government argued that the trust controlled more than 90 percent of all U.S. sugar refining and thus operated in restraint of trade. The constitutional question here was the following: Did Congress exceed its constitutional authority under the Commerce Clause when it enacted the Sherman Anti-Trust Act? The Court ruled that the Act was constitutional but it did not apply to manufacturing. Manufacturing was not commerce, declared the justices: Although American Sugar had monopolized manufacturing, the Court found no violation of the Sherman Act because the acquisition of the Philadelphia refineries involved *intrastate* commerce. The trust did not lead to control of interstate commerce and so "affects it only incidentally and indirectly." This case led to more consolidations and mergers who ended up controlling 40% of capital investment in manufacturing. This case also showed how ineffective the federal government was during the Gilded Age in balancing the interests of the companies with those of farmers and workers.

**265. Thomas Edison/General Electric/George Westinghouse:** Thomas Edison was a prolific inventor in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He created the phonograph, microphone, motion-picture camera and film and storage battery, pioneered the process for generating electricity and created the first power plant to provide lighting in a section of New York City. After a lengthy legal battle with his competitor, **George Westinghouse**, over patents, Edison's company merged to form the **General Electric Company**. GE and George Westinghouse later agreed to exchange patents to pool ideas for future inventions. Edison's discoveries in the field of electricity promoted inventions and advancements by other scientists and innovators and the agreement between GE and Westinghouse displayed another way in which companies could easily dominate markets.

**266. *Gospel of Wealth*/ Social Darwinism:** *The Gospel of Wealth* was an essay written by Andrew Carnegie, that applied the studies of Charles Darwin's evolutionary discoveries to the ever-changing American business landscape. It was an essay that discussed the laws of competition and spoke of the survival of the fittest. In the essay Carnegie discounted the current trend of depleting the competition by forming trusts. He praised unrestricted competition which he believed to be healthy and would have positive social benefits in the long run. With this essay he also preached that the government should be less involved in business. The book represents the cut throat mentality of the Gilded Age.

**267. William Sylvis/ The National Labor Union (1866-1873):** Because of the terrible conditions workers had to face, many turned to workers unions. Yet, there were many ethnic and racial divisions that hampered labor organization. The National Labor Union was a group that attempted to build mass labor movements founded by William H. Sylvis, formerly the president of the Iron Molders' International Union. NLU fought for an eight-hour work day, currency and banking reform, an end to convict labor, the creation of a federal department of labor, and restrictions on immigration (particularly the Chinese). With Sylvis' guidance the NLU also endorsed the cause of working women and even elected a female officer. NLU also supported the labor rights of Blacks, but encouraged them to organize their own unions. NLU believed that reform was key to labor's future.

**268. Terrence Powderly/The Noble and Holy Order of Knight of Labor (1869-1921)** was a secret society modeled on the Masonic Order that welcomed all wage earners, but excluded bankers, physicians, lawyers, stockbrokers, professional gamblers, and liquor dealers. They also excluded Chinese workers though they included women and African-Americans. The Knights wanted equal pay for women, an end to child and convict labor, a graduated income tax, and cooperative employer-employee ownership of factories (and other businesses). Before, they didn't allow Catholics but when they did, Catholic **Terrence Powderly** became their leader. Powderly reluctantly authorized a strike on Jay Gould's Wabash Railroad in 1885 after Gould tried to get rid of the Knights by firing all union members. The strike was a complete success and membership soared. In spite of their eventual failure, the Knights showed the potential for large-scale organization of the working classes during the Gilded Age.

**269. Samuel Gompers/American Federation of Labor (1886-):** The American Federation of Labor was formed by craft unions that had left the Knights. Led by **Samuel Gompers** from its beginning, the AFL focused on 'bread and butter' issues such as raising wages and reducing hours, instead of the grand (unattainable) visions entertained by the Knights. Organized as a federation of trade unions linked by councils to coordinate strategy at the local level, the AFL advocated an eight-hour workday, employer's liability, and mine-safety laws. Unfortunately, labor organizations in the late 19th century enlisted less than 5% of the labor force due to separation caused by religion and ethnicity. As a federation of trade unions, it moved past the barriers of

different laborers with different working skills. Gompers forged a tactical alliance with the Democratic Party in an attempt to resist and end attempts by local governments and large corporations to outlaw unions or curtail their free expression.

**270. International Workingmen's Association (1868-1880)** was organized by Karl Marx in Europe and had branches throughout the industrialized world, including the US. It incorporated Marxist ideas of class struggle to explain the desperate situation of workers and to call for a complete overhaul of the political system to improve their lot. This is the precursor to the Socialist Labor Party. It influenced the strategies the Socialist Party used as well as the railroad workers's strikes during the 1890s.

**271. Chinese Exclusion Act (1882)** placed a ten-year moratorium on Chinese immigration into the US, in clear violation of previous treaties the US had signed with China, soliciting Chinese labor and extending privileges and protections to it. The Act was introduced in Congress in response to pressure from labor unions (especially the Knights of Labor) and western states (especially California) as workers sought to eliminate the cheaper Chinese labor from threatening their jobs. This contradicted the earlier treaty of Burlingame signed with China in the 1860s that had established economic communication between the two countries. The Act was passed over a presidential veto by President Chester Arthur. It was continuously renewed until 1943. It showed how the government ONLY SELECTIVELY attended to the demands of workers' unions. Despite the act, discrimination against the Chinese workers continued and led to many discriminatory laws, especially in California

**272. Haymarket Riots (1886)** was a May Day protest in Chicago that began with workers walking off the job in demand of an 8 hour work week and ended with violence. The next day, four demonstrators were shot and killed at a workers' rally at Haymarket Square, when someone threw a bomb into the crowd, wounding or killing 7 officers. The officers fired back, killing four demonstrators. Business leaders and middle class citizens lashed out against these labor activists. Eight were arrested and convicted. One of the first large labor strikes in the Gilded Age. This riot intensified the general animosity of the nation toward labor unions as they were seen to represent a "communist uprising" led by "foreigners."

**273. American Railway Union (1893):** The founder of the Pullman Company, George Pullman, had constructed a factory and a model town (complete with parks, playgrounds, and a sewage treatment plant) called Pullman just south of Chicago to house his workers. When, in response to the Panic of 1893, Pullman decided to lower wages of his workers while keeping their rents the same, thousands of workers joined the newly formed American Railway Union and went on strike. The Union was led by Eugene V. Debs (the beginning of his long career in defense of American labor). **The Pullman Strike** began in 1894 when union members working for other railroads refused to switch Pullman cars, paralyzing rail traffic in and out of Chicago and over the western half of the United States. The railroad companies used the excuse that the US mail was not being distributed because of the strikes to invoke the federal government's right to intervene in matters of interstate commerce and invited federal troops to halt the strike. The company executives also argued that the workers, by stopping the only means of interstate transportation, were using their labor as a monopoly, thus violating the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. President Grover Cleveland secured an injunction against leaders of the American Railway Union for restraint of commerce. When the Union refused to order its members back to work, the strike spread and it was eventually crushed by federal troops. This was the most systematic use of federal troops to smash unions in the Gilded Age and reflects the influence of mammoth corporations on government.

**274. Eugene V. Debs/*In re Debs*:** Debs was born to French immigrant parents in Indiana. Early on he worked for railroad companies both as a worker and an editor of the union's journal, calling for close cooperation between workers and management. By the 1890s as the industrial boom came to control the fate of the country's economy, Debs appealed for the solidarity of all working people to undermine corporate control of their lives. In 1894, he the thousands of workers who had joined the newly formed American Railway Union and went on strike when the depression of 1893 hit and Pullman slashed wages yet did not lower rents. In 1905 he became one of the leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies). In the 1912 presidential campaign, he obtained 1 million votes. When he declared his opposition to World War I, he was declared an enemy of the state by the US government, was arrested and imprisoned. While in prison, he received nearly 1 million votes for president in 1920. He was released in 1921. Debs vowed to "strip the mask of hypocrisy from pretended philanthropists and show them to the world as an oppressor of labor." Under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, Debs was arrested in the Pullman Strike. When the Supreme Court upheld Debs' prison sentence and legalized the use of injunctions against labor unions in *In re Debs*, businesses now had a powerful new weapon against labor. American unions could not expand their base of support.

## CHAPTER 19

**275. Castle Garden/Ellis Island:** Castle Garden was the first state-run facility in New York harbor for admitting immigrants into New York. Ellis Island, established by the federal gov't in 1892, replaced Castle Garden in the process of admitting immigrants to the U.S. Admittance involved: 1) examination for physical handicap and contagious disease 2) after passing the exam, customs officials recorded (Anglicized) the name of the immigrant 3) exchange of foreign currency for U.S. dollars 4) arrangement of travel/lodging plans. An immigrant with money could travel west to settle, but the very poor stayed in the major eastern cities. This reflects the federal government's takeover of the control of immigration into the U.S. The dispatch of the poor to the cities compounded the urban problems of the Gilded Age.

**276. Jacob Riis** was an urban reformer who faulted the slum dwellers for their own plight; in specific he singled out Italian immigrants as responsible for their poor living conditions. In *How the Other Half Lives* (1890), Riis dealt specifically with a district called the Bend, the worst New York City slum, inhabited mostly by Italian immigrants. Riis did recognize the destructive effects of substandard housing, poor health care, and unsanitary conditions, as well as the social disruption involved in immigration, but he still asserted that it was the Italian immigrants who should be faulted for the crime, squalor, disease, and infant death rate that plagued them. Riis specifically believed that immigrants' lack of self-discipline and self-control led to their miseries. This reflects the general pattern of Gilded Age reformers who often focused on the moral improvement of the poor although they ignored the dangerous working conditions and obscenely low wages.

**277. Tammany Hall and William Marcy "Boss" Tweed:** Tammany Hall was a stereotypical political machine that dominated New York from the 1830's to the 1930's. These political machines ran the city in that they controlled many people's jobs, gave out tax breaks, made compromises and job contracts, and resolved problems between different factions within the city. William March Tweed became the "boss" of Tammany Hall and sunk the political machine to new levels of corruption. From 1869 -1871 the machine added \$70 million in debt through graft and inflated contracts. These frauds were revealed by **Thomas Nast**, a cartoonist for the *Harper's Weekly*. Tweed was eventually convicted of fraud and extortion and was sentenced to jail, but he escaped after two years, however he was caught in Spain and died in jail. In the absence of government-sponsored social welfare programs, these bosses played the role of surrogate caretaker and reaped the benefits of developing dependent and loyal following among the immigrants of the impoverished urban centers. This was used during elections to broker votes for parties.

**278. Thomas Nast** was a German immigrant who became a famous cartoonist and satirist during William Tweed's political term as head of Tammany Hall. Through his cartoons, which reached the illiterate masses, Nast helped to expose the Tweed ring's massive fraud. He was the head cartoonist for the newspaper *Harper's Weekly*. He was instrumental in uncovering the Tweed ring, which resulted in Tweed's 1873 conviction of fraud and extortion. Also, it was Nast who created the tiger, the elephant, and the donkey as political symbols of Tammany Hall, the Republican party, and the Democratic party.

**279. The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA)** was founded in England in 1841 and ten years later was brought to the United States. It was a product of a humanitarian movement for the moral improvement of the poor. In an effort to relieve the destitution of homeless youth in the Gilded Age, the YMCA provided safe housing and "wholesome recreational activities" to rural Americans who migrated to the cities. As a highly moralistic organization, YMCA kept members under close supervision and expelled those who broke the rules. By 1900 more than 1,500 YMCAs had been founded (250,000 members).

**280. Reverend Josiah Strong/Our Country: Its Possible Future and Present Crisis (1885):** Rev. Strong was a Protestant minister who became involved in the growing problem of urban poverty in the late 1880s. He expressed his fears on this problem in his book *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Present Crisis*. His solution to the problem was a united Protestant effort to combat intemperance and poverty. Rev. Strong blamed the urban problems on the rising number of immigrants and Catholicism, believing that cities were becoming centers of destitution and lawlessness. He, among many other middle-class Americans, became an advocate of social reform. Rev Strong reflected people's fears of increased urbanization and the movement of immigrants to city centers. He urged Protestants to cooperate and fight intemperance and destitution.

**281. Salvation Army** was established in the US in 1880. Originally an English welfare organization, it became one of the most effective agencies of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century social reformers. They were organized as a church along paramilitary lines by a Methodist minister "General" William Booth. Uniformed volunteers sent to US provided food, shelter, and jobs to the poor. They had soup kitchens, day nurseries, and slum brigades. Their strategy was to attract the poor with lively sermons and songs, offers of food, work and assistance, and then to teach them middle class virtues like discipline, hard work.

**282. Charles Parkhurst** was a Presbyterian minister and New York reformer who founded the **City Vigilance League** in 1892 to clean up or close down prostitution, gambling dens, and saloons. He blamed police and Tammany Hall for cities' evils.

**283. Social Gospel/Washington Gladden: The Social Gospel movement** was founded in Columbus, Ohio, by a Congregationalist minister named **Washington Gladden**. Gladden was upset with the lack of interest his churchgoers paid to the slum dwellers and those who were impoverished. He believed that true Christian ideals advocated helping the poor and downtrodden and called for every man and woman to fight against social injustice. He and his followers tried to apply Jesus' teachings in the Gospel to modern society, believing that a truly Christian society would unite all the churches, reorganize the industrial system and create world peace. The Social Gospel movement attracted few members, but held influence as yet another movement criticizing urban life. They argued that part of the responsibility for poverty fell on the rich and they needed to get involved in the improvement of urban social conditions. It was influential in the emergence of the progressivism in the 1900s.

**284 and 321. Jane Addams and Hull House (settlement houses):** Jane Addams was the leader of the settlement-house movement which established social centers for recent immigrants. Addams graduated from Rockford College in 1882 and toured Europe a year later where she discovered charity and social relief centers in the slums of London. She returned to Chicago and in 1889 started the Hull House, a relief center for immigrants. This started a social reform movement to combat destitution in urban areas called the settlement-house movement. She argued that the conditions in the slums were not in the control of those who lived there; in fact, they just reflected larger social problems of inequity and uneven distribution of wealth. Settlement house workers moved into poor neighborhoods themselves to be part of the solution and to see firsthand. Even though the settlement-house movement was unable to close the gap between rich and poor, it indicated the growing concerns with their conditions.

**285. Frederick Law Olmstead/City Beautiful Movement: Frederick Law Olmstead** was an architect who envisioned a new urban landscape to eradicate the problems of urban poverty and to impose order and discipline on chaotic urban life. He believed that the ideal city has distinct industrial and housing districts, a compact commercial nucleus, parks and roads to open up the landscape, and grand public building and boulevards to stun people. He planned and designed NY's Central Park and others in Brooklyn, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston. He was an important ideological leader for the **city-beautiful movement**.

## CHAPTER 21

**286. Rutherford B. Hayes** became president after the Compromise of 1877, which ended Reconstruction and returned Democrats to southern legislatures. His term is seen as a "virtue-restored" time period after Grant's scandals. The fact that he was elected by the congressional electoral commission amid charges of fraud in the election of 1876 affected the legitimacy of Hayes's administration. The themes that dominated his administration were tariff, civil service reform, money supply, and veterans'



pensions. His presidency ushers in a period (1877-1900) where the power of the presidency is subservient to the legislative and tensions between the two characterize Gilded Age politics. His conciliatory policy toward the South and his genuine interest in civil service reform alienated important Republicans like Roscoe Conkling. An advocate of hard money (silver coin), he vetoed the Bland-Allison Act, which was passed over his veto and provided for resumption of specie payments in gold.

**287. Greenback Party** (also known as the National Greenback Party) is organized in 1876 by farmers in the West and the South. It campaigned for expansion of the supply of paper money or 'greenbacks,' first issued by the federal government in 1862 to help pay for the Civil War. They maintained that a flexible supply of paper money served the interests of working people, whereas paper money backed by specie (hard money, like gold or silver) benefited only the rich. When supporters of the greenbacks failed to prevent the passage in 1875 of the Specie Resumption Act, they formed a party to demand that the law be repealed and that more paper money be issued. Its strength increased as the labor troubles of 1877 left more workers prepared to blame hard times on the business leaders and bankers. In the Congressional elections of 1878, the Party sent 14 Greenbackers to Congress. They also supported endorsement of woman suffrage, federal regulation of interstate commerce, and a graduated income tax.

**288. In the Coinage Act of 1873**, Congress instructed the US mint to cease making silver coins, thus "demonetizing" silver. However, the discovery of silver mines in Nevada led to the passage of the **Bland-Allison Act of 1878**, which required the treasury to purchase and mint \$2-4 million a month. This was to be coined into silver dollars, which were made legal tender for all debts. Attempts of the free-silver forces to replace the act with provision for unlimited coinage were defeated, as were attempts of the gold-standard forces to repeal it altogether. President Hayes and his successors weakened the act's effect by purchasing only the minimum amount of bullion through the **Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890**. This required the treasury to buy 4.5 million ounces of silver per month and issue notes, redeemable in gold or silver. It not only required the U.S. government to purchase nearly twice as much silver as before, but also added substantially to the amount of money already in circulation. This fluctuation in monetary policy threatened to undermine the U.S. Treasury's gold reserves. After the panic of 1893, President Cleveland called a special session of Congress and secured the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase act. This back-and-forth legislation shows the influence of silver advocates in politics during the Gilded Age.

**289. Senator Roscoe Conkling** was a Republican Senator from New York and the longtime leader of the Republican Party in that state and controlled New York Port Authority. On the issue of the civil service reform debate, he was the leader of the Stalwarts, one of factions of the Republican Party in the 1870s and 1880s. **Stalwarts** opposed regulation because their power rested on the ability to hand out government jobs to their supporters. Such patronage (spoils system) angered those who felt that government appointments should be made on the basis of merit. The supporters of civil service reform were referred to as **Mugwumps**, while those who fell in-between these two positions were referred to as **Half-Breeds**. As President Hayes investigated the New York Port Authority, he dismissed corrupt agents close to Conkling. One of those later became Vice-President Chester Arthur! When President Garfield nominated Conkling foes to positions of power, Conkling resigned from the Senate.

**290. National Civil Service Reform League** was established in 1881 by advocates of a merit-based appointments in the civil service. They sought to fight the spoils system embedded in American politics at the time. They were able to influence the administrations of Presidents Rutherford B. Hayes, James Garfield and Chester Arthur. Their efforts precipitated the passage of the Pendleton Act in 1883, which established the Civil Service Commission.

**291. Pendleton Civil Service Act of 1883** was a bill drafted by the Civil Service Reform League and pushed through Congress. It established a Civil Service commission to set up standards and examinations for federal jobs. Even though it only applied to initially 12% of the federal workers, it was an important step to curtail the spoils system that split apart the Republican Party. This reflected the beginning of grassroots efforts at reform in the Gilded Age.

**292. McKinley Tariff of 1890** passed under the administration of Republican President Benjamin Harrison. It raised tariffs to an all-time high (almost 40%). This tariff hurt many western and southern farmers since farming equipment prices were raised and since European countries retaliated by passing protective tariffs of their own against American farm products, driving American farmers to form their own political organization. The Republicans lost the next congressional and presidential elections.

**293. Texan Charles Macune** merged many regional farmers' interest groups into the **National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union (or Southern Alliance)** in 1889. It comprised many of the poorest farmers who experienced hard times in the 1890's (due to the failure of the crop-lien system, the impact of high tariffs, and the use of devalued Greenbacks). His alliance showed many farmers the political potential of their collective force. It also formed the basis of the Populist Party. Southern Alliance targeted the moneyed interests in the East, the middlemen, the railroads, industrial monopolies, and advocates of the gold standard. By bulking their cotton, selling it together, farmers could negotiate a better price. And by setting up trade stores and exchanges, they sought to escape the grasp of the merchant/creditor. Cooperatives soon flowered throughout the South and the West. This grass-roots movement, which centered around meetings and lectures soon became politicized. Opposition by merchants, bankers, and manufacturers made it impossible for them to get credit. So farmers began pushing for fundamental changes in American economy: railroad regulation and control, laws against land speculation, and currency and credit reform.

**294. Northwestern Alliance** was the northern counterpart of the Southern Alliance. Its goals included tariff reduction, a graduated income tax, public ownership of railroads, federal funding for irrigation research, a prohibition on landownership by aliens, and "the free and unlimited coinage of silver." It participated in the political process by supporting candidates who shared their goals. They eventually combined with the Southern Alliance to form the Populist Party. **National Colored Farmers' Alliance** was the Black counterpart to the National Farmers' Alliance. It boasted about 1.2 million members in 1890. It showed that even in the area of advocacy for their rights, the races did not mix. This also reflected the fact that 2/3 of Blacks were farmers in the South and the West and, under pressure from the impact of tariffs, they were eager to organize and protect their

rights. **National Women's Alliance (1891)** was formed by women who had already been active in the Granger and prohibition movements. Women went on organizing regional farmers' alliances in support of the larger Alliances. This shows that women's activism was not exclusively focused on suffrage. Women also organized to protect their rights as property owners and workers.

**295. People's Party or Populist Party (1892)** was formed in St. Louis when the Southern and Northwestern Farmers' Alliances merged to support James Weaver, a former Greenback, as their presidential candidate. Initially, the attempts of the farmers' groups focused on influencing existing parties. However, the proposal to establish a new party, **the People's Party**, prevailed. It stated as its goal "to restore the government of the Republic to the hands of the 'plain people' with which class it originated." This party voiced agrarian demands at a national level. The Populists demanded free and unlimited coinage of silver; government ownership and operation of railroads, telephone, telegraph, and postal system; a graduated income tax; direct election of senators; adoption of the secret ballot, the initiative, and referendum; prohibition of alien ownership of land; tariff reduction; a shorter working day for industrial labor; and restrictions on immigration; payment of "fair and liberal" pensions to ex-Union soldiers; prohibition of the use of strike-breaking agents. In the next few years, they also worked with Republicans to support "pepper and salt" tickets (Black and White candidates on the same slate). In the West, Democrats supported Populists to defeat Republicans. In the 1892 elections, the Populists ran high in Idaho, Nevada, Colorado, Kansas, and North Dakota. They elected 3 governors, 10 representatives, and 5 senators. The only time since the Civil War when a third party had received any electoral votes (22).

**296.** In *Plessy v Ferguson* (1896): Homer Plessy, who was one eighth Black, purchased a first class ticket on the East Louisiana Railway, from New Orleans to Covington, Louisiana. He was a US citizen and a Louisiana resident. When he entered the train, he took a seat in the whites-only coach section. Asked by the conductor to leave the coach, Plessy did not move. He was ejected from the train, sent to jail for violating the Louisiana Act of 1890, which required railway companies to provide "separate but equal" accommodations for white and black races. Plessy argued that this law was unconstitutional. The Supreme Court held that the Louisiana Act did not violate the Constitution because it did not take away the federal government's authority to regulate interstate commerce, nor did it violate the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment, which abolished slavery. Additionally, the Court held that the law did not violate the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment, which gave all Blacks citizenship, and forbade states from passing any laws, which would deprive them their constitutional rights. The Supreme Court believed that "separate but equal" was appropriate, considering the social prejudices, which prevailed at the time. This decision legalized segregation. The Plessy doctrine of "separate but equal" was overturned by *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954).

**297.** In the **Election of 1892** Democratic Candidate Grover Cleveland defeated Republican incumbent Benjamin Harrison by a narrow margin (the norm in the Gilded Age). Though it did not get any support in New England and mid-West, the Populist Party candidate received 1 million votes (8.5%). The Populists were able to elect 5 senators, 10 congressmen, and 3 governors. The election showed that the Populists had not taken a deep hold in most areas beyond the West. In the South, voter fraud and intimidation by Democrats threatened voter choice. This undermined the possibility of an interracial farmers' protest movement that the Populists represented. Eventually, the party disbanded and most of its southern members joined the Democratic Party.

**298. Homestead Strike of 1892:** In June 1892, workers belonging to Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers struck the Carnegie Steel Company at Homestead, PA, to protest a proposed wage cut. The company's general manager, determined to break the union, hired 300 Pinkerton detectives to protect the plant. After an armed battle between the workers and the detectives, in which several men were killed or wounded, the governor called out the state militia. The plant opened, nonunion workers stayed on the job, and the strike was broken. The Homestead strike led to a weakening of steel workers' unions until the 1930s. It also showed the attitude of the Robber Barons toward unions and their influence on government.

**299-300. Panic of 1893** resulted from the sudden withdrawal of British assets from American banks and investments due to problems in London. This caused nearly \$68 million of gold reserves to be sent to England, significantly diminishing the US government surplus. Confidence in the dollar reached an all time low as Cleveland entered office. During the panic and inflation that followed, the Philadelphia and Reading Railroads both collapsed, leading many investors to rush to convert their holdings to gold (at a time when it was becoming scarce). By the end of 1893, 74 railroads, 600 banks, and 15,000 businesses went bankrupt. This was followed by the **Depression of 1893-1897**, which caused 25% unemployment in industrial jobs, a drop of an average of 20% in farm prices, and the bankruptcy of nearly one third of the railroad mileage. In order to regain stability, the government sold bonds to **J.P. Morgan and August Belmont** at a reduced value in order to buy 3.5 million ounces of gold to help strengthen the gold standard. This move made agrarian radicals believe that the gov't had an alliance with Wall Street.

**301. Jacob Coxey**, a social reformer from Ohio, developed a plan to eliminate unemployment by forming a public works program with \$500 million of funding. He organized a **March on Washington** during the Depression of 1893-1897. Thousands of men were supposed to show up, but only a few hundred actually marched. Coxey and his supporters were quickly arrested.

**302. Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894** was introduced by Representative William Wilson of West Virginia under the second administration of President Cleveland. The bill substantially reduced tariff rates on many raw materials and manufactured products and levied an income tax of 2% on incomes of \$4,000 and over. The bill passed the House unchanged, but largely through the efforts of Maryland Senator Arthur Gorman, it was considerably altered in the Senate, and Wilson's low-tariff principle was lost. Cleveland refused to sign the bill, which became law without his signature. In 1895 the Supreme Court declared the income tax provisions of this bill unconstitutional in *Pollock v Farmers' Loan and Trust Company*.

**303.** In the watershed **Election of 1896**, Republican **William McKinley** defeated Democrat **William Jennings Bryan**. McKinley ran on a platform based on high tariffs and the gold standard. The primary issue of Bryan's platform was "free silver." The Populists decided to support Bryan's candidacy though they only agreed on the silver issue; they feared that if they split away from the Democrats, the Republicans would have an easy win. In the **Election of 1900**, McKinley easily defeated William

Jennings Bryan, due to prosperity during his first term when a rise in farm prices pulled Populists away from the Democrats. In addition, the placing of the US on the gold standard with the **Currency Act of 1900** and the return of high tariffs with the Dingley Tariff Act, financial stability returned to the country. The Republicans' easy victory reflected the electorates' frustration with the Democrats whom they blamed for the depression of 1893. Democrats were only able to carry the South, the Great Plains, and the Rocky Mountains, whereas Republicans were successful in traditionally Democratic states as well as in large industrial centers and immigrant areas. The Republican control in Congress and the Presidency continued (except for the administrations of Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921)) to dominate American politics until the rise of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

**304. William Randolph Hearst** published the New York *Journal* and **Joseph Pulitzer** the New York *World*. On the eve of the Spanish American war, they published many editorials calling for war against Spain, and documented Spain's ill-treatment of Cuba's struggle for independence. Their papers published belligerent headlines when US Battleship Maine exploded in Havana harbor. This showed the role of the popular media in shaping public opinion and determining government policy.

**305. "Rough Riders"** is the popular name for the 1st Regiment of U.S. Cavalry Volunteers, organized largely by Theodore Roosevelt in the Spanish-American War (1898). Its members were mostly ranchers and cowboys from the West, with a number of adventurous youth from the Eastern universities. TR resigned his post as Assistant Secretary of the Navy to enter active fighting. Transportation difficulties caused the regiment's horses to be abandoned in Florida, and it fought chiefly on foot in Cuba. The Rough Riders helped launch TR's bid for the presidency. **The Battle of San Juan Hill** occurred in July 1898, at the height of the Spanish-American War. American troops defeated the Spanish troops guarding the hill, which overlooks the Spanish military stronghold of Santiago de Cuba. The Rough Riders were instrumental in this confrontation, which contributed to the end of the Caribbean front of the Spanish-American War.

**306. The Treaty of Paris** was signed in Dec 1898, ending the Spanish-American War. Spain recognized Cuba's independence, and, for a payment of \$20 million, ceded the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam to the US. With this treaty, the US established an empire for the first time, and became a truly global power, with possessions stretching from the Caribbean to East Asia.

**307. Teller Amendment** was introduced by Senator Henry Teller of Colorado in 1898 as Congress declared war on Spain. It stated that the US had no desire for 'sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control' in Cuba. It represented a compromise between Republican war hawks and more moderate Republicans as well as the Democratic Party who feared financial instability.

**308. Platt Amendment** was introduced by Republican Senator Orville Platt, a staunch supporter of high tariff and American expansionism in the Pacific. Passed in the wake of the Spanish-American War, it stipulated the conditions for US intervention in Cuban affairs and permitted the US to lease lands for a naval base in Cuba. The amendment, which virtually made Cuba a US protectorate, was forced into the constitution of Cuba. The US used these terms to intervene in Cuban affairs in 1906, 1912, 1917, and 1920. Rising Cuban nationalism led to its abrogation in 1934, although the US retained its lease on Guantánamo Bay.

**309. Emilio Aguinaldo/George Dewey: Emilio Aguinaldo** was Philippine leader against Spanish and later American occupation. In the insurrection against Spain in 1896 he took command, and by terms of the peace that ended it he went into exile at Hong Kong (1897). After the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Aguinaldo returned to the Philippines and led a Philippine insurrection in concert with U.S. attacking forces under the command of **Admiral George Dewey**. He established a republic and himself as president. Dissatisfied with the peace treaty that ended the Spanish-American War, he headed a rebellion against US forces from 1899 until his capture in 1901.

**310. Philippine Government Act 1902**, also known as the Organic Act, constituted the Philippines as an unorganized territory of the US. It confirmed the president's appointment of a Commission headed by William Howard Taft to oversee its administration, ratified the Commission's reforms, and assured increase self-government—providing for a popular assembly. The Commission would then become the upper house of the bicameral legislature.

**311. Panama Canal (1906-1914)** had been a US goal since the 1880s. Other countries interested in access were Great Britain and France, who also possessed East Asian colonies. This led to a number of treaties between the US and Great Britain to ensure access on mutually agreeable terms. After the Spanish American War, as the US became a Pacific power, a link from the Atlantic to the Pacific became a necessary connection with the US Pacific colonies. The US then began a persistent policy of ensuring an *exclusive* right of passage for US ships through a canal the US would help build. Meanwhile a concession for building a sea-level canal in Panama was acquired by a French company. However, poor planning, disease among workers, construction troubles, and inadequate financing drove it into bankruptcy in 1889. **Philippe Bunau-Varilla**, a leading figure in the company, ensured a deal with President TR. Congress authorized purchase of the French company's rights and construction of the Panama Canal. The **Hay-Herrán Treaty**, signed with Colombia (who owned Panama) in 1903, would have given the US a strip of land across the Isthmus of Panama in return for an initial cash payment of \$10 million and an annuity of \$250,000, but the Colombian senate refused to ratify it. An 'insurrection' was then encouraged by the US. Panama rose in revolt in Nov 1903, declaring itself independent of Colombia. The US sent an American warship to Panama to prevent Colombian troops from quelling the outbreak. The new republic was formally recognized and the **Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty** was signed, granting to the US, in return for the same terms offered Colombia, exclusive control of a canal zone in perpetuity. Later on, and in response to Colombia's efforts to secure redress for its loss of Panama, US paid Colombia \$25 million, in return for its recognition of Panama's independence. The canal was informally opened Aug. 15, 1914. The politics leading up to the opening of the canal reflect the importance Gilded Age and Progressive Era presidents accorded to an isthmian access to Pacific colonies. The opening of the Canal involved the US in Central and South American politics.

## CHAPTER 22

**312. *Birth of a Nation*/D.W. Griffith:** D.W. Griffith's 1915 film, *Birth of a Nation*, glorified the Ku Klux Klan and vilified and ridiculed Blacks. In an age of Jim Crow laws, the film, under the guise of presenting a patriotic history of the US, presented Blacks as subservient. It served as evidence of the harsh anti-Black sentiments in America at the time, showing that even the newest mass medium, the movies, reinforced racism. Griffith later established United Artists Studios.

**313. Fisk University in Nashville, TN /Howard University in Washington, DC:** Open since their founding in the years immediately following the Civil War to students of any racial background, these two colleges remain predominantly Black schools. They were established to provide education and professional training to the freedmen. The universities stressed their teacher training programs, as well as schools of pharmacy, medicine, engineering, and law. The development and survival of Black universities reflected the determination to become more influential, more educated and more involved in society.

**314. International Harvester Company/General Motors Company/DuPont Corporation:** J.P. Morgan in 1902 consolidated six competing companies into the International Harvester Company, which controlled 85% of the farm-implement business. In 1908 General Motors Company, backed financially by the DuPont Corporation, bought up automobile manufacturers ranging from the inexpensive Chevrolet to the luxury Cadillac. These two examples show the formation of mammoth corporations during the Gilded Age, with rare intervention of the federal government on behalf of the consumers or the workers.

**315. Danbury Hatters Case** revolves around the inability of the hatters' union at Danbury Hatters' Company to get recognition of their union. The Connecticut-based Company sued when the hatters' union organized a boycott against its hats. The Supreme Court held the boycott to be a violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, and required the hatters to pay damages for income lost due to their boycott. This is an example of how the wording and intent of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was turned against workers to quell labor unions. This shows the federal government's policy in favor of big businesses.

**316. Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies)** was founded in Chicago in 1905 by **William D. "Big Bill" Haywood**. IWW targeted the most exploited workers, including western miners, lumbermen, fruit-pickers, and itinerant laborers. Its aim was to unite skilled and unskilled workers for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism and rebuilding society on a socialistic basis. Its methods were direct action, propaganda, the boycott, and the strike; it was opposed to arbitration or collective bargaining and to political affiliation. It was especially strong in the lumber camps of the Northwest, among dock workers in port cities, in the wheat fields of the central states, and in textile and mining areas. Of the 150 strikes conducted by the IWW, the most notable occurred at Goldfield, NV (miners, 1906-7); at Lawrence, MA (textile workers, 1912); at Paterson, N.J. (silk workers, 1913); and in the Mesabi range, MI (iron miners, 1916). The IWW never gained much support or momentum, due to an exaggerated reputation of violence and sabotage. At the time of World War I the IWW was antimilitaristic; its members were accused of draft evasion, of fomenting German-paid strikes in order to cripple essential war industries; of sabotage; and of criminal syndicalism. Many of its leaders and members were thrown into jail. They were finally shattered in 1920.

**317. Eugene V. Debs/The Socialist Party of America:** While in prison for his role in the Pullman Strike, Eugene Debs became a Socialist. In 1898, he helped form the Social Democratic party (renamed the Socialist Party in 1901) and was its presidential candidate in 1900 and 1904, when he received 402,000 votes. He helped to found (1905) the Wobblies but soon withdrew from the movement. Debs was Socialist candidate for elections of 1908 and 1912. During World War I, the Socialist Party refused to take part in the government war effort. In 1918 Debs was sentenced to a 10-year prison term for publicly denouncing the government's prosecution of persons charged under the Espionage Act of 1917. Although still in a federal penitentiary, he was the party's candidate for President in 1920 and gathered nearly 920,000 votes. He was released (1921) by a pardon from President Harding. Debs' life reflects and closely follows the trials and tribulations of the American labor unions in the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era, as well as their radicalization by socialist and communist ideas.

**318. American League for Civic Improvement**, part of the conservation movement during the Progressive Era, eventually combined with the American Park and Outdoor Art Association to form the **American Civic Association** in 1904. Its activities included leading campaigns for the creation and protection of national, state, and municipal parks. It was one of the many public-citizen groups that provided the first impetus of reform for the progressive movement. Headquartered in Chicago, it functioned as a "federation of organizations and individuals aiming to promote the higher life of American communities" in the areas of municipal art, municipal reform, social settlements, sanitation and recreation.

**319. Lester Ward and Edward Bellamy** were early critics of capitalism, which, they argued would lead to the establishment of giant corporations at the expense of workers, the middle classes, and eventually the power of the government. Professor of sociology at Brown, Ward was an important of American sociologist: he developed a theory of planned progress called *telesis*, whereby man, through education and development of intellect, could direct social evolution. As an editor and an author, Bellamy's fiction represented the future of industrial society as harmonious under a state-run socialist system.

**320. Mary Ritter Beard and Charles A. Beard** were historians and social activists of the Progressive Movement. Concentrating on feminism, woman's suffrage and labor, Mary was a prime mover in the militant Congressional Union, which became the National Woman's party. She highlighted groups that were ignored in the previous years by more traditional historians in her two writings, *Woman's Work in Municipalities* (1915) and *A Short History of the American Labor Movement* (1920). Charles produced ten books in history and political science. In *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (1913), he analyzed the Framers' motives according to their economic interests and showed that their class interests were reflected in the wording of the Constitution as well as the structure of the government it formulated. Charles' work helped to back up the "progressive critics of big business" while Mary later emerged in the 1930s as an insistent spokeswoman for the importance of women's history. Charles later established the New School for Social Research, which remains a progressive university in New York.

**322. John Dewey** was a philosopher who advocated educational reform and "insisted that the intelligent application of the scientific method to social problems could build a just and harmonious society." This philosophy came to be known as Instrumentalism. Dewey encouraged students to be interactive with one another as well as their teacher, to participate in class by asking questions and to move around the room. In his book, *Democracy and Education*, he argued that "schools must embody the values of democracy and cooperation through their methods and curriculum." He believed that by working together in a harmonious environment, intellectual inquiry and social growth could potentially be derived. He, along with many other progressive intellectuals, saw that education could be a powerful tool for social change.

**323. Oliver Wendell Holmes** was an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court from (1902-1932, appointed by TR). He was distinguished for his jurisprudence, sound judgment, and power of expression. In his lectures, collected as *The Common Law* (1881), he attacked prevailing views of jurisprudence and proposed new conceptions of the origin and nature of law. He maintained that *the law could be understood only as a response to the needs of the society it regulated*, and that it was useless to consider it merely a body of rules developed logically by legal theorists. Holmes became famous for his liberal interpretations of the Constitution and was known as the "Great Dissenter" because of his disagreement with the conservative justices on the Court on issues of child labor and minimum wage. A great advocate of First Amendment protection, he developed the "clear and present danger" rule, which allows for restrictions only when the public interest is faced with immediate threat.

**324. McClure's/Cosmopolitan/Everybody's** were mass circulation magazines, which published investigatory reports about issues of concern to middle class Americans during the late 19<sup>th</sup> c. Articles exposed political corruption as well as the corporate wrongdoing. During 1901-1903, the circulation of these magazines soared. This helped transform progressivism into a national movement by revealing to their middle-class readers the seamy details of corporate wrongdoing and the harsh realities of slum and factory life. Some of their articles were eventually published as books, such as Ida Turbell's *History of the Standard Oil Company* (1906). TR labeled these magazines '**muckrakers**,' a name their editors wore as a badge of honor.

**325. The 16<sup>th</sup> Amendment (1913)** gave Congress the right to tax income. This change comes after a movement to improve living and working conditions, which necessitated federal action [to be funded with income tax dollars]. This was Congress' attempt to circumvent an 1895 Supreme Court ruling, which declared federal income taxes unconstitutional. It allowed the federal gov't a steady source of funding to implement reforms; it also allowed it to increase these taxes, should it be asked to provide more services.

**326. The 17<sup>th</sup> Amendment (1913)** placed the election of U.S senators in the hands of voters instead of state legislatures. This was a result of a culmination of electoral reforms. Although intended to democratize voting, the 17<sup>th</sup> Amendment did just the opposite. Party leaders and interest groups learned to manipulate the new electoral machinery. Not only did it weaken people's loyalties to parties and reduce voter interest, but it also ushered a decline in overall voter participation.

**327. Daniel Burnham** was a "city beautifier" (urban reformer) who wanted to make cities both efficient (high rises) and aesthetically pleasing through careful city planning and landscape design. He believed that cities needed "broad boulevards, imposing squares, and monumental civic buildings" to achieve this. He tried to turn Chicago into a beautiful city with a "majestic city hall and vast plaza." His belief that improving cities would restore the public's pride in metropolitan America is deeply reflective of the spirit of the Progressive Era. Together with Frederick Law Olmsted, he presented Congress with plans to beautify Washington DC. His plans for Chicago and San Francisco have mostly been carried out.

**328. Robert LaFollette:** As US Representative from Wisconsin (1885-91), Robert LaFollette generally followed the policies of the Republican party. He began to formulate a detailed local reform program and, appealing directly to the people, won the Republican gubernatorial nomination in 1900. As governor of Wisconsin, he secured a direct primary law, tax reform legislation, railroad rate control, and others that became collectively known as the **Wisconsin Idea**. In 1906 he entered the Senate where he served until his death. At odds with the conservative leadership of President Taft, La Follette helped found (1911) the National Progressive Republican League to wrest the Republican presidential nomination from him in 1912. When TR announced his candidacy for that nomination, many of La Follette's supporters switched to TR, who eventually ran on the Progressive Party ticket. In the Senate, La Follette generally supported the reform measures of President Wilson, championing federal railroad regulation, and advocating passage of the 17<sup>th</sup> Amendment. He broke with the Wilson administration, when he resisted the increasing tendency to side with the Allies in WWI; he led the resistance to arming merchant ships and voted against the US declaration of war. He opposed the League of Nations and the Permanent Court of International Justice (the World Court). In 1924 he ran for President on the Progressive ticket and polled 5 million votes. He died the following summer.

**329. Mann Act (1910)** made it a federal crime to transport a woman across a state line "for immoral purposes." The red-light districts of New Orleans, Chicago, and other cities were also shut down or forced to operate more discreetly. It was an attempt to curb social problems in urbanizing America and manifested the growing problem of prostitution.

**330. Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)** was founded in 1874 in Cleveland, Ohio. Partly through their efforts, six states adopted Prohibition by 1890. Its activities included welfare work, prison reform, labor arbitration and public health. Many women were concerned about domestic abuse and prostitution, which they believed were exacerbated because of alcohol. Their goal was to "upgrade moral life especially through abstinence from alcohol." First Lady Lucy Hayes was one of their supporters. It became nation's first mass organization of women and was the force behind **18<sup>th</sup> Amendment**, which outlawed the sale, manufacture, and transport of alcohol (repealed by 21<sup>st</sup> Amendment in 1933). It reflects moral-control aspect of Progressivism.

**331. Charles Davenport** was the founder of the **Eugenics movement**. A racist and an anti-Semite, Davenport advocated immigration restriction. He led a project funded by the Carnegie Foundation, to study hereditary manipulation. He and other

eugenicists inspired legislatures to pass laws legalizing forced sterilization of criminals, sex offenders, and the mentally disabled. It showed how science could be used to give legitimacy to racism. The Supreme Court upheld these laws in *Buck v Bell* (1927).

**332. Mary White Ovington** was a progressive who spoke up for the rights of both immigrants and Blacks. Born and raised in Brooklyn in an atmosphere of abolitionism and women's rights, she worked in settlement houses and came to know the depth of Blacks' economic problems. In 1911, she published *Half a Man: The Status of the Negro*. By that time, she had seen her 1909 meeting evolve into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Although she fought for Blacks' rights she never thought they were equal to Whites, who were morally and intellectually 'superior.' For more than forty years she served as NAACP board member, executive secretary, and chairman, and served as conciliator among its factions.

**333. Booker T Washington:** Born a slave in Virginia, he moved with his family after emancipation to work in the salt furnaces and coal mines of West Virginia. In 1881 he founded Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Alabama. Though Washington offered little that was innovative in industrial education, which both northern and southern leaders were already promoting, he became its chief Black spokesman. In his advocacy of Tuskegee Institute, Washington revealed his **accommodationist** views. He convinced white southerners that Tuskegee offered an education that would keep Blacks "down on the farm" and in the trades. To northerners he promised the inculcation of the Protestant work ethic among Blacks. To Blacks, Washington held out industrial education as the means of escape from the web of sharecropping and debt and the achievement of self-employment, landownership, and small business. Northerners' donations made Tuskegee Institute by 1900 the best-supported Black educational institution in the country. In his **Atlanta Compromise Address**, Washington offered the public Blacks' acquiescence to disfranchisement and social segregation if Whites would encourage Black progress in economic and educational opportunity. His autobiography *Up From Slavery* (1901) became a best seller. Washington was the founder of the National Negro Business League; he became chief Black advisor to Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Taft. Though he kept his White following by conservative policies, he faced growing Black and White liberal opposition in the Niagara Movement and NAACP. His speaking tours tried to equalize—unsuccessfully—public educational opportunities and a reduction in racial violence.

**334-335. W.E.B. DuBois** was a writer, editor, and an impassioned orator. The first Black at Harvard, he began teaching at the University of Pennsylvania upon completion of his PhD. DuBois was certain that the race problem was one of ignorance. And he was determined to unearth as much knowledge as he could, thereby providing the "cure" for color prejudice. The outcome of his research was published as *The Philadelphia Negro*. This was the first time such a scientific approach to studying social phenomena was undertaken, and as a consequence DuBois is acknowledged as the father of Social Science. He gradually came to the conclusion that change could be accomplished only through agitation and protest. In this view, he clashed with the most influential Black leader of the period, Booker T. Washington who, whose philosophy of accommodation urged Blacks to accept discrimination for the time being and elevate themselves through hard work and economic gain, thus winning Whites' respect. In 1903, in his famous book *The Souls of Black Folk*, DuBois charged that Washington's strategy, rather than freeing the Black man from oppression, would serve only to perpetuate it. In 1905, DuBois took the lead in founding the **Niagara Movement**, dedicated chiefly to attacking Booker T.'s platform. The small organization, which met annually until 1909, was weakened by internal squabbles and Washington's opposition. But it was significant as direct inspiration for the interracial **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)**, founded in 1909. DuBois played a prominent part in NAACP's creation and became the association's director of research and editor of its magazine, *Crisis*. In this role he wielded an unequalled influence among middle-class Blacks and progressive Whites. He also advocated Black nationalism and Pan-Africanism, the belief that all people of African descent had common interests and should work together in the struggle for their freedom. He argued that Blacks should develop a separate "group economy" of producers' and consumers' cooperatives as a weapon for fighting economic discrimination and poverty. This doctrine of "self-segregation" became especially important during the economic catastrophe of the 1930s. The NAACP's legal division, headed by **Thurgood Marshall**, was instrumental in launching a legal campaign which eventually desegregated public education, public accommodations, and brought about civil rights laws.

**336. Carrie Chapman Catt** was an advocate for women's suffrage who became president of the **National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA)**. She led the campaign to win suffrage through a federal amendment to the Constitution. She advocated her "**Winning Plan**," a grass-roots organization with centralized coordination. This allowed women nationwide to lobby their legislators, distribute literature, conduct referenda and organize marches and rallies, feeling as though they were contributing on a large scale while remaining in their home towns. Although several Black and immigrant women participated in the organization, NAWSA's membership remained largely White, native born, and middle class. After the ratification of the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment (1920), Catt organized the League of Women Voters for the education of women in politics.

**337. Alice Paul** was a women's rights advocate who belonged to the **National American Woman Suffrage Association**. Paul supported a more militant strategy for demanding suffrage than that of NAWSA's Carrie Chapman Catt. This difference in tactics between Paul to found the Congressional Union in 1913. Later renamed the **Women's Party**, it brought direct pressure on the federal government to enact a woman-suffrage amendment. Under President Wilson, the Women's Party picketed the White House and organized hunger strikes. The picketing and hunger strikes often ended in arrests or by being force-fed.

**338. The Nineteenth Amendment (1920)** gave women the right to vote and Congress the power to enforce the amendment through "appropriate legislation". It was passed in the wake of the wave of idealism following WW I, when the country felt that women's contribution to the war effort should not be ignored. Thousands of women had served in the military and in volunteer agencies, and 1 million women worked in industry in 1917-1918. Thus, Congress passed this amendment "by overwhelming margins," a victory for Progressivism and the woman suffrage movement of the early 1900's. In fact, women activists had encouraged women to contribute to the war effort not only to help win the war, but to help win equality later.

**339. National Association of Colored Women** was an early 20<sup>th</sup> c association for Black women driven by the common ideal of better political rights and economic opportunity. Given the fact that NAWSA, was mostly dominated by White, middle class women, Black suffragettes formed their own organization. They were not only concerned with suffrage, but also issues of equality, child labor, educational opportunity, and improved conditions for female workers.

**340. Margaret Sanger** was an American leader in the birth control movement, a term she coined. Personal experience and work as a public-health nurse convinced her that family limitation, especially where poverty was a factor, was a necessary step in social progress. She began her campaign almost single-handed. She was indicted in 1915 for sending birth-control information through the mails and arrested the next year for conducting a birth-control clinic in Brooklyn. Sanger gradually won support from the public and the courts. A clinic opened (1923) in New York City functioned until the 1970s. She organized the first American (1921) and international birth-control conferences and formed (1923) the National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control. By the mid-1930s birth control under medical direction was legalized in most states. Her work expanded the understanding of women's rights beyond suffrage issues.

**341. Charlotte Perkins Gilman** was a leading feminist and author of *Women and Economics* (1898). It traced the history of sexual discrimination, explored cultural process of gender stereotyping and linked the legal, political and social subordination of women to their economic dependence on men. She argued that confining women to the domestic sphere was outdated. She advocated women's economic independence through equality in the workplace and state-run day-care centers.

**342. United Mine Workers Union (1902)** called a strike to gain higher wages, shorter hours, and recognition as a union. Mine owners refused to meet with the heads of the UMW. After 5 months of strikes, TR summoned both parties—union leaders and mine owners—to the White House to end the deadlock. He demanded that they submit to the **arbitration** of a special commission, which granted miners a 10% wage hike and the nine-hour workday. This compromise showed TR's (and the federal government's) new approach to settling labor disputes without calling for federal troops to handle the tensions.

**343. Northern Securities Case (1904)** revolved around the concept of regulating corporate behavior. TR's attorney general filed a suit against Northern Securities Company, which was a mammoth holding company that controlled railroads in the Northwest. TR believed that the company violated the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. He wanted a "**square deal**," and wanted to abolish special treatment of powerful capitalists. In 1904, the Supreme Court ordered the Northern Securities Company to be dissolved. This launched TR's trustbusting policy—a series of lawsuits against other large companies for violating antitrust laws, which led to the break up of the Standard Oil Company and a reorganization of the American Tobacco Company. This reflects an important development of the Progressive Era—the assertion and expansion of the powers of the Executive.

**344. Hepburn Act (1906)** tightened railroad regulation by empowering the Interstate Commerce Commission to set maximum railroad rates and to examine railroads' financial records. It also required standardized bookkeeping to make such inspection easy. Although the measure did not entirely satisfy reformers, it significantly increased government's ability to regulate the railroads. TR believed that railroad regulation rather than trustbusting was the most promising long-term role for government.

**345-346. Upton Sinclair** is the author of *The Jungle*. The book documented the horrible conditions at meatpacking plants where sausages and cold cuts were produced. Although he originally intended to expose the exploitation of immigrant workers at the plants, the public focused on the unsanitary conditions uncovered in the book. References to rats being included along with their feces in the mix of meat that goes into a sausage, shocked the public because they did not know of the horrors that happened in such places. Sinclair's book was also a part of the larger movement in the fight against unsafe food, drugs, and medicine. This public mood influenced TR into backing the **Pure Food and Drug Act**, and the **Meat Inspection Act in 1906**—two consumer protection laws during the Progressive Era. The act forbade foreign and interstate commerce of adulterated or fraudulently labeled food and drugs. Products could now be seized and condemned, and offending persons could be fined and jailed.

**347. Sierra Club (1892)**, founded by **John Muir**, was committed to encouraging the enjoyment and protection of the wilderness in the mountains by the Pacific coast, where it sought to preserve large areas for their pristine beauty. The wilderness protection movement reaffirmed the West's image as a unique region whose landscape produced tough individuals of superior ability. Progressives lobbied to set aside of millions of acres of public lands as reserves for endangered species or parks.

**348. Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts** were formed as a byproduct of the lure-of-the-wilderness movement. They gave city children aged 7-18 and taste of the outdoors, built character, trained children in the responsibilities of participating citizenship, and developed physical fitness. The organization was chartered by Congress in 1916.

**349. National Park Service (1916):**By 1916 13 national parks had been created throughout US, but had no central management to control them. In 1916 Congress passed the National Park Service to oversee them. This move showed the growing trend toward preservation that had already saved parts of California's old growth forests, and parts of Maine's coastline. This movement also reflected the growing fear of environmental pollution as large factories dumped waste into the air and nearby rivers.

**350. Mann Elkins Act (1910)**, passed under President Taft, strengthened the Interstate Commerce Commission and extended its authority to include telephone and telegraph companies as well. The expansion of the ICC's jurisdiction was crucial as new industries expanded such as airplanes, telephones, and telegraphs, extended what crossed state lines.

**351. The Progressive Party/Bull Moose Party (1912)** split from the Republican Party before the 1912 election, after TR won all of the primaries, but Taft controlled the party machine. This left the Republicans with conservative members. The Progressive platform called for the direct election of U.S. Senators, the initiative, referendum, and recall, woman suffrage, and reduction of

tariffs. As a result of the split in Republican ranks, Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic candidate, won in 1912, but Roosevelt, who received 88 electoral votes and over 4 million popular votes, fared better than Taft. The party maintained its organization until 1916, when, after Roosevelt declined another nomination, most Progressives supported the Republicans.

**352. The Underwood-Simmons Tariff** was enacted in 1913, the work of a newly elected Woodrow Wilson. It was used to cut tariff rates an average of 15% and also reinforced the 16<sup>th</sup> Amendment. This showed the significant emphasis that Wilson put on tariff reform. It also helped put the 16<sup>th</sup> Amendment to use. The act was discontinued during World War I.

**353. The Federal Reserve Act of 1913** was part of Woodrow Wilson's agenda for banking and currency reform. The act created a network of twelve regional banks under mixed private and public control that could issue currency to private banks in their respective districts. The heads of the regional banks and the Federal Reserve Board in Washington held overall control of the system. All national banks were held under the power of this new act. The Federal Reserve, after the 1930's, became a strong institution that was capable of directing federal monetary policy. It safeguarded against economic panic and inflation, and promoted economic growth. The Federal Reserve Board was able to regulate the interest rate on funds advanced to member banks (tightening or easing credit) therefore controlling the rate of business expansion.

**354. Federal Trade Commission Act (1914)** created the Federal Trade Commission to watch over and investigate suspected business violations. It could require reports and issue cease-and-desist orders. Charged with keeping American business competition free and fair, the FTC has no jurisdiction over banks and common carriers, which are under the supervision of other governmental agencies. It has five members, not more than three of whom may be members of the same political party, appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate, for seven-year terms. The act was part of the program of President Wilson to check the growth of monopoly and preserve competition as an effective regulator of business.

**355. Clayton Anti-Trust Act (1916)** was passed by President Wilson to regulate business. It amplified the Sherman Anti-Trust Act by spelling out a series of illegal practices, such as selling at a loss to monopolize a market. It led to the Wilson administration's filing close to one-hundred antitrust suits against many corporations. The Act exempted strikes, boycotts, and peaceful picketing from falling under "restraint of trade," thus allowing unions to strike without fear of federal retribution. It led to the Keating-Owen Act, the Adamson Act, and the Workmen's Compensation Act.

**356. Keating-Owen Act/ Adamson Act/ Workmen's Compensation Act (1916)** were a series of workmen's protection laws. They barred from interstate commerce products manufactured by child labor, established an eight hour work day for interstate railway workers, and provided accident and injury protection to federal workers. These laws were a reflection of Progressive momentum under Wilson. The Keating-Owen Act was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

**357. Muller vs. Oregon (1908)** is a Supreme Court ruling that upheld an Oregon law setting maximum working hours for women laundry workers at ten hours a day. Boston attorney Louis Brandeis (later appointed Supreme Court justice) offered economic, medical, and sociological evidence of the harmful effects of long hours on women workers. The Court's acceptance of the "**Brandeis Brief**" marked a breakthrough in making the nation's legal system responsive to new social realities. It gave credence to the legal status of the labor movement. The Brandeis Brief introduced a new way of arguing cases—based on *scientific* evidence. The Court's opinion was based on the proposition that physical and social differences between the sexes warranted a different rule in labor contracts. This opinion conveyed the accepted wisdom of the day: that women were unequal and inferior.

## CHAPTER 23

**358. Roosevelt Corollary (1904):** An announcement that became an additional stipulation to the Monroe Doctrine, which had warned against European Powers meddling in Latin America. The Roosevelt Corollary announced that in some circumstances the US had the right to intrude. It was issued in 1904 when several European nations threatened to invade the Dominican Republic because the nation had defaulted on its debts. TR feared that American interests were in jeopardy. The Corollary justified the US running of the Dominican Republics customs serve for two years and the management of its foreign debt.

**359. Zimmerman Telegram (February 1917):** Attempting to create problems for the US. German foreign secretary Alfred Zimmermann had cabled the German ambassador in Mexico to propose a military alliance of Germany, Mexico, and Japan, in exchange for a promise, in case of victory, to return to with Mexico territories it had lost in its war with the US. Publication of the telegram raised furor in the US, prompting Congress to give in to Republican and corporate pressure and declare war.

**360. Selective Service Act (1917)** authorized registration and classification for military service all men between 21 and 30. It was followed by the Manpower Act, which extended registration to ages 18-45. 24 million men registered by Nov 1918 and 3 million were drafted. In addition, 11,000 women served in the Navy and several hundred in the marines.

**361. War Industries Board (WIB)**, established in 1917, coordinated military purchasing to ensure that the military received the weapons, equipment and supplies it needed without wasting any materials. The agency exercised enormous control over the industrial sector by allocating raw materials and establishing production priorities, which in turn helped to increase efficiency. To save scarce commodities such as steel and rubber competing companies coordinated their production processes. The **Fuel Administration**, also created during WWI, controlled coal output, regulated fuel prices and consumption and, in March 1918, introduced daylight savings as a wartime conservation measure. The **Food Administration**, was another wartime board established to conserve food. Headed by Herbert Hoover, a mining engineer who had amassed a fortune in Asia, it oversaw the production and distribution of foodstuffs to assure adequate supplies for the army and the food-short Allies. Hoover organized a public relations campaign to convince Americans that they should conserve food. All of these federal agencies represented the



unprecedented government oversight of the economy and in increase of public control over corporations. These regulatory administrations' influence lingered after the war as the laissez-faire government showed its weaknesses.

**362. American Expeditionary Force (AEF)** was sent to Europe under the command of **General John J. Pershing**. They supported the French and British troops, but did not integrate into their forces. The US believed that by remaining a separate force it would strengthen its voice at the peace table—a major goal of the US entry in the war, in the first place.

**363. 24<sup>th</sup> Infantry/369<sup>th</sup> Regiment: The 24<sup>th</sup> Infantry** was an all Black infantry, endlessly goaded by local Whites in Houston in August 1917. It seized weapons from the armory and killed seventeen Whites. After a hasty trial with no opportunity for an appeal, 13 Black soldiers were hanged and 41 went to jail for life. The **369<sup>th</sup> Regiment** was an all Black infantry regiment under French command. They were honored with the French Croix de Guerre and several hundred individual Black soldiers received French decorations for bravery. Upon their return, these soldiers went back to the Jim Crow realities of the US.

**364. Committee on Public Information (CPI)** was the government's most affective wartime propaganda agency, headed by George Creel, a progressive reformer and journalist. Established in April 1917, ostensibly to combat rumors by providing authoritative information, the CPI became a propaganda agency that communicated the government's official version of reality and discredited those who questioned it. Posters, new releases, advertisements, and movies all reflected the government's version of events. The CPI poured foreign language publications into the cities to ensure the loyalty of recent immigrants. Creel also organized a network of 75,000 speakers to give patriotic talks, to reach areas beyond the large metropolitan centers.

**365. Espionage Act (June 1917)** forbade actions that obstructed recruitment or efforts to promote insubordination in the military and authorized the Postmaster to remove Leftist materials from mails. It levied fines of up to 10,000 and or prison terms of up to 20 years. Eugene V. Debs was sentenced to ten years in prison for a speech discussing the economic causes of the war. **The Sedition Amendment to the Espionage Act (1918)** made it a crime to speak against the purchase of war bonds, or to "willfully utter, print, write or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language" about the US government, the Constitution or the armed forces, or to "willfully urge, incite, or advocate any curtailment of production" of things "necessary or essential to the prosecution of the war...with intent of such curtailment to cripple or hinder the US in the prosecution of the war." It did not differentiate between anti-war statements and any statement critical of US policy. It was upheld in the Supreme Court in 1919 in *Abrams v US*, while the Espionage Act was upheld in *Schenk v US (1919)*, in which Oliver Wendell Holmes established the "clear and present danger" test to assess whether limitations on free speech were, in fact, validated by reason of national security.

**366. National War Labor Board** was to serve as the mediator of wartime industrial disputes and provide for arbitration to avoid strikes during the war. Samuel Gompers, the leader of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) enthusiastically supported Wilson's policies, sensing an opportunity to consolidate its gains, increase its membership and win new political influence by loyally supporting the war effort. NWLB guaranteed workers' rights to organize and bargain collectively. It also pressured war plants to introduce the 8-hour workday, which by the war's end had become the standard in US industry.

**367. The Great Migration (1915-1929)** was the largest peacetime migration in US history. Approximately a half million African Americans left the South during WWI for northern cities, mostly Chicago and Detroit. Blacks moved seeking better employment and social opportunities. The war had sharply reduced immigration and had caused a need for cheap labor in burgeoning industries (automobile). While there were many reasons for African Americans to turn their backs on the South, one of the major factors that influenced this movement was the development of technology across a wide variety of areas. Not only did the world war and industrialization provide a pull to the North, but the rebirth of the KKK, the decline in farm prices, the invention of synthetic fibers as a substitute for cotton, and the mechanization of cotton harvesting provided a push from the South. The completion of the American railway system early in the century, the improvements that made rail travel safer and more efficient, and the provision of modern bus service provided an inexpensive, fast exit from even the most remote areas of the South.

**368. Fourteen Points speech (January 1918)** was delivered before a joint session of Congress where Wilson announced the guiding principles of a post-war Europe: No secret agreements in the future; A reduction in military arms; A reduction of the worldwide trade barriers (tariffs); Complete freedom of the seas in peace and war; Adjustment of colonial claims in Europe and Middle East; Restoration of captured Russian territory; Restoration of Belgium's neutrality; Readjustment of Italy's frontiers; Return of Alsace-Lorraine to France; Autonomy for the diverse peoples of Austria-Hungary; Rearrangement of Balkan boundaries according to nationality; Autonomy for diverse peoples of Ottoman Empire and free passage for all through Strait of Dardanelles; Recognition of Polish independence with access to the sea; Creation of a "general association of nations" (League of Nations) to oversee a new world order, guaranteeing political independence and territorial integrity to all nations equally.

**369. Congressional Elections of November 1918:** Wilson asked voters to elect Democratic majorities to both Houses; anything else, he said, would be a repudiation of his leadership. Ironically, Republicans gained control of BOTH the Senate and House for the first time since 1910! A Republican-controlled Senate had the responsibility to ratify a post-war peace treaty—not the set up that Wilson had foreseen to close in glory a war he had helped win and a post-war League of Nations he wanted to create.

**370-371. The Treaty of Versailles (1919)/Ratification debate (1919-1920):** Ethnic Americans were dissatisfied with the Treaty of Versailles. German-Americans thought the treaty was too hard on Germans. US Communists criticized restrictions on Soviet access to the Baltic Sea. Irish Americans wanted Irish independence from Great Britain. Jewish Americans desired an independent state in the Middle East. Anti-Germans thought the treaty was too easy on Germany. This public opinion picture further complicated the ratification debate in the Senate. The Treaty failed to be ratified because of partisan politics and because of Wilson's unwillingness to separate the Treaty from the League of Nations proposal. Wilson was inflexible on modification. From the outset it appeared that if Wilson would allow loyal Democrats to accept the Republican reservations about voting for

the Treaty and the League together, it could be ratified. Henry Cabot Lodge was the chief **Reservationist** Senate Majority Leader. He did not want the US to be subject to the mandates and policies of international organizations and hoped to discredit the Democrats in the approaching presidential election. As Foreign Relations Committee Chairman, Lodge he proposed that Senate vote separately on the Treaty and the League. To gain support for his position, Lodge lengthened the debate so that the public would lose interest, which it did. Allied with Senate Reservationists were **Irreconcilables** (which included Robert LaFollette), die-hard isolationists who opposed US membership in any international organization that would have a say or influence on US foreign policy. Wilson appealed to the American people but to no avail. As many as 45 different reservations, amendments and revisions of the Treaty were proposed and all were defeated.

## CHAPTER 24

**372. Election of 1920:** Warren G. Harding, a senator from Ohio, ran on the Republican ticket against Democrat governor James M. Cox of Ohio. The nation was spiritually spent by the war and by the emotional roller coaster ride from Wilson's lofty idealism to the cynical disillusionment, which followed the ratification debate. Harding ran a campaign that promised a "**return to normalcy.**" Harding won in a landslide victory, indicating a definitive end to all hopes for an American entry into the League of Nations. Harding announced that the question of US membership was dead. Harding was not a strong leader and in an attempt to remedy his shortcomings made appointments, some good, some utterly disastrous. Harding died in 1923 from a heart attack and in 1924 a Senate investigation exposed the full scope of the scandals of his administration.

**373. "Teapot Dome" Scandal** concerns an oil reserve scandal that began during the administration of President Harding. In 1921, by Harding's executive order, control of naval oil reserves at Teapot Dome, Wyo., and at Elk Hills, Calif., was transferred from the Navy Dept. to the Dept. of the Interior. The oil reserves had been set aside for the navy by President Wilson. In 1922, the Secretary of the Interior, leased, without competitive bidding, the Teapot Dome and Elk Hills fields. These transactions became the subject of a Senate investigation. It was found that in 1921 that Edward Doheny, who had leased the California site had lent the Secretary of the Interior \$100,000, interest-free. The investigation led to criminal prosecutions and the Secretary of the Interior was indicted for conspiracy and for accepting bribes. Convicted of the latter charge, he was sentenced to a year in prison and fined \$100,000! The oil fields were restored to the US government through a Supreme Court decision in 1927. The expression Teapot Dome became shorthand for the entire presidential legacy left by Harding.

**374. Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928)** was an agreement that condemned recourse to war as the solution of international problems. In June, 1927, Aristide Briand, foreign minister of France, proposed to the US a treaty outlawing war between the two countries. Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg proposed a general pact against war. The Pact was signed by 15 nations. The contracting parties agreed that settlement of all conflicts, no matter of what origin or nature, should be sought only by pacific means and that war was to be renounced as an instrument of national policy. Although 62 nations ultimately ratified the pact, it failed to provide measures of enforcement. The Senate, though ratifying the treaty with only one dissenting vote, insisted that there must be no curtailment of America's right of self-defense and that the US was not to be compelled to take action against countries that broke the treaty. The pact never made a meaningful contribution to international order (surprise!!)

**376. The Saturday Evening Post** was a mass-circulation American magazine containing fiction that featured small town life. The *Post* specialized in prepackaged nostalgia—a representation of an American life of family, solidarity, serenity, and happiness that did not quite exist (another surprise!). Its major editorial illustrator was **Norman Rockwell**.

**377. Reader's Digest** was a magazine that condensed articles originally published elsewhere. The *Digest*, a popular counter-top publication, presented traditionalist, probusiness views in simple prose, bringing to its readers the prevalent ideas of the time.

**378-379. National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC); Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS); General Electric (GE); Westinghouse; Radio Corporation of America (RCA):** NBC was America's first radio network formed by the corporate efforts of GE, Westinghouse, and RCA in 1926. CBS followed in 1927 and the networks soon dominated radio broadcasting. Elaborate research on audience preferences dictated programming, indicating the rising practice of market research that dominated the corporate world in post-WWI America. From Maine to California, Americans laughed at the same jokes, hummed the same tunes and absorbed the same commercials. This homogenized American entertainment and subsequently American culture.

**380. Charles Lindbergh** made the first non-stop flight across the Atlantic. His popularity illustrates the hero worship of the 20's. Lindbergh's flight on the *Spirit of St. Louis* in May 1927 captured the popular imagination. He handled his celebrity with maturity and dignity proving to the American people that the individual still counted in an era of standardization and mechanization.

**381-383. F. Scott Fitzgerald/The Great Gatsby (1925); Sinclair Lewis/Main Street (1920); Ernest Hemingway/The Sun Also Rises (1926)/A Farewell to Arms (1929)** wrote about and personified the **Jazz Age**. *The Great Gatsby* captured both the gilded existence of the superrich and social climbers as well as their cold-hearted selfishness and romantic illusions. **Sinclair Lewis'** novels scorned American middle-class conformity in *Main Street* and *Babbitt* (1922). **Ernest Hemingway** settled in Paris in 1921 after serving as a Red Cross volunteer during WWI. *The Sun Also Rises* depicts the aimlessness of a group of young Americans and British whose lives have been shattered by their war experiences in WWI. *A Farewell to Arm* depicts the war's futility and leaders' inflated rhetoric and captured the disillusionment of the author's generation.

**384. Harlem Renaissance** is a literary movement which led to the emergence of a vibrant African-American culture. **Alain Locke** wrote *New Negro* (1925), a compilation of essays, poems, and short stories, which hailed the Harlem Renaissance as Black America's "spiritual coming of age." Locke himself was a Rhodes scholar who taught at historically Black Howard University. **Langston Hughes** transformed the oral traditions of transplanted southern Blacks in Chicago into *The Weary Blues* (1926). In the 1930's when Hughes attempted to shift his focus to urban poverty he angered his White patrons. In 1940 Hughs wrote the

epitaph to the Harlem Renaissance, commenting on the limited influence of the so-called Renaissance, "The ordinary Negroes hadn't heard of the Negro Renaissance. And if they had, it hadn't raised their wages any."

**385. National Origins Act of 1924:** A result of lingering wartime superpatriotism and the long-standing ideal of 100% Americanism, the National Origins Act placed a ceiling of 164,000 on annual immigration and limited the number of people from any nation to 2% of the total number of that national origin living in the US in 1890. This act virtually ended immigration from Eastern Europe because the greatest immigration from those areas had occurred *after* 1890. Additionally, it completely excluded immigration from Asia, greatly insulting China and Japan. In 1929 the quotas were changed to 2% of the numbers from 1920. This represented the dominant opinion of rural, native-born America against the immigrant-rich urban centers. Immigration from Latin America as well as Canada soared as the Act put no restrictions on immigration from the western hemisphere.

**386. Red Scare of 1919** was a wartime anti-radical and anti-communist panic reinforced by the fear and hatred of Communism that had recently registered a victory in Russia. Emotions deepened as a rash of labor strikes broke out representing an accumulation of economic grievances. When workers in Seattle organized a work stoppage the mayor accused the strikers of trying to duplicate the anarchy of Russia and called in federal troops. The mounting frenzy over supposed radicals took political form. Socialist members were expelled from the New York legislature. The Justice Dept. established a counter-subversive division under J. Edgar Hoover who arrested hundreds of suspected communists and immigrants. In 1920 the Justice Dept. coordinated federal marshals and local police in raids on homes and offices of suspected radicals. Without search or arrest warrants, authorities arrested more than 4,000 people and ransacked homes and offices. These raids violated civil rights.

**387. Sacco-Vanzetti Case (1920-1927):** Two Italian immigrants in Braintree, MA, were charged with the murder of the paymaster and guard for a shoe factory from whom \$18,000 had been stolen. It was thought from reports of witnesses that the murderers were Italians. Because Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti had gone to a garage to claim a car that local police had connected with the crime, they were arrested. Both men were anarchists and feared deportation by the Dept. of Justice. Both had evaded the army draft so they made false statements at the time of their arrest. In 1921, they were found guilty and sentenced to death. Many then believed that the conviction was unwarranted and had been influenced by the reputation of the accused as radicals when antiradical sentiment was running high in the wake of WWI. Later much of the evidence against them was discredited. In 1927 when the Massachusetts supreme judicial court upheld the denial of a new trial, protest meetings were held and appeals were made to the Governor, who He postponed the execution and appointed a committee to advise him. He later announced that the judicial procedure in the trial had been correct. The execution of Sacco and Vanzetti in Aug. 1927 was preceded by worldwide sympathy demonstrations. They were, and continue to be, widely regarded as martyrs. However, new ballistics tests conducted with modern equipment in 1961 seemed to prove conclusively that the pistol found on Sacco had been used to murder the guard. This has led some authorities to conclude that Sacco was probably guilty of the crime, but that Vanzetti was innocent. The case reflected the poisonous political climate of xenophobia and anti-radicalism that followed WWI and mirrored the larger divisions in society. Nativists dwelled on defendants' immigrant origins, while conservatives insisted that the alien anarchists had to die, with prominent liberals rallying behind them.

**388. Ku Klux Klan** was revived in 1915, demonstrating rising intolerance of different religion, races, and ethnicities in the US. It emphasized nativism and white supremacy. Membership estimates by the mid-1920's, including their affiliate **Women of the Klan**, ranged from 2 million to 5 million with most support generated from among blue-collar workers in the Midwest, Far West, and South. In the South, Klan's activities focused on Blacks as well as the implementation of temperance. In the North and the West, focus shifted toward Catholics and Jews. "The organization consisted primarily of ordinary people, not criminals or fanatics. The Klan's promise to restore the nation to an imagined purity—ethnic, moral, and religious—appealed powerfully to ill-educated, deeply religious, and economically marginal Americans disoriented by rapid social and moral change. Klan membership, moreover, bestowed a sense of importance and group cohesion on people who doubted their own worth (...) They used intimidation, threats, beatings, and even murder in their quest for a 'purified' America." These moral pretensions were shattered when Indiana Grand Dragon was imprisoned for manslaughter and revealed details of pervasive political corruption.

**389. Marcus Garvey**, a native of Jamaica, established the **Universal Negro Improvement Association**, before moving to New York. which glorified all things black, urged black economic cooperation, and founded a chain of UNIA grocery stores and other businesses. The UNIA was an organization designed to promote the spirit of race pride. Broadly, its goals were to foster worldwide unity among all Blacks and to establish the greatness of the African heritage. Garvey addressed himself to poor Blacks and rejected any notion of integration. Convinced that they could not secure their rights in countries where they were a minority, he urged a back to Africa movement. In Africa, an autonomous black state could be established, possessing its own culture and civilization, free from the domination of Whites. Garvey was the most influential Black leader of the early 1920s. His brilliant oratory and his newspaper, *Negro World*, brought him millions of followers. His importance declined, however, when his misuse of funds intended to establish a steamship company, the Black Star Line, resulted in a mail fraud conviction. He entered jail in 1925 and was deported to Jamaica two years later.

**390. Scopes Trial of 1925 (Monkey Trials):** In 1925, the Tennessee legislature outlawed the teaching of evolution in public schools because it was contrary to accepted interpretation of the biblical account of human creation. In an attempt to launch a legal challenge of the law, with the hope of obtaining a US Supreme Court ruling overturning the state law, the ACLU volunteered to defend any teacher willing to challenge the law. A young high-school biology teacher in Dayton, TN, John Scopes, a biology teacher, accepted the offer, taught a lesson of Darwinian evolution and was arrested. Famed attorney Clarence Darrow, who had defended Eugene Debs, headed the ACLU team and past Democratic presidential candidate and former Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan assisted the prosecution. Darrow argued that academic freedom was being violated and claimed that the legislature had indicated a religious *preference*, violating the principle of separation of church and state in the Constitution. He also maintained that the evolutionary theory was consistent with certain interpretations of the Bible. In an

especially dramatic session he put the fundamentalist Bryan on the stand, as an expert in the Bible, and sharply questioned him on his literal interpretations. Scopes was convicted; however, he was later released by the Tennessee Supreme Court on a technicality. Although the outcry over the case tended to discourage enactment of similar legislation in other states, the law was not repealed until 1967. The Dayton trial marked a decisive setback for fundamentalism.

**391-392. Eighteenth Amendment (1919)/Volstead Act:** The 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment outlawed the sale, transportation, or manufacture of alcohol. It ushered in an era known as Prohibition. In 1919, with the **Volstead Act**, Congress established the Prohibition Bureau within the Treasury Department. Underbudgeted, it was largely ineffective in ending consumption especially in strongly anti-prohibition states. The Volstead Act was riddled with loopholes such as alcohol purchase being legal in the case of religious or medicinal purposes, and alcohol manufacturing being legal in private homes. Prohibition was thus a failure. Speakeasies became commonplace and organized crime entered the liquor business. By 1929 alcohol consumption had risen to 70% of prewar levels. Prohibition became a political debate as liberals, alienated intellectuals, Jazz Age rebels, urban immigrants—condemned it as moralistic meddling. In 1933, the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment was repealed by the 21<sup>st</sup> Amendment.

## CHAPTER 25:

**393. The Crash (October 24-29, 1929):** - Stock prices had climbed throughout the 1920's as investors responded to growing prosperity and increasing productivity. In 1928 speculators plunged into the market and stock prices soared. Easy credit policies on the part of Federal Reserve Board and Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon's pressure for tax cuts increased the money available for speculation. In July 1928 the Federal Reserve Board tried to dampen speculation by increasing interest rates, and early in 1929 it warned member banks not to lend money for stock-market speculation. But corporations and major banks continued to pour millions into the stock market. On the 24<sup>th</sup> as stock prices plummeted traders panicked. At midday a powerful group of bankers temporarily allayed the panic by issuing a reassuring statement and buying \$30 million in major stocks. By mid-november stocks had lost \$30 billion of their worth. Although it shared the basic characteristics of other such economic crises, the Great Depression was unprecedented in its *magnitude* and *length*, and in the *scale* of poverty and tragedy it inflicted. The prosperity of the 1920s was unevenly distributed among farmers and unskilled workers on the one hand and the wealthier classes and corporations on the other, with the result that *the nation's productive capacity was greater than its capacity to consume*. In addition, the high tariff policies and extensive post WWI-loans to European countries of the Republican administrations of the 1920s had cut down the foreign market for American goods. Finally, the post-war economic boom led to an inordinate expansion of credit and installment buying and fantastic speculation in the stock market. In addition to the domestic devastation, the Great Depression produced severe effects abroad, especially in Europe, where many countries had not fully recovered from the aftermath of WW I. In the United States, at the depth (1932-33) of the Depression, there were 16 million unemployed—about one third of the available labor force and the gross national product declined by half. The economic, agricultural, and relief policies of the New Deal administration of FDR did a great deal to mitigate the effects of the Depression and, most importantly, to restore a sense of confidence to the American people. Yet it is generally agreed that complete business recovery was not achieved and unemployment ended until the government began to spend heavily for defense in the early 1940s.

**394. Reconstruction Finance Corporation** was a new agency created by President Hoover to address the devastation of the Great Depression. A believer in laissez-faire economics and convinced that, so, the economy will pick up, Hoover did not act on the Great Depression until 1932 (!), when the RFC was provided by Congress with \$2 billion in funding to make loans to major economic institutions such as banks, railroads, and insurance companies, and another \$2 billion to state and local governments for public works programs. This was the first federal aid response to the Depression and established a precedent for federal involvement in economic welfare and for the executive branch's creation of gov't agencies to usher in that welfare.

**395. The 1932 Election/Franklin Delano Roosevelt:** Former governor of New York, where he had distinguished himself by launching relief programs to contain the damages of the Depression, FDR became the Democratic Party's candidate in 1932. Promising a disillusioned public "a new deal," he appealed to urban immigrants, farmers, and fiscal conservatives. He went on to win the presidency in a landslide. In this election both houses of Congress went heavily Democratic, as well, thus allowing FDR to go ahead with his major programs, undeterred. FDR entered the White House sensitive to the public mood and determined to restore the nation to economic health within the framework of capitalism and democracy. He had been a member of the social elite and his background found little resonance with the average American. **Eleanor Roosevelt** played a key White House role. She had a keen social conscience and a background in Progressive Era settlement house work. She influenced FDR's ideas by exposing him to reformers, social workers, and advocates of minority rights. She was the first First Lady to play a significance role in her husband's political vision and administration. After her husband's death in 1945, President Truman nominated her as the first American ambassador to the newly formed United Nations, where she was instrumental in preparing and enacting the International Declaration of Human Rights.

**396. The Hundred Days (March 9<sup>th</sup>-June 16<sup>th</sup>, 1933)/New Deal:** In his first one hundred days in office, FDR focused not only on immediate relief, but also the enactment of projects and agencies that would lay the groundwork for long-term recovery, while reforming the American economic system, to avoid future such disasters. Collectively, these projects and agencies are known as the New Deal. This period is generally considered to have consisted of two phases. The first phase (1933-34) attempted to provide recovery and relief through programs of agricultural and business regulation, inflation, price stabilization, and public works. During the One Hundred Days, meeting in special session, Congress established numerous emergency organizations, notably the National Recovery Administration (NRA), the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), and the Public Works Administration (PWA). Congress also instituted farm relief, tightened banking and finance regulations, and founded the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). Later Democratic Congresses devoted themselves to expanding and modifying these laws. In 1934, Congress founded the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and passed the Trade Agreements Act, the National Housing Act, and various currency acts. The second phase of the New Deal (1935-41), while

continuing with relief and recovery measures, provided for social and economic legislation to benefit the mass of working people. The Social Security system was established in 1935, the year the National Youth Administration and Work Projects Administration were set up. The Fair Labor Standards Act was passed in 1938. The Revenue Acts of 1935, 1936, and 1937 provided for graduated income taxes. A number of New Deal measures were invalidated by the Supreme Court, however; in 1935 the NRA was struck down and the following year the AAA was invalidated. The President unsuccessfully sought to reorganize the Supreme Court (court packing, **Judiciary Act of 1937**). Meanwhile, other laws were substituted for legislation that had been declared unconstitutional. The New Deal, which received the endorsement of agrarian, liberal, and labor groups (the new Democratic Party powerbase). The speed of reform slackened after 1937, as the slow and unstable economy created doubts in the success of the New Deal and Republicans began to challenge the rationale and constitutionality of huge government spending, high taxes, and centralization of power in the executive branch of government. Within the Democratic party itself there was strong disapproval of FDR's authoritarian ways. As the prospect of war in Europe increased, the emphasis of government shifted to foreign affairs. There was little retreat from reform, however; at the end of World War II, most of the New Deal legislation was still intact, and it remains the foundation for American social policy today.

**397. Emergency Banking Act of 1933:** The first action of the special session of Congress. FDR closed down banks for a 4 day holiday after which only healthy banks would be allowed to reopen. FDR was also given broad powers over credit transactions and over transactions in gold and silver currency. Within two weeks stocks rose 15% as hoarded currency was returned to the banks, and gold and gold certificates were returned to the treasury.

**398. Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)** employed jobless youths for reforestation, park maintenance and erosion control. By 1935 a half million young men were earning \$35 a month plus room and board in CCC camps from Maine to CA. However, critics claimed that this was "make work". The purpose was to add to the average family income and to restore optimism.

**399. Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA)** was designed as a recovery action to restore the purchasing power of agricultural producers by cutting production and eliminating surplus crops. It established the subsidy principle, whereby, in exchange for voluntary reduction of acreage in production, farmers were paid direct benefits. Provided funds for loans to farmers to meet their mortgage payments. Payments would come from a production tax on processors of farm commodities. The processors tax and the AAA were struck down by the US Supreme Court.

**400. Tennessee Valley Authority** sought to revitalize the entire Tennessee River Valley, one of the nation's poorest regions. The TVA built a hydroelectric network that supplied cheap power to seven states while developing a flood-control system, recreational facilities, and a soil-conservation program. Praised during the early New Deal, the TVA later became controversial because conservatives disliked what they saw as creeping socialism (aka, government control of resources) and landowners objected to being displaced by dams and reservoirs. This was also seen as the federal gov't competing with local corporations.

**401. Federal Securities Act** regulated the sale of stocks. It required corporate execs to give the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) full information on all stock offerings and made them personally liable for any misrepresentation of company securities.

**402. Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)**, created by the Banking Act of 1933, insured all individual bank deposits for up to \$5000 (today, up to \$100,000). It allowed savings and industrial banks to be members of the **Federal Reserve System** and separated commercial banking from investment banking, thus eliminating excessive speculation with depositor's funds. The Banking Act of 1935 changed the title of the Federal Reserve Board to the **Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System**. Membership increased from 6 to 7—all nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate—and the Board was empowered to increase the reserve requirements of member banks. It works as an independent federal executive agency within the executive branch. FDIC provides coverage for deposits in national banks, in state banks that are members of the Federal Reserve System, and in other qualified state banks. It may also make loans to insured banks in the interest of protecting the depositors. FDIC derives its income from assessments on insured banks and interest on government securities.

**403. National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA):** Passed in June 1933, it brought together representatives of major industries, who, granted immunity from antitrust prosecution, drafted codes of fair competition for their industries. They set production limits, prescribed wages and working conditions, and forbade price cutting and unfair competitive practices. **The National Recovery Administration (NRA)** oversaw the codes. The NRA aimed to foster recovery by breaking the cycle of wage cuts, falling prices and layoffs. **Section 7a of the NIRA** affirmed workers' rights to organize and to bargain collectively. It also established minimum wage and maximum hour laws. The Supreme Court struck down parts of it in 1937.

**404 and 408. National Labor Board (NLB)** was established by the **National Labor Relations Act** in 1935; it guaranteed that employees could join labor unions and bargain collectively. It defined unfair practices on the part of the employer. It compelled employers to recognize a union if over 50% of the employees joined it. It was upheld by the Supreme Court.

**405. Securities Exchange Act** established the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) in 1934 to oversee the stock market. It made trading in securities subject to the regulations of the SEC and prohibited price manipulation.

**406. Communications Act** of June 1934 established the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) for the regulation of interstate and foreign communications by telegraph, cable, and radio—the three means of communication at the time.

**407. Works Progress Administration (WPA)** of April 1935 was one of the first projects of the second phase of the New Deal. It put 8 million Americans to work and injected \$11 billion into the economy in public works projects, such as roads, public buildings and other projects. It was terminated in 1943.

**409. Social Security Act of 1935** created the **Social Security Administration (SSA)** and established a federal-state system of unemployment compensation. It was upheld by the Supreme Court. The act established two social insurance programs: a *federal-state* program of unemployment compensation and a *federal* program of old-age retirement insurance. It also provided for federal grants to assist the states with programs for the disabled, the aged, child welfare services, public health services, and vocational rehabilitation. The compulsory old-age insurance paid benefits *proportionate to prior earnings for persons over 65*, with a reserve fund being accumulated through *payroll taxes on employers and employees*; the rate of the tax was originally set at 1%. The original Social Security Act of 1935 covered only workers in commercial and industrial occupations, but since then several major amendments have increased the categories of persons eligible for benefits. In 1965, under President Lyndon B. Johnson, Congress enacted the **Medicare** program, providing medical benefits for persons over the age of 65, and an accompanying **Medicaid** program for the indigent regardless of age.

**410. Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938** was applied to enterprises which engaged in, or which affected, interstate commerce, with many occupations exempted such as farm laborers, domestic servants, and professional workers. It established a minimum wage (0.25 an hour) and a maximum work week of 44 hours with time and a half for overtime. It forbade labor by children under 16.

411. Huey Long / "Share Our Wealth" program / "Every man a king": Opposition to the New Deal either focused on accusations that it was going too far, or accusations that it was not going far enough. Father Charles Coughlin, a Jesuit priest and member of the National Union for Social Justice, began a radio broadcasts in Detroit (which eventually claimed almost 40 million listeners) where he believed that FDR had not gone far enough. Senator Huey Long of Louisiana demanded that the government make "**every man a King.**" Having enacted public works programs in his home state, Long was responsible for the building of badly needed roads and bridges, the expansion of state-owned hospitals, and the extension of the school system into remote rural regions. He also increased the taxes of large businesses in Louisiana, especially the oil companies. However, the state legislature was bludgeoned or bought into passing his laws and in 1929, Long was impeached on charges of bribery and gross misconduct, but he was not convicted. The Kingfish, as he was called, was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1930. Initially a New Deal supporter, he soon became one of FDR's most vociferous critics. A presidential hopeful, Long gained a steadily increasing national following. Early in 1934 he introduced his plan for national social and economic reform, called the **Share-the-Wealth program**; it proposed a guaranteed family annual income of \$2,000 and a homestead allowance of \$6000 to build a home. In Sept., 1935, on a trip to Louisiana, Long was assassinated. Some of the second phase New Deal projects, such as the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Social Security Act, as well as the Works Progress Administration echo Long's ideas.

## CHAPTER 26

**412-413. Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)** was founded in 1935 by John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman. In the 1930s, a faction within the American Federation of Labor (AFL) urged for the unionization of workers in the mass-production industries: steel mills, auto plants, rubber factories. Lewis, of the **United Mine Workers (UMW)**, led this faction in forming the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) in 1935 (renamed Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1938). The spectacular success of their organizational drives enhanced the CIO's prestige to the point where it challenged AFL's hegemony within organized labor. The CIO followed more militant policies than the AFL. Its Political Action Committee, headed by Sidney Hillman of the **Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union**, played an active role in the CIO's engagement with workers' cause and political participation. The heyday of their activism came in under Truman. Its growth, however, was marked by internal dissension; the **International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU)** and the UMW left the CIO. President Eisenhower's cautious labor policies led CIO and AFL to merge in 1955 (known as AFL-CIO). It was open to all races, religions, and skills, as well as women.

**414. Scottsboro Boys Case of 1931:** In 1931 nine Black youths were indicted at Scottsboro, Alabama, on charges of having raped two White women in a freight car passing through the state. In a series of trials the youths were found guilty and sentenced to death or to prison terms of 75 to 99 years. The U.S. Supreme Court reversed convictions twice on procedural grounds (that the youths' right to counsel had been infringed and that no Blacks had served on the jury). At the second trial one of the women recanted her previous testimony. The Alabama trial judge set aside the guilty verdict as contrary to the weight of the evidence and ordered a new trial. In 1937 charges against five were dropped and the state agreed to consider parole for the others. Two were paroled in 1944, one in 1951. When the fourth escaped to Michigan, the state refused to return him to Alabama. The belief that the case against the Scottsboro boys was unproved and that the verdicts were the result of racism caused 1930s liberals and radicals to come to the defense of the youths. The fact that Communists used the case for propaganda further complicated the case. This shows the rise of racism during the Great Depression.

415. Walt Disney / *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*: In 1928 Disney created the character Mickey Mouse first in silent, then in animated, movies. He initiated the concept of making a separate cartoon for each animated movement. Instantly famous, he was one of the first to attempt to use sound. He also experimented with the use of music, the portrayal of speed, three-dimensional effects, and the use of color. Disney produced the first feature-length cartoon, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1938), which took three years to complete. Additional features included *Pinocchio* (1939) and *Bambi* (1942). During World War II, Disney's studio produced cartoons for the armed services as training tools and morale builders. By the 1950s, Disney added live-action movies to his output, while still producing such animated classics as *Alice in Wonderland* (1951) and *Peter Pan* (1953). His movies brought animation to a new level and served as a relief for children of the Depression. His movies also flourished because most people could afford the quarter that it cost, and it provided an escape from their lives.

**416. The Wizard of Oz (1939) and Gone with the Wind (1939):** *The Wizard of Oz* was the first color film and became a classic loved by all children and adults. It also helped to boost the popularity of musicals in film. *Gone with the Wind*, featuring established actors of the time—Clark Gable and Vivien Leigh—used the studios' moneys and the stars' public appeal to make big bucks at the box office. Both films created opportunities for people to forget the economic conditions of the Depression (*Wizard*),

while at the same time, seeking in explorations of US history, both solace and sources and sources of inspiration (*Wind*). Both films also reinforce stereotypes of innocent youth (*Wizard*) and racial and gender stereotypes (*Wind*).

**417. John Steinbeck/"The Grapes of Wrath" (1939):** A native of Salinas, in northern California, Steinbeck depicted the lot of migrant workers, discussed the working conditions of Depression-era farmers, and the discrimination against Hispanics and Okies. His work, *The Grapes of Wrath*, featured an up-rooted Dust Bowl family, who endure many setbacks as they make their way from Oklahoma to California in search of work. Steinbeck voices admiration for the courage and solid virtue of ordinary Americans at this time, a trend that was becoming popular among writers of the time.

**418. St. Louis (June 1939):** This was a German passenger ship that held 900 Jewish refugees. They asked the U.S. permission to put passengers ashore at Fort Lauderdale, Florida. Not only did immigration officials refuse, but had the guards prevent any ships that tried. More than 700 of the passengers would die later under Nazi rule. This reflected, that although America condemned the Jews' persecution, isolationism, anti-immigrant sentiment, anti-Semitism, and Nativism were dominant in American minds. The decision was prompted by Joseph Kennedy, JFK's father, and US ambassador to England at the time.

## CHAPTER 27

**419. Election of 1940: (FDR's unprecedented third term):** The Republican nomination went to the "dark-horse" millionaire utility magnate, Wendell Willkie. He supported internationalism and aid to Britain. Roosevelt played the role of a "national leader too busy with defense and diplomacy to engage in partisan politics." To gain republican voters' support, Roosevelt appointed Republicans to key positions. He approved a peacetime draft and a dramatic increase in defense funding (the Republicans supported US involvement in WWII). He engineered a swap with England, sending fifty vintage American ships to Britain in exchange for leases on British air and naval bases in the Western Hemisphere. Because people believed his pledge of "I will never send an American boy to fight in a foreign war," FDR was put into office for a third time—unprecedented in US history.

**420. Atlantic Charter (August 1941):** This was issued when FDR and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill met aboard a warship off Newfoundland to discuss joint military objectives. They discussed their vision of a postwar world. Bringing back Wilson's "fourteen points," the charter condemned aggression, affirmed national self-determination, and emphasized the principles of collective security and disarmament. This happened amidst increased tensions with German submarine fleets trying to stop the Trans-Atlantic supply line and shooting at American vessels.

**421. Office of Strategic Services (OSS)** was organized after Pearl Harbor and after Congress passed the War Powers Act, giving the President unprecedented authority, even as hundreds of wartime agencies created by the executive branch were already "regulating American life". Its job was to conduct espionage and to gather the information required for strategic planning.

**422. War Production Board (WPB)** was established by FDR to allocate materials to the war effort, to limit the production of civilian goods, and to distribute contracts to factories and businesses engaged in the production of supplies for the Allied fighting forces. Using wartime urgencies, the federal government extended its control over economic *planning* and *production*.

**423. National War Labor Board (NWLB)** was also created by FDR to mediate the disputes between management and labor during the war to keep production booming. This extension of executive over labor relations during wartime is unprecedented.

**424. Office Price Administration (OPA)** imposed strict price controls to check inflation. **All of the above acts came in a rush after Pearl Harbor as a way to pump the economy for the Allies and keep sustained financial support for the war.**

**425. The Office of War Mobilization (OWM)** was headed by former Supreme Court justice James F. Byrnes. His task was to increase coordination and cooperation among government agencies, industry and the military. The OWM exercised control over the economy which was focused on war effort. This coordinated was able to absorb unemployment and stabilize currency.

**426. Manhattan Project** was the secret code name of the Atomic bomb project. It started in 1939 when German Jewish refugee and Nobel Prize winner, Albert Einstein, warned FDR that the Nazis were using atomic physics to try and create an extremely destructive weapon. FDR launched the secret program in 1941 with the British, excluding the Soviets. The wartime effort to design and build the first nuclear weapons (atomic bombs) began with the discovery of fission in 1939, which made it clear to scientists that certain radioactive materials could be used to make a bomb of unprecedented power. FDR created the Uranium Committee to investigate this possibility. As the US entered WWII, the project was placed under Army control and reorganized as the Manhattan Project. It was given almost unlimited powers to call upon the military, industrial, and scientific resources of the nation, and \$2-billion to obtain sufficient amounts of uranium-235 and plutonium-239. The actual design and building of the plutonium and uranium bombs took place at Los Alamos, New Mexico. The nuclear test explosion of a plutonium bomb, code-named Trinity, took place in July 1945, near Alamogordo, N.M. The first uranium bomb (Little Boy) was delivered untested to the army and was dropped on Hiroshima in Aug. 6, 1945. On Aug. 9, 1945, a plutonium bomb was dropped on Nagasaki

**427. Office of War Information** was FDR's attempt to mold public opinion and to maintain public support throughout WWII. Created in 1942, it employed more than 4000 writers, artists, and advertising specialists to explain the war to the public and counter enemy propaganda. It focused mainly on the horrible deeds of the Axis nations and how it was US's duty to crush them.

**428. Servicemen's Adjustment Act or the GI Bill of Rights of 1944** made it so that several million WWII veterans could study for a high school diploma or enroll in college. They also received medical care, pension, and specialized job training. Many

second-generation immigrants were able to acquire an education under the GI Bill and it helped expand the middle class, by increasing the number of white collar workers and skilled blue collar workers. It was later expanded to include Korean War vets.

**429. *Smith v Allwright* (1944):** In this case the Supreme Court ruled that Texas's all white primary was unconstitutional, thus breaking down a huge barrier for Black voting rights. Parties used disfranchisement of Black voters from primary elections to ensure the election of White candidates who supported an agenda of states' rights (which of course protected the southern states' practices of Jim Crow laws and segregation). This was an important step in eliminating a barrier to Black suffrage that existed in 8 other (southern) states. However, southern legislatures resorted to other modes of preventing Blacks from voting, such as the use of congressional districting to empower conservative White constituencies.

**430. Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)** was a civil rights organization established in Chicago in 1942 to advance the strategy of nonviolent resistance to achieve the abolition of Jim Crow laws, to promote better race relations and end racial discrimination in US. It first focused on activities directed toward the desegregation of public accommodations in Chicago, later expanding its program of nonviolent sit-ins to the South. CORE gained national recognition by sponsoring (1961) **Freedom Rides**, a series of confrontational bus rides throughout the South by interracial groups of CORE members and supporters that ultimately succeeding in ending segregation on interstate bus routes. CORE was one of the sponsors of the **1963 civil-rights march on Washington**. After 1966, CORE concentrated more on black voter registration in the South and on community problems.

**431-432. March on Washington Committee** was organized in 1942 as an all Black protest movement that would engage in civil disobedience. It warned FDR that if he did not ban discrimination in the armed services and defense industry, Blacks would besiege Washington, DC, "to wake up and shock white America.." FDR responded by issuing **Executive Order 8802** (1941), the first such presidential order on racial matters since the end of Reconstruction. The Order banned "discriminatory employment practices in federal agencies and all unions and companies engaged in war-related work and established the **Fair Employment Practices Commission** to enforce this policy." Although FEPC did not have enforcement powers, labor shortages during WWII and increasing demands of the war led to employment of over 2 million Blacks in war-related industries and federal agencies.

**433. Executive Order 9066 and Japanese Internment (1942):** When Japan bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the US entered WWII against Japan, Germany and Italy. The war against Japan reinforced, among many Americans and the federal government, the xenophobia and racism against Japanese immigrants and Americans of Japanese ancestry that pre-dated the war. They were thought to be potential agents of Japan, though there never was no proof that they were disloyal to US. In federal government and its military leaders decided that no one of Japanese ancestry could live on the west coast of the US. On February 1942, FDR issued **Executive Order 9066**, which created the War Relocation Authority in the War Dept, responsible for the internment of Japanese-Americans. Over 120,000 people, including children and the elderly, were required to leave their homes in California, Washington, Oregon and Arizona. Most people did not have time to store or sell their household goods at a fair price. Many lost virtually everything they owned. Internees spent many years in camp, behind barbed wire fences and with armed guards patrolling the camps where entire families lived in cramped, one room quarters. In 1980, Congress established the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. It reviewed the impact of Executive Order 9066 on Japanese-Americans and determined that they were the victims of discrimination by the federal government. In August 1988, President Ronald Reagan signed the **Civil Liberties Act of 1988**, which provided a Presidential apology and symbolic payment of \$20,000.00 to the internees, evacuees, and persons of Japanese ancestry who lost liberty or property because of this discriminatory action. The Act also created the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund to help educate the public about this.

**434. *Korematsu v U.S* (1944):** Fred Korematsu, a 22-year-old welder, challenged Executive Order 9066 and remained in San Leandro, near Oakland. He was arrested and jailed. He sued for his 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment rights to equal protection and his 5<sup>th</sup> Amendment rights to liberty and property. He argued that the President and Congress had gone beyond their war powers by implementing the exclusion and restriction of the rights of Japanese-Americans. The Court argued that compulsory exclusion, though constitutionally suspect, is justified during circumstances of "emergency and peril." The Court also ruled that an entire race could be labeled a "suspect classification," permitting the government to deny them their constitutional rights. In 1982, Korematsu reopened his conviction case. His legal team presented documents, which showed that federal officials had suppressed evidence that would have contradicted the War Department's claims that Japanese Americans were actually spies to secure approval of the evacuation order. This nullified the "military necessity" argument and a U.S. District Court judge overturned his conviction. In 1998, Korematsu was honored with the Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian award.

**435. Yalta Conference (February 1945)** was meeting between the Allies (FDR, Winston Churchill, Joseph Stalin) held in Yalta, Soviet Union. Militarily, the Soviets were dominating because the Red Army had driven the Nazis out of USSR into Eastern Europe where the Soviets had amassed much power. Because of the U.S need for Soviet help in its planned attack against Japan, Stalin held most of the control at this conference. He promised again to declare war on Japan, and in return the U.S and Britain promised the Soviet Union concessions in Manchuria and other territories that it had lost in the Russo-Japanese War. Stalin also recognized Jiang Jieshi as the ruler of China and promised to help ensure the cooperation of Mao Zedong's Communists cooperate with Jiang. Stalin also promised to accept the temporary partitioning of Germany into four zones of occupation. Plans for an international conference to discuss the creation of the United Nations as a collective security body were confirmed. Stalin insisted on maintaining the Soviet domination in Eastern Europe. Although FDR and Churchill refused to recognize the puppet communist regimes that had 'established themselves' in Eastern Europe, they accepted Stalin's pledge to all noncommunists to participate in free elections. ( Whether Stalin would keep any of these promises, is another story...). The Yalta Conference showed the underlying tensions—ideological, political, and strategic—among the Allies. It also brought to light Soviet ambitions in Eastern Europe, which the US temporarily ignored for the sake of obtaining Soviet cooperation against Japan (to force Japan to fight both US and USSR, thus expediting a Japanese defeat). The successful testing of the atomic bomb allowed the US to circumvent the Soviet involvement on the East Asian front, by ending the war against Japan 'quickly.'



**436. United Nations Charter at San Francisco (June 1945):** The conferees at Yalta decided to ask China and France to join them in sponsoring the founding conference of the United Nations to be convened in San Francisco later in 1945. Agreement was reached on using the veto system of voting in the projected Security Council, to give WWII victors equal power in the post-war world (more than power sharing, though, this veto system was a reflection of the superpowers' distrust of each other and the lurking need each felt to have to contain the other once the war was over.) The **United Nations Charter** sets forth the purposes of this international organization as maintenance of international peace and security; development of friendly relations among states; and achievement of cooperation in solving international economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian problems. It expresses a strong hope for the equality of all people and the expansion of basic freedoms around the world.

**437. The Potsdam Conference (August 1945),** held near Berlin, reflected the new leadership of the post-war world: Harry Truman (FDR had died in April 1945), Clement Attlee of Great Britain (who replaced Winston Churchill as Britain's new prime minister DURING the conference), and Joseph Stalin. Each was focused on trying to preserve and enlarge his nation's sphere of influence, which set the stage for the Cold War. The Allies divided Germany into four zones of occupation and put Berlin under a joint Allied Control Council (France, Great Britain, U.S and USSR), as agreed in Yalta. They set up a new system of rule for Germany, aimed at outlawing Nazism, at disarming Germany, and fostering democratic ideals (hmm...). The German economy was to be decentralized, monopolies were to be broken up, and agriculture was to be emphasized. German occupied territories in Poland were transferred to Polish and Soviet administration, pending a final peace treaty. The German population in these territories and in other parts of Eastern Europe was to be transferred to Germany. The so-called Potsdam Declaration presented an ultimatum to Japan, offering it the choice between unconditional surrender and total destruction (!) Rarely was any agreement so consistently breached as was the Potsdam Agreement. The work of the Allied Control Council for Germany was undermined by bickering between US and USSR, Great Britain and France; further more, immediately after the conference, the Truman administration hurried to end the war against Japan (Truman did not know that Stalin already had found out about THE bomb). Truman reduced US economic assistance to the Soviets and stalled their request for reconstruction loans. This, in turn, led Stalin to break his Yalta promises and strengthen Soviet control of Eastern Europe.

## CHAPTER 28

**438. The Bretton-Woods Agreement (IMF/GATT/World Bank)** was held in July 1944 at Bretton Woods, N.H. It resulted in the creation of the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)**, to promote international monetary cooperation, and of the **International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)** to make loans to member nations, as well as to private investors, for the purpose of encouraging foreign trade and encouraging economic development around the world. The **General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)** was established in 1948 as specialized agency of the UN to foster international cooperation through a reduction in tariffs. In 1995, it was replaced by the World Trade Organization (WTO). These agreements placed the US—as the largest economic power—in economic control of the non-Communist world.

**439. Truman Doctrine (March 1947)** was outlined at a joint session of Congress. Truman showed global politics as a "stark confrontation between **liberty and oppression** and asked for military aid for Greece and Turkey" where governments were combatting communist-supported insurgencies, fueled by economic depression. He declared that it was the U.S duty to protect any free nation "resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." He believed that wherever poverty existed was a fertile ground for Soviet propaganda, which would use Communism's call for economic and political equity to enlist poor countries or oppressed classes on the Soviets' bandwagon against the US. In response, he said, the US should encourage economic prosperity around the world through economic and military aid. This doctrine reflected Truman's own distrust of Communism as an ideology, as well as his conviction that the Soviets had ambitions of global dominance. He was frustrated with Soviet intransigence on unification of Germany, general disarmament, or the establishment of a United Nations armed force. Enunciation of the Truman Doctrine signaled the beginning of the policy of **containment** of Communism; it made the U.S a global policeman facing confrontation with the Soviet Union. The doctrine (or policy of containment) was implemented by the adoption of the **Marshall Plan** (1947), by the Point Four program (1949) of technical aid to underdeveloped countries, and, above all, by the creation (1949) of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization**.

**440. Marshall Plan (1947-1952)** was proposed by Truman's Secretary of State, George C. Marshall. It called for a comprehensive American plan and assistance for economic recovery in Europe (as a way of containing the spread of Communism). Truman wanted to end the economic devastation in Europe that Communist revolutionaries were taking advantage of. It led to the creation of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation as the master coordinating agency. Over \$12 billion was dispersed (1948-51) under the program. From the start the Soviet Union strongly opposed the Marshall Plan while the various countries in Eastern Europe denounced or ignored it. Completed in 1952, the Marshall Plan was one aspect of the foreign aid program of the United States and greatly contributed to the economic recovery of Europe.

**441 and 443. Berlin Blockade (March 1948- May 1949)/Berlin Airlift (April 1948- April 1949):** The division of Berlin into sectors by the Potsdam Conference resulted in severe tension between the USSR and the Western powers. The Soviets occupied the sector that subsequently became known as East Berlin. The zones assigned to the British, American, and French occupation forces constituted West Berlin. As France, Britain and the U.S began to see that a revived Germany could serve as a buffer against Soviet expansion, they gradually united their three zones. This alarmed Stalin and he established a **blockade** on all land and water communications between West Berlin and western parts of Germany, by blocking the flow of goods and people and all railway and highway access through the Soviet zone into Berlin. Stalin believed that Western powers would be unable to feed the pro-western Berliners and eventually have to "abandon their plans to create an independent West Germany." Truman, instead, ordered an **airlift** to bring food and supplies to Berlin. Planes arrived at the airport every three minutes with supplies and Truman hinted that the US would use "the bomb" if necessary. After a whole year, the airlift worked and Stalin ended the blockade in 1949. In that year the Soviets proclaimed East Berlin the capital of the new **German Democratic Republic (West Germany)**, and in 1950, the Allies made West Berlin one of the states of the **Federal Republic of Germany (East Germany)**.

**442. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (May 1949):** Increasing fears of a Soviet attack on Western Europe led to the creation of NATO, which established a *military alliance* between the United States and Canada and ten nations of Western Europe. It was aimed at safeguarding the freedom of the Atlantic 'community.' Considering an armed attack on any member an attack against all, the treaty provided for *collective self-defense*. The treaty was also designed to encourage political, economic, and social cooperation. General Dwight D. Eisenhower was appointed supreme commander of NATO and stationed 4 U.S. army divisions in Europe as the center of NATO armed forces. The Soviets responded by forming the **Warsaw Pact**, a defensive alliance among the Communist countries of Eastern Europe (Soviet satellite countries) in 1955.

**444. Korean War (1950-1953)/General Douglas MacArthur:** This was a conflict between Communist and non-Communist forces in Korea from June 1950, to July 1953. At the end of WWII, as Japanese forces in Korea surrendered to the Soviets and the Americans, Korea was divided at the 38th parallel into Soviet (North Korean) and U.S. (South Korean) zones of occupation. In 1948 rival governments were established: **The Republic of Korea** was proclaimed in the South and the **People's Democratic Republic of Korea** in the North. Relations between them became increasingly strained, and on June 25, 1950, North Korean forces invaded South Korea. The UN condemned the invasion as an act of aggression, demanded the withdrawal of North Korean troops, and called upon its members to aid South Korea. President Truman authorized the use of American land, sea, and air forces in support of South Korea and the UN placed the forces of 15 other member nations under the command Gen. **Douglas MacArthur**. In the first weeks of the conflict the North Korean forces met little resistance and advanced rapidly, pushing the South Korean and UN troops to the Pusan area at the southeast tip of Korea. A counteroffensive began in Sept. 1950, when UN forces made a daring landing at Inchon on the west coast of the peninsula, attacking North Korean troops from the flank. North Korean forces fell back and MacArthur received orders to pursue them *into* North Korea, capturing the capital of Pyongyang, and advancing toward the Yalu River, which bordered Communist China. The Chinese, fearing an invasion, joined with the North Koreans to launch (Nov. 1950) a successful counterattack. UN troops were forced back, and the Communists again advanced into the South, recapturing Seoul in winter 1951. The war eventually centered on the 38th parallel, and became a war of attrition. MacArthur wished to mount another invasion of North Korea and publicly criticized Truman's cautious policy, which led the President to remove him (Apr. 1951) from command. The new commander began truce negotiations with the North Koreans and Chinese, while action on the terrain continued. MacArthur's dismissal, mounting casualties and the war's uncertain prolongation made it unpopular at home, which played an important role in the presidential victory of Dwight D. Eisenhower. An armistice agreement was signed in July 1953. The Korean War was one of the earliest proxy wars of the Cold War era, where superpowers used regional allies to contain each other and expand their spheres of influence.

**445 and 450. Fair Deal:** This was Truman's proposition for a new economic program right after his victory in the election of 1948. At home, large scale union unrest, inflation, and demobilization were the chief sources of economic instability. His program (later labeled the Fair Deal) called for guaranteed full employment, a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee to end racial discrimination, an increased minimum wage and extended social security benefits, price and rent controls, public housing projects, and public health insurance. However, the Republican Congress blocked most of these projects, while passing—over the President's veto—the **Taft-Hartley Labor Act** (1947), which prohibited the closed shop and permitted the president to call a 60-day cooling off period to delay any strike that might endanger the nation. In 1948, Truman ordered the desegregation of the armed forces. As a result, a bloc of southern Democrats bolted the party in the election that year. Truman embarked on a vigorous campaign across the country, blaming the Republican Congress for most of the nation's ills and highlighting its inactivity. The campaign was a resounding success. Contrary to all the predictions, Truman defeated his Republican opponent, Thomas E. Dewey, and Democratic majorities swept into the House and Senate. In his second administration Truman made little progress with his Fair Deal programs. Domestic affairs were increasingly dominated by the fear of Communist subversion. The Fair Deal ended as Truman seized (1952) the steel industry in order to prevent a strike. He claimed that the action was justified by the President's inherent powers in time of emergency, but the Supreme Court overruled him.

**446-447. House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC, 1938-1975)/Rep. Richard Nixon/Alger Hiss/Hollywood Ten/Sen. Joseph McCarthy/:** Started in 1938, the **House Un-American Activities Committee** was created to unearth Nazi, Soviet, and Fascist sympathizers in the US as war broke out in Europe. As such, the committee served as a platform for "conservatives' denunciation of the New Deal as a communist plot." After WWII, HUAC came to focus on Communist disloyalty and subversive actions at home. The committee's methods included pressure on witnesses to name former associates, vague and sweeping accusations against individuals, and the assumption of an individual's guilt because of mere association with a suspect organization (guilty by suspicion). Witnesses who refused to answer were cited for contempt of Congress. A highly publicized 1947 investigation of the entertainment industry led to prison sentences for contempt for a group of recalcitrant witnesses who became known as the **Hollywood Ten**. In 1948, sensational accusations of Soviet espionage against former State Dept. official **Alger Hiss** led to public hearings that kept the committee in the headlines and provided the first national exposure for committee member **Richard Nixon**. Though the Committee initially cleared Hiss, Nixon's persistent investigation eventually unearthed compromising information, which resulted in Hiss's indictment. In 1950, **Sen. Joseph McCarthy** (R-WI) won national attention with a speech at Wheeling, W.Va., in which he charged that the State Dept. had been infiltrated by Communists. Although a Senate investigating committee branded the charges a fraud and a hoax, McCarthy repeated his claims in radio and television appearances. When the Republicans assumed control of Congress in 1953, McCarthy became chairman of the Senate Government Operations Committee, a post he used to exploit the public's fear of Communism. Through widely publicized hearings, the use of unidentified informers, and reckless accusation, McCarthy doggedly pursued those whom he classified as Communists and subversives. His methods came under increasing attack by the press and his colleagues. In 1954, McCarthy accused the Secretary of the Army of attempting to conceal evidence of espionage activities. Mounting public frustration with McCarthy led the Republican Senate to condemn him for abuse of power. His indiscriminate attacks gave rise to the term **McCarthyism**, which denotes sensationalist tactics and unsubstantiated accusations. The committee was abolished in 1975.

**448. Smith Act of 1940** outlawed any conspiracy advocating the overthrow of the government. The Justice Department prosecuted eleven top leaders of the American Communist party under this act. Some citizens were convicted for nothing but speaking. In 1951 the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the act arguing that Congress could curtail freedom of speech if national security was in jeopardy. In 1957 the Supreme Court restricted the application of the Smith Act to instances of *active* participation in, or verbal *encouragement* of, *specific* insurrectionary activities.

**449. Ethel and Julius Rosenberg (February 1950- June 1953)** was a lengthy and controversial espionage case. In 1950, the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrested Julius Rosenberg, an electrical engineer who had worked for the U.S. army signal corps during WWII, and his wife Ethel; they were indicted for conspiracy to transmit classified military information to the Soviet Union. In the trial that followed (Mar. 1951), the government charged that in 1944 and 1945 the Rosenbergs had persuaded Ethel's brother, David Greenglass, an employee at the Los Alamos atomic bomb project to provide them and a third person, Harry Gold, with top-secret data on nuclear weapons. The chief evidence against the Rosenbergs came from Greenglass and his wife. Both Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were found guilty (1951) and received the death sentence; Harry Gold received a 30-year prison term, and David Greenglass was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment. Despite many court appeals and pleas for executive clemency, the Rosenbergs were executed on June 19, 1953. They became the first U.S. civilians to suffer the death penalty in an espionage trial. The case aroused much controversy. Many claimed that the political climate and an undercurrent of anti-Semitism made a fair trial impossible and that the only seriously incriminating evidence had come from a confessed spy; others questioned the value of the information transmitted to the Soviet Union and argued that the death penalty was too severe.

**450. McCarran Internal Security Act (1950)/McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act (1952):** In 1950, over Truman's veto, Congress passed the **McCarran Internal Security Act**, which required all organizations deemed Communist by the Justice Dept. to register with the Attorney General, to provide members' lists and financial statements. It also barred Communists from employment in defense plants, authorized the government to deny passports to Communists, and authorized their arrest and detention during a national emergency. The **McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952**, also passed over a presidential veto, maintained the discriminatory quotas based on national origins that gave immigrants from northern and western Europe 85% of available slots, although it did end Asian exclusion. The Act also strengthened the powers of the Justice Dept to exclude or deport aliens suspecting of supporting Communism.

**451. Nixon's Checkers speech:** Senator Richard M. Nixon (R-CA) was chosen as the running mate of Dwight D. Eisenhower running in the 1952 elections, largely because of his anticommunist credentials but also because Republicans thought he could draw valuable support in the West. In the midst of the campaign, the *New York Post* reported that Nixon had been maintaining a secret "slush fund" provided by contributions from a group of Southern California businessmen. Eisenhower was willing to give Nixon a chance to clear himself but emphasized that Nixon needed to emerge from the crisis "as clean as a hound's tooth." On September 23, 1952, Nixon delivered a nationally televised address, the so-called "Checkers" speech, in which he acknowledged the existence of the fund but denied that any of it had been used improperly. To demonstrate that he had not enriched himself in office, he listed his family's financial assets and liabilities in embarrassing detail. The speech is perhaps best remembered for its sentimental conclusion, in which Nixon admitted accepting one political gift—a cocker spaniel that his six-year-old daughter Tricia had named Checkers. "Regardless of what they say about it," he declared, "we are going to keep it." Although Nixon initially thought that the speech had been a failure, the public responded favorably. Eisenhower went on to win the election.

## CHAPTER 29

**452. Earl Warren/Warren Court (1953-1969):** Earl Warren was an American jurist and the 14<sup>th</sup> chief justice of the United States (1953–69). He presided over the Supreme Court during a period of sweeping changes in U.S. constitutional law often through loose construction, especially in the areas of *race relations*, *criminal procedure* and *the rights of the accused*, and *legislative or congressional apportionment*. In public office uninterruptedly for 50 years, he served as attorney general of California (1939–43, aka during the Japanese Internment...), and governor of California for three terms (1943–53). Nominated as chief justice of the US Supreme Court by President Eisenhower in 1953 (as part of deal worked out in the 1952 election, whereby if Warren helped IKE win CA, then he would be nominated for the next opening on the nation's highest court), Warren served in that capacity until his retirement in 1969. In his first year on the bench, he spoke for a unanimous court in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954), declaring unconstitutional the separation of public-school children according to race. Rejecting the "separate but equal" doctrine that had prevailed since 1896 (*Plessy v. Ferguson*), Warren stated that "*separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.*" In *Watkins v. United States* (1957), Warren upheld the right of a witness to refuse to testify before a congressional committee, discounting the fear of communist subversion that was prevalent in the United States during the 1950s. In *Reynolds v. Sims* (1964), known as the "*one man, one vote*" decision, he held that representation in state legislatures must be apportioned equally on the basis of population rather than geographical areas, remarking that "*legislators represent people, not acres or trees.*" In *Miranda v. State of Arizona* (1966)—a landmark decision of the Warren court's rulings on criminal justice—he ruled that the police, before questioning a criminal suspect, must inform him of his rights to remain silent and to have counsel present (appointed for him if he is indigent) and that a confession obtained in defiance of these requirements is inadmissible in court. He also used *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963) to make the right to counsel mandatory in *all* cases. Two other important issues received legal interpretation in the Warren Court: desegregation in public accommodations and the right to privacy. In *Heart of Atlanta Motel v. US* (1964), the Court upheld the constitutionality of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965), the Court argued that, although the Constitution "does not explicitly protect a general right to privacy, *the various guarantees within the Bill of Rights create zones, that establish a right to privacy.*" This ruling was the essential backbone for *Roe v. Wade* (1973). Under his tenure, the Supreme Court used the Due Process and Equal Protection Clauses of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment to make the Bill of Rights mandatory on the states. On Nov. 29, 1963, President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed Warren chairman of a commission established to investigate the assassination of President Kennedy and the murder of the presumed assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald. The report of the Warren Commission was submitted in September 1964 and was published later that year.

**453. Brown v Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas (1954):** This case focused on segregation in public schools. The court upheld that separating children "solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." Thus concluding that segregation violated the equal protection clause of the 11<sup>th</sup> amendment, and that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." A year later the Court ordered all schools to desegregate "with deliberate speed." The Northern and border states complied with the Court's decision, but many of the Southern states refused, and an upheaval of racial anger began. Eisenhower refused to force these states to comply with the Court's decision and never publicly endorsed the decision. Southern states cut off funding to desegregated schools, and by the end of 1956 hardly any southern schools were actually desegregated.

**454. Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas/ Little Rock's Central High School:** This was an example of Southern resistance to the *Brown* decision. Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus mobilized the state's National Guard to prevent nine Black students from entering Little Rock Central High School despite a federal court order. Mobs of angry Whites prevented the students' entry. Eisenhower then demanded that these mobs disperse and, when they refused, he federalized the Arkansas National Guard and dispatched federal troops to protect the students' rights. Despite Northern support for desegregation and incidents such as this, fewer than 1 % of Black students in the South attended integrated schools.

**455-456. Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960** were proposed by Eisenhower and were the first civil rights laws since Reconstruction. The Act of 1957 established a permanent commission on civil rights with broad investigatory powers but did little to guarantee the ballot to African-Americans. The Act of 1960 only slightly strengthened the first measure's enforcement power. While these were genuine attempts to address racial problems in the US, civil rights activists believed they did not take the issues far enough, while conservative southerners believed they were taken too far. This divided made the whole process of civil rights legislation litigious and contentious.

**457. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)** was originally created in 1947 to conduct espionage and analyze information on other nations, but it soon carried out undercover operations to destroy foreign leaders believed hostile to the U.S. Eisenhower appointed a veteran of wartime OSS operations, Allen Dulles, to command the CIA. In 1953 the agency plotted with Iranian army officers to overthrow a popularly elected government that had taken possession of rich oil resources long exploited by the British. They also intervened in the Philippines to assure the election of a pro-American government. In Guatemala, the CIA equipped and trained a rebel force to destroy a regime which had seized lands from American companies to redistribute it to the Guatemalan people. Eisenhower allowed for a lot of leeway in the CIA, and it devoted most of its time and money to covert actions, subverting governments, bribing foreign politicians, and subsidizing foreign newspapers and media that hewed to a pro-American line (e.g. Voice of America radio). Throughout the Cold War, the CIA served the US policy makers and was used as an extension of official policy to ensure the placement of pro-US policies and politicians in the 'hot spots' of the Cold War.

**458. CIA Mission to Vietnam (1954):** This was established to install Ngo Dinh Diem, a strong anti-Communist Catholic South Vietnamese leader to rule the puppet state that had emerged from the collapse of the French colony of Indochina. In 1955 Diem became president of an independent South Vietnam, and CIA agents helped to train his armed forces and secret police in order to eliminate political opposition and block the elections organized by the UN for to reunify Vietnam. Diem's intransigent policies, especially in the areas of land reform, led to the formation of the National Liberation Front, which was backed by North Vietnam—the seeds of the Vietnam War were planted because of the US desire to keep in power—at all costs—a proxy whose authoritarian policies alienated his own people.

**459. Suez Canal Crisis of 1956:** In 1952, in a CIA orchestrated coup, the Egyptian monarchy (British puppets) was overthrown by a military commander, Gamal Abdel Nasser. Very popular with the Egyptian people, Nasser began a campaign to restore an equitable distribution of wealth in Egypt. He nationalized businesses and corporations owned by foreign companies and foreigners, and developed a project for a dam on the Nile to regulate the river's floods. Seeking funds for his dam, Nasser initially approached the US. Seeking to retain an independent foreign policy, he declared Egypt's neutrality in the Cold War. This alienated the US, which cancelled all US loans. To retaliate and to raise money for his ambitious dam project, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, which belonged to a private company of mostly British and French investors. This angered the British who believed the canal to be the lifeline of the British empire, and alarmed both French and Israelis. When Nasser blocked Israel's only Red Sea outlet at the Strait of Tiran, Israel and Britain invaded Egypt to America's dismay. They eventually left Egypt under US pressure, but it heightened anti-western sentiment in the Arab world. Nasser, having been able to secure the Canal for Egypt against the military might of Western powers, emerged as a great hero. This war marks the beginning of US involvement in the Middle East, which thus becomes a key arena where superpowers, through proxies, fought the Cold War.

**460. Eisenhower Doctrine:** International tensions increased during IKE's second term. In 1957 he promulgated the Eisenhower Doctrine, in which he proposed to send *military and economic* aid to any Middle Eastern nation (later expanded to ANY nation) requesting it to bolster that region against Communist aggression. Pursuant to that doctrine, he sent US Marines to Lebanon in July 1958, to protect its pro-western puppet government from a recent victory by pro-Soviet Ba'ath party (Saddam Hussein's Party) in Iraq. This affected relations between the superpowers and exacerbated the Cold War: though Eisenhower hosted Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev during the latter's visit to the US in 1959, when the 2 met at the Paris summit the following year, the tone was less friendly; Khrushchev denounced Eisenhower for permitting high-altitude espionage flights over the Soviet Union and walked out of the summit. This was followed by American anxieties over the victory of Fidel Castro in Cuba. In 1961, Eisenhower broke diplomatic relations with Cuba and authorized preparations for an invasion (see Bay of Pigs Invasion).

**461. U-2 spy plane incident** occurred in May 1960 when Soviets shot down a high altitude US spy plane *inside* their border. Eisenhower initially announced that the plane had merely strayed off course. But Khrushchev responded angrily by showing the captured CIA pilot, the U-2's spy cameras, and the pictures it had taken of Soviet missiles. This was two weeks before a

scheduled summit conference between Khrushchev and Eisenhower was supposed to take place, which in turn collapsed, though Eisenhower met Khrushchev's demand for an apology by suspending U-2 flights. The pilot was sentenced to ten years in prison, but was released in 1962 in exchange for a Soviet spy convicted in the US.

**462-463. JD Salinger, *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951); Faulkner, *The Town* (1957); James Baldwin, *Go Tell It On the Mountain* (1951); Ralph Ellison, *The Invisible Man* (1951)** These were all books that came out during a time of economic and social boom known as the Affluent Society that lasted through the two terms of President Eisenhower, when the US became recognized as the artistic and intellectual center of the "free world" (hmmm...). These works depicted the self-infatuated, falsely serene, and hardly free society of their time by underscoring the undercurrent of malaise, discomfort with the phoniness, frustration with continued racial injustice and economic inequities.

**464. "I love Lucy"/"Father Knows Best":** Hollywood responded to 50s conservatism through a series of westerns, musicals, and costume spectacles. All portrayed American patriotism, optimism, resilience, rugged individualism, and material success. During the 50s, as more Americans made TV the central piece of their living rooms, television programs became central in defining and shaping a homogeneous culture that not only reflected the existing trends but also laid the groundwork for change. Most shows reinforced gender stereotypes (Lucy as the zany madcap housewife; father as the protector of the family whose members just totally and completely adore each other). These shows reinforced consumerism and conformism.

**465. Rosa Parks and Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955-1956:** In December of 1955 in Montgomery, Alabama, Rosa Parks, "a strong-willed black woman," refused to give her seat on a public bus line so a White man could sit down—a violation of the city's racial segregation ordinance. She was arrested and Montgomery's Black leaders organized a massive boycott of the city's bus line. This is recognized as the spark that ignited the Civil Rights Movement and propelled Dr. Martin Luther King to the national consciousness. Parks made her living as a seamstress and was a member of the Montgomery chapter of the NAACP. Under the aegis of the **Montgomery Improvement Association** and the leadership of the young pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Martin Luther King, Jr., a boycott of the municipal bus company began (Blacks constituted 70% of the ridership). The boycott lasted for a year, until the US Supreme Court upheld a lower court's decision declaring Montgomery's segregated seating unconstitutional. In 1999 she was awarded the Congressional Gold Medal of Honor, the highest honour a civilian can receive in the United States. That same year, a Spike Lee documentary on her life was nominated, but did not win, the Oscar.

**466, 471, 484, 485, 486. Dr. Martin Luther King/The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC):** Dr. King began as a Baptist minister and led the US civil rights movement from the mid-1950s until his assassination in 1968. His leadership was fundamental to the movement's success in ending the legal segregation in the South. King rose to national prominence through the organization of the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)**, an interdenominational group promoting nonviolent tactics such as the massive **March on Washington** (1963) to achieve civil rights. The SCLC was to coordinate and assist local organizations working for the full equality of Blacks in all aspects of American life. The organization worked primarily in the South and some border states, conducting leadership-training programs, citizen-education projects, and voter-registration drives. Awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1964, Dr. King used the principles of nonviolence, passive resistance and civil disobedience developed by Mohandas K. Gandhi. King had been pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, slightly more than a year when the city's small group of civil rights advocates decided to contest racial segregation on that city's public bus system. They formed the **Montgomery Improvement Association** to boycott the transit system and chose King as their leader. In his first speech to the group as its president, King declared: "We have no alternative but to protest." His skillful rhetoric, inspiring personality, and dynamic new doctrine of civil struggle challenged the political establishment of the state, and soon the nation. Recognizing the need for a mass movement to capitalize on the successful Montgomery action, King set about organizing the SCLC, which gave him a base of operation throughout the South, as well as a national platform from which to speak. In 1960 he moved to his native city of Atlanta, where he became co-pastor with his father of the Ebenezer Baptist Church. At this post he devoted most of his time to the SCLC and the civil rights movement, declaring that the "psychological moment has come when a concentrated drive against injustice can bring great, tangible gains." He agreed to support the sit-in demonstrations undertaken by local black college students and was arrested protesting segregation at the lunch counter in an Atlanta department store. The case assumed national proportions, with widespread concern over his safety and the failure of President Eisenhower to intervene. King was released only upon the intercession of Democratic presidential candidate John F. Kennedy—an action so widely publicized in the Black community throughout the nation that it was felt to have contributed substantially to Kennedy's slender election victory eight days later. From 1960 to 1965 King's influence reached its zenith. The tactics of active nonviolence (sit-ins, protest marches) aroused the allegiance of many Blacks and liberal Whites in all parts of the country, as well as support from the administrations of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. There were also notable failures, as at Albany, Georgia (1961-62), when King and his colleagues failed to achieve their desegregation goals for public parks and other facilities. In an effort to draw together the multiple forces for peaceful change and to dramatize the importance of solving the racial problem, King joined other civil rights leaders in organizing the historic **March on Washington**. On August 28, 1963, an interracial assembly of more than 200,000 gathered peaceably in the shadow of the Lincoln Memorial to demand equal justice for all citizens under the law. In his famous "I have a dream" speech, King emphasized his faith that all men, someday, would be brothers. The rising tide of civil rights agitation produced a strong effect on national opinion and resulted in the passage of the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, authorizing the federal government to enforce desegregation of public accommodations and outlawing discrimination in publicly owned facilities, as well as in employment. The first signs of opposition to King's tactics from within the civil rights movement surfaced during the **March 1965 demonstrations at Selma**, Alabama, which were aimed at dramatizing the need for a federal voting rights law that would provide legal support for the enfranchisement of Blacks in the South. King organized an initial march from Selma to the state capitol building in Montgomery but did not lead it himself; the marchers were turned back by state troopers with nightsticks and tear gas. He determined to lead a second march, despite an injunction by a federal court and efforts from Washington to persuade him to cancel it. Heading a procession of 1,500 marchers, Black and White, he set out across Pettus Bridge outside

Selma until the group came to a barricade of state troopers. But, instead of going on and forcing a confrontation, he led his followers in kneeling in prayer and then unexpectedly turned back. This decision cost King the support of many young radicals who were already faulting him for being too cautious. Nonetheless, the march resulted in the passage of the **Voting Rights Act of 1965** (reinforced by the 24<sup>th</sup> Amendment), which abolished all state-devised restrictions, such as grandfather clauses, literacy tests, poll taxes, and property requirements, on suffrage in federal elections. The impatience with the lack of greater progress encouraged the growth of Black militancy, especially in the slums and ghettos of the large Northern cities. The **rioting in the Watts** district of Los Angeles (August 1965) demonstrated the depth of the urban race problem. In an effort to meet the challenge of the ghetto, King initiated a drive against racial discrimination in Chicago at the beginning in 1966. The chief target was to be segregation in housing. Rallies, marches, and demonstrations, eventually led to the Housing Act of 1965, which outlawed all restrictions in housing based on race. Nonetheless, King's leadership continued to be challenged by more radical young Black leaders. In 1966, King publicly stated his opposition to the Vietnam War and sought to widen his base by forming a coalition of the poor of all races to address poverty and unemployment. He was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee.

**467. Sputnik (October 1957)/National Aeronautics & Space Administration (NASA 1958):** The Sputnik was the first artificial satellite launched by the Soviets. It weighed 184 lbs and was only twenty two inches in diameter. It circled the earth at 18,000 miles per hour. Americans viewed it as a huge “missile gap” between the U.S and USSR and the Eisenhower administration pushed for intense missile development. Eisenhower created the Science Advisory Committee, which led to the organization of NASA, which by the end of the decade had launched several space probes and tested intercontinental ballistic missiles.

## CHAPTER 30

**468. John F. Kennedy's New Frontier speech:** In 1960 John F. Kennedy captured the Democratic nomination. To balance the ticket and win the South, he selected Lyndon B. Johnson as his vice-presidential candidate. In the campaign that followed, Kennedy engaged in a series of televised debates with his Republican opponent, Richard M. Nixon. Defeating Nixon by a narrow popular margin, Kennedy became, at 43, the youngest person ever, and the first Catholic, elected President. Soon after his inaugural, Kennedy set out his domestic program, known as the New Frontier: tax reform, federal aid to education, medical care for the aged under Social Security, enlargement of civil rights through executive action, aid to depressed areas, and an accelerated space program. However, he was almost immediately caught up in foreign affairs crises and the New Frontier was accomplished, piecemeal, under the administrations of Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon..

**469. The Election of 1960/ The Televised Kennedy-Nixon debates:** Richard Nixon was the Republican nominee and although he was scorned for his McCarthy era fame, he was more well known and experienced than Kennedy, since he had been a highly active Vice-President for a very popular president, IKE. He spent much of campaign defending the Eisenhower term, and became identified with Ike. Nixon's big downfall came when he agreed to debate the democratic party's nominee, young Massachusetts Senator John F. Kennedy, in televised debates—a first in US history. The “tanned and dynamic Kennedy contrasted strikingly with his pale and haggard opponent, Nixon.” Those who had listened to the debates on radio were convinced that Nixon was the more effective candidate, whereas those who had watched the debate on TV were convinced that Kennedy would be the winner. In addition to his 'TV victory,' Kennedy benefited from the embarrassment of the U-2 incident, an economic recession, and the choice of Southerner Lyndon B. Johnson as VP. Kennedy ended up winning by a tiny margin.

**470. Alabama Governor Goerge Wallace/ University of Alabama incident (June 1963):** George Wallace had been active in the Alabama Democratic party, serving in the state assembly and as a district court judge. In 1962 he won election as governor as an avowed segregationist, and promised to defy federal orders to integrate Alabama schools. In June 1963, Wallace blocked two Black students from entering the University of Alabama, but capitulated when President Kennedy federalized the Alabama National Guard. Prevented by state law from succeeding himself as governor in 1966, Wallace had his wife run successfully in his place. As a leading opponent of the civil rights movement, Wallace campaigned for president in 1968 on a third-party ticket, capitalizing on racist and anti-Washington attitudes in both North and South to energize many. In 1970, he was reelected governor of Alabama. In 1972, he entered the Democratic presidential primaries; his campaign ended abruptly, when an assassination attempt left him paralyzed below the waist. In 1974 Wallace was reelected governor, and in 1976 he made another unsuccessful bid for the Democratic nomination. He later moved to reconcile with African American community and recanted his white supremacist positions. Forgiven by the state's Black voters, he was again elected governor in 1982!!!

**472. Peace Corps (1961)** was a project developed by JFK, as part of his New Frontier vision, which would send young, idealist Americans into underdeveloped countries of the world to transmit American values through education and skills training. Members of the Peace Corps served as teachers, crop specialists and health workers in more than forty Third World Nations.

**473. Ivasion of the Bay of Pigs (April 1961):** With Castro's victory in Cuba, Kennedy was concerned about a Communist power right near the United Sates. He approved a CIA plan to invade Cuba, that had been developed under former President Eisenhower. 1,500 anti-Castro exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs hoping to trigger a general uprising against Castro. Trained since May 1960, in Guatemala by the CIA, with the approval of the Eisenhower administration, and supplied with arms by the US government, the rebels intended to foment an insurrection in Cuba and overthrow the Communist regime of Fidel Castro. Because Kennedy did not want the US involvement to be obvious, he did not provide air cover for the attack, and the invaders were crushed by Castro's superior forces. Within three days all of the men were either killed or captured. This tarnished the image of the young president in the international community. Though Kennedy accepted the blame for the Invasion, he did not apologize and did not stop further raids and plots against Castro. In Dec., 1962, Castro released 1,113 captured rebels in exchange for \$53 million in food and medicine raised by private donations in the United States.

**474. Berlin Wall (August 1961):** In the years following the Berlin Airlift, there were several Berlin crises, as the USSR in unilateral declarations, often accompanied by harassing actions, contested the legal basis for the Western powers' presence in

and access to West Berlin. Meanwhile better living conditions in the western zone had led to a massive exodus of refugees from East to West, which was both a great embarrassment for the Communists and a serious drain on the East German labor supply. To stop the flow, in Aug., 1961, the East German government erected the 29-mi fortified Berlin Wall along the partition line, leaving only a few closely guarded crossing points. The Western powers protested vigorously but ineffectively, and East German border guards killed dozens of persons attempting to break through the barrier. War seemed near as Soviet and American tanks faced each other at the border crossings, but after 1962 the crisis eased as in December 1963, the first of several agreements was reached permitting West Berliners to visit relatives in the eastern zone. Visits across the wall and access to West Berlin from West Germany were finally regularized in 1972—as part of Nixon's Détente policies. In late 1989, massive demonstrations in East Berlin and other East German cities led to the dismantling of the Berlin Wall in November 1989. The following year, East and West Berlin were officially joined as the new capital of a unified Germany.

**475. Cuban Missile Crisis (October 1962):** Cuba's significance in the Cold War was further dramatized in 1962 when the USSR began to buttress Cuba's military power and to build missile bases on the islands. In October 1962, aerial photographs taken by US spy planes revealed that the USSR had been constructing ballistic missile bases and nuclear weapon launching sites in Cuba. Kennedy responded abruptly and, on October 22<sup>nd</sup>, issued an ultimatum that the missiles had to be removed. He stated that the US would impose a naval blockade of Cuba and dismantle the missiles themselves, if the Soviets did not. He also declared that any missile launched from Cuba would warrant a full-scale retaliatory attack by the US against the USSR. On Oct. 24, Russian ships carrying missiles to Cuba turned back, and when Khrushchev agreed (Oct. 28) to withdraw the missiles and dismantle the missile sites, the crisis ended as suddenly as it had begun. The United States ended its blockade on Nov. 20, and by the end of the year the missiles and bombers were removed from Cuba.

**476. Limited Test Ban Treaty (August 1963):** Frightened by the close brush with nuclear war, Kennedy and Khrushchev agreed to this treat, which prohibited atmospheric and undersea nuclear testing. This started a new phase of the Cold War as the powers began to move from confrontation to negotiation and Detente. The Cuban Missile Crisis also led to the establishment of the "hot line", an emergency phone communication system between the two superpowers.

**477. Civil Rights Act of 1964/Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC):** The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed under President Johnson: it outlawed segregation in public accommodations, granted the federal government new powers to fight school segregation and black disfranchisement. It also created the **Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)** to stop job discrimination because of race, religion, national origin, or gender. This was the first comprehensive civil rights legislation in US history and came in response to the growing civil rights movement at the grass roots level. Title I of the act guarantees equal voting rights by removing registration requirements and procedures biased against minorities and the underprivileged. Title II prohibits segregation or discrimination in places of public accommodation involved in interstate commerce. Title VII bans discrimination by trade unions, schools, or employers involved in interstate commerce or doing business with the federal government. The latter section also applies to discrimination on the basis of sex and established the EEOC to enforce these provisions. The act also calls for the desegregation of public schools (Title IV), broadens the duties of the Civil Rights Commission (Title V), and assures nondiscrimination in the distribution of funds under federally assisted programs (Title VI). The Civil Rights Act was a highly controversial issue in the United States as soon as it was proposed by President John F. Kennedy in 1963. Although Kennedy was unable to secure passage of the bill in Congress, a stronger version was eventually passed by LBJ. White groups opposed to integration responded to the act with a significant backlash that took the form of protests, increased support for pro-segregation candidates for public office, and racial violence. The constitutionality of the act was immediately challenged and was upheld by the Supreme Court in the test case *Heart of Atlanta Motel v. U.S.*

**478-479. Medicare and Medicaid (1965)/Department of Housing and Urban Development/Department of Transportation** were part of President Johnson's **Great Society** programs, launched as part of his promise to wage war on poverty, which he believed was at the core of economic and racial tensions in the country. Social Security was expanded to include Medicare, health insurance for the aged, and Medicaid, medical care for the indigent. in U.S. In his first State of the Union message, Johnson called for a war on poverty and the creation of a Great Society, a prosperous nation that had overcome racial divisions. To this end, Johnson proposed an expansion in the federal government's role in domestic policy. During his administration, Congress enacted two major civil-rights acts (1964 and 1965), the Economic Opportunity Act (1964), and two education acts (1965). In addition, legislation was passed that created the Job Corps, Operation Head Start, Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), Medicaid, and Medicare. He also added the departments of Transportation and of Housing and Urban Development to the Cabinet. Although the Great Society program made significant contributions to the protection of civil rights and the expansion of social programs, critics increasingly complained that the antipoverty programs were ineffective and wasteful. The economic and political costs of the escalation in Vietnam, as well as the costs of these programs, soon overtook Johnson's domestic initiatives.

**480. Thurgood Marshall (1908-1993)** became the first Black justice on the Supreme Court when President Lyndon Johnson nominated him for the post in 1967. He began his career as chief legal counsel for the NAACP in its campaign to end desegregation in the US. In this capacity, he argued more than 30 cases before the US Supreme Court, successfully challenging racial segregation, most notably in higher education. His presentation of the argument against the separate but equal doctrine achieved its greatest impact with the landmark decision handed down in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954). His appointment to the US Court of Appeals by President Kennedy in 1961 was opposed by some Southern senators and was not confirmed until 1962. LBJ appointed him to the Supreme Court in 1967. As associate justice of the highest court, he consistently supported the position taken by those challenging discrimination based on race or sex, opposed the death penalty, and supported the rights of criminal defendants. His support for affirmative action led to his strong dissent in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978). As appointments by Presidents Nixon and Reagan changed the outlook of the Court, Marshall found himself increasingly in the minority and retired in 1991.

**481. Baker v Carr (1962):** Rather, the states were divided into districts based on land area. This gave a slight advantage to citizens of rural districts: With less people living in them, each person's vote had greater weight. By the 1960s, two-thirds of the members of the state Senates in some states were elected by one-third of the state population! It was this inequality in representation that motivated Charles W. Baker and other Tennessee citizens to bring a suit in federal court on the grounds that the unequal distribution of "voting power" infringed on their 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment right to equal protection under the law. The Supreme Court then ruled that such unequal distribution was not constitutional. This decision stopped the southern states from watering down the votes of the cities (which had large concentrations of Black voters) with the votes of rural counties (mostly White farmers). The Warren court ruled that the principle of "one man, one vote" must prevail in both state and national elections and that the representation in all legislative bodies must be allocated on the basis of "people, not land or trees, or pastures.

**482. Miranda v. Arizona (1966)** was a controversial ruling at the time, as people accused the Court of *making* laws, as opposed to merely interpreting them. Ernesto Miranda was convicted of rape and kidnapping, based in part on incriminating statements he had made to the police during questioning. During his interrogation, the police had not informed Miranda of his right to remain silent and to be represented by a lawyer. This case raised the issue whether Arizona had violated Miranda's rights under the 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, and 14<sup>th</sup> Amendments. The Supreme Court voided the conviction and held that prosecutors could not use suspects' statements *unless* they used *procedural safeguards* to protect them against self-incrimination. This case established what has come to be known as "Miranda Warnings." Republicans felt the Court was emphasizing the rights of the accused MORE than those of victims and pledged to appoint federal judges who would uphold law and order over a loose interpretation of civil liberties.

**483. Mississippi Freedom Summer project of 1964:** As a result of marches, boycotts, student sit-ins and the Freedom Rides, there was progress in the South in desegregating such public facilities as schools, restaurants, parks, terminals and interstate buses and trains. But without the power of the vote, Blacks everywhere could not politically direct and control their own lives and communities. Nowhere in the country were African Americans so completely removed from the seat of power than in Mississippi. In the early 1960s, Mississippi was the poorest state in the nation. 86% of all non-White families lived below the national poverty line. In addition, the state had a terrible record of Black voting rights violations. In the 1950s, Mississippi was 45% black, but only 5% of voting age blacks were registered to vote. In 1962 only 6.7 per cent of African Americans in the state were registered to vote, the lowest percentage in the country! Concerned groups worked for many years to change the plight of voter registration. In spite of unrelieved fear, inadequate funds, and violence, they made the registration of African Americans a major focus for over three years. The Freedom Summer of 1964 developed out of these ongoing efforts in 1964. It was the joint effort of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Its main objective was to end the political disenfranchisement of African Americans in the Deep South and focused mostly on Mississippi. This involved the formation of the Mississippi Freedom Party (MFDP). CORE, SNCC and NAACP also established 30 Freedom Schools in towns throughout Mississippi. Volunteers taught in the schools and included Black history in the curriculum, as well as the philosophy of the civil rights movement. During the summer of 1964 over 3,000 students attended these schools and the experiment provided a model for future educational programs such as Head Start. Freedom Schools were often targets of White mobs. So also were the homes of local African Americans involved in the campaign. That summer 30 black homes and 37 black churches were firebombed. Over 80 volunteers were beaten by White mobs or racist police officers and 3 civil rights activists were murdered by the Ku Klux Klan. These intimidations failed and by late 1964 over 70,000 students had taken part in Freedom Summer. The following year, President Johnson attempted to persuade Congress to pass his Voting Rights Act. This proposed legislation removed the right of states to impose restrictions on who could vote in elections. Although opposed by politicians from the Deep South, the Voting Rights Act was passed by large majorities in both houses of Congress. The legislation empowered the national government to register those whom the states refused to put on the voting list.

**487. Malcolm X/Nation of Islam:** Malcolm X, was a militant black leader, also known as El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. Originally from Omaha, Nebraska, Malcolm X grew up in Boston ghettos where after erratic beginnings, he committed himself to the advocacy of Blacks' rights. He was introduced to the Black Muslims while serving a prison term and became a Muslim minister upon his release in 1952. He quickly became very prominent in the **Nation of Islam** movement with a following perhaps equaling that of its leader, Elijah Muhammad. The Nation of Islam was a Black nationalist and separatist sect that believed that justice could only be restored through the establishment of a Black American Nation. It was popular poor urban Blacks in the north in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1963, Malcolm was suspended by Elijah after a speech in which Malcolm suggested that President Kennedy's assassination was a matter of the chickens coming home to roost. In his early career, Malcolm X believed that the economic and racial divides in the country were in fact one and this was an intentional design to keep Blacks poor and disfranchised. He believed that a revolution needed to overhaul the system and that Blacks and Whites will never really be able to move beyond past injustice. In 1964, after a pilgrimage to Mecca, he announced his conversion to Islam and his new belief that there could be brotherhood between Black and White. In his Organization of Afro-American Unity, formed after his return, the tone was still that of militant Black nationalism but no longer of separation. In February 1965, he was shot and killed in a public auditorium in New York City. Malcolm X represented the radicalization of the civil rights movement by the early 1960s.

**488. Black Panthers Party (Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, 1966)** was a black militant party, founded in Oakland, CA, by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, two college students at the time. Originally espousing violent revolution as the only means of achieving Black liberation, the Black Panthers called on all Blacks to arm themselves for the liberation struggle. In the late 1960s party members became involved in a series of violent confrontations with the police (resulting in deaths on both sides) and in a series of trials. Among the most notable that of Huey Newton for killing a policeman in 1967, which resulted in three mistrials. Bobby Seale was convicted (later overturned) for being one of the **Chicago Eight** who disrupted the Democratic National Convention of 1968. The results of these trials were taken by many observers as confirmation of their suspicions that the Black Panthers were being subjected to extreme police harassment and brutality. While controversy raged over the civil liberties issue,



the Panthers themselves were divided over the use of violence as a means. In 1974 both Seale and Newton left the party and by the late 1970s it gradually lost most of its influence within the Black community.

**489. American Indian Movement (AIM) (1968)** was created by the Chippewa Indians in Minnesota as a Native American civil-rights movement. Its purpose is to encourage self-determination among Native Americans and to establish international recognition of their treaty rights. In 1972, members of AIM briefly took over the headquarters of the **Bureau of Indian Affairs** in Washington, D.C. (BIA was created in 1824 in the War Department. It had jurisdiction over trade with Native Americans, their removal to the West, and their concentration on reservations. In 1849, because of wide dissatisfaction in the West over army administration of Native American affairs, the responsibility was transferred to the Department of the Interior. The new agency was no more successful than its predecessor in preventing wars with Native Americans or in protecting their rights. BIA evolved primarily into a land-administering agency, as trustee over Native American lands and funds. It is mandated by law to promote agricultural and economic development, and provide a health programs, social services, and education). They complained that the government had created the tribal councils on reservations in 1934 as a way of perpetuating control over Native American development. It also established armed patrols to protect the movement from harassment. Like the Black Panther Party, it advocated the independence of Indian nations from their status as federal dependencies ("Red Power"). In 1973, about 200 Sioux, led by members of AIM, seized the tiny village of Wounded Knee, in South Dakota, site of the last great massacre of Native Americans by the US cavalry (1890). Among their demands was a review of more than 300 broken treaties between the Native Americans and the federal government. Wounded Knee was occupied for 70 days before the militants surrendered. The leaders were subsequently brought to trial, but the case was dismissed on grounds of misconduct by the prosecution. The issues of Native American rights, the trusteeship of Indian lands by the US government, the mismanagement of funds at the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the lack of responsiveness to tribal economic and social grievances, the recognition of Native American communities as genuine tribes (which would entail federal assistance and the return of tribal lands), and most importantly, the question of who owns mineral resources found on tribal lands remain unresolved.

**490. Cesar Chavez/National Farm Workers' Association (1963):** Cesar Chavez was an important *agrarian* labor leader. Unlike the late 19<sup>th</sup> century labor leaders who concentrated on the plight of the industrial work force, Chavez highlighted the discriminatory conditions under which farm workers, especially migrant workers, had to work. Born in Arizona, his family moved to the California San Joaquin valley where he became involved (1952) in the self-help Community Service Organization (CSO), working among Mexicans and Mexican Americans. In 1962, he left the CSO to organize wine grape pickers in the state and formed the **National Farm Workers Association**. Modeling his movement after the civil rights movement of the time, Chavez used strikes, fasts, picketing, and marches, to obtain contracts from a number of major growers who controlled production and distribution. In 1966 his organization merged with the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee of the AFL-CIO to form the **United Farm Workers Organizing Committee of the AFL-CIO**. Chavez also launched (1968) a boycott against the table grape growers, mobilizing consumer support throughout the United States and publicizing the unregulated use of pesticides by the major growers. In 1972 the United Farm Workers (UFW), with Chavez as president, became a member union of the AFL-CIO. Chavez expanded its efforts to include all California vegetable pickers and launched a lettuce boycott, as well as extending his organizational efforts to Florida citrus workers. His movement led to the organization of Mexican American community in lands that had been taken over from Mexico in 1849.

**491-492. National Organization of Women (NOW, 1966)** is group founded (1966) to support full equality for women in America in a truly equal partnership with men. Its founder and first president was feminist leader Betty Friedan, author of *The Feminine Mystique* (1963). Through a program of legislative lobbying, court litigation, and public demonstrations, NOW seeks to end sexual discrimination in employment. The largest women's rights group in the United States, it also supports the establishment of child-care centers for working mothers, legalized abortion, and paid maternity leave, as well as adoption of the equal rights amendment to the Constitution. NOW also works to elect women to office. It consists of approximately 250,000 members, including men, in 800 local chapters affiliated with the main office, located in Washington, D.C.

### **LAST MINUTE ADDITIONS (Sorry)**

**The Underground Railroad** was a network of antislavery sympathizers who supported and aided fugitives in their escape from slavery. There were varied pathways and most roads led north, often as far north as Canada. It was run by local groups of abolitionists, both white and free blacks. The metaphor of the Railroad first appeared in print in the early 1840s. The fugitives were called passengers; their shelters were stations; and those who helped them, conductors. Most of the help was spontaneous and came not only from abolitionists (Quakers were recognized conductors) and free Blacks but also from those who felt empathy for their plight. Relatively few enslaved blacks (a few thousand a year) escaped successfully. Details of their escapes were highly publicized and exaggerated in both the North and the South. Northerners used the stories as a propaganda tool to highlight the evils of slavery. Slavers publicized them to demonstrate Northerners' disregard for fugitive slave laws.

**Harriet Tubman** was an abolitionist, born a slave in Maryland. After her escape, she returned to Maryland to help her sister and nieces to escape as well. She made 19 more trips to the South, guiding as many as 300 slaves to their freedom. She worked with Frederick Douglass and John Brown. She was one of the leading conductors on the Underground Railroad and a prominent abolitionist during the Antebellum era. During the Civil War, she worked as a Union spy, scout, and army nurse in So Carolina.

**The Democratic Republican Party** began by Thomas Jefferson as a political faction organized in opposition to Federalist policies. Jefferson headed the Democratic Republican Party after he had resigned from Washington's cabinet. Supporters believed that distributing power among independent states was the way to protect civil liberties. The Democratic Republican Party won a slight majority in the House of Representatives under Washington's second term and became the first faction in America to become a broad-based party. The Party's power base was among Southerners and Irish immigrants. However, in the presidential and congressional elections of 1796, they lost to the Federalists only to regain both in the election of 1800.

**Era of Good Feelings (1816-1824)** was a term coined by a Boston newspaper editor that describes both of James Monroe's presidential administrations. It was a period of time during which the Republicans came to adopt some of the now defunct Federalists' ideas—support of the national government, federal funding for interstate transportation, and the national bank. Though called the "era of good feelings," Madison's veto of the internal improvements bill in 1817 showed that there were still disagreements about the role of the federal government under the Constitution. The phrase was misleading as the Embargo Act, the War of 1812, and ongoing slavery maintained sectional resentment.

**Cherokee Nation v Georgia (1831):** When gold was discovered on Cherokee tribal lands in 1829, thousands of white settlers sought to move there. The State of Georgia refused to protect tribal claims acknowledged by previous treaties, and passed a law forbidding the Cherokee to mine gold. The Supreme Court ruled (4-2) that the tribe was a "domestic dependent nation" under the guardianship of the federal government and not subject to state jurisdiction. This technically prevented Georgia from issuing any policies and laws toward the Cherokee. Marshall denied Georgia its desire to deal independently with the Cherokee nation. Further, the Cherokee Nation is defined as dependent on federal government, but outside the US, outside states' jurisdiction. Marshall used the case to reinforce federal powers and to provide a *legal*, solution to the Indian problem, *under federal jurisdiction*.

**Morrill Land Grant Act (1862)** gave states proceeds from public land to establish universities emphasizing "such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and mechanic arts (engineering)". Another provision of the Act called for the establishment of a military training program, now part of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC), at every land-grant college. Because of the Morrill Act's stress on the practical arts, the land-grant system has come to include most of the nation's agricultural colleges and a large number of its engineering schools. The government hoped the colleges would help farmers and settlers develop new and technologically advanced ways of farming, thus helping with the American economy and attracting more people to the West. It reflected how the Lincoln administration laid the foundations of post-war America while still managing the war effort.