The History of the United States
Part I
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THE TEACHING COMPANY ®
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**Part I**

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The History of the United States

Scope (Lectures One through Thirty-Six):

This course chronicles the history of the United States from colonial origins to the beginning of the 21st century. The lectures focus on several key themes: (1) the exceptionalism of the American experiment, symbolized by the Puritan “city on the hill”; (2) the commitment to socioeconomic mobility and opportunity in the marketplace; (3) the expanding enfranchisement of citizens in the development of political democracy; and (4) the confirmation of the “melting pot” as a symbol of inclusion in the national body politic. The spread of literacy and mass information, the political and cultural importance of regionalism, and the central role of civilian government are also salient themes in the lectures that follow.

This portion of the Teaching Company’s History of the United States survey course carries you from the beginnings of European settlement of what is now the United States to the end of the Mexican War and the Great Compromise of 1850. It covers, in other words, what historians like to call “Colonial America” and the “Early Republic.” The 36 lectures in this first part are built around four important themes:

1. How did the experience of discovery and settlement change Europeans, American native peoples, African and Caribbean slaves, and all the other different and sometimes hostile populations that came (or were forced to come) to North America into an entirely different kind of people, the Americans? In what ways has that made America exceptional and unique among the other, older nations of the West and of the world?

2. How did the United States manage to assimilate so many different peoples from so many different places?

3. How did the geography, beliefs, and necessities of the settlements Europeans planted along the eastern coast of North America develop such unprecedented religious, political, and economic freedom?

4. How did the natural resources of North America, and the human resourcefulness of its people, generate such an abundance of wealth—and so many confrontations over the way to use it?

We will begin our expedition into the American past in Lectures One and Two with the first phases of European exploration and examine why it was that a continent Europeans at first thought was a disappointment quickly became an asset. From there, in Lectures Three through Five, we will look at how Europeans turned from organizing settlements whose chief purpose was simply extraction of resources for European use to the creation of settlements of occupation, or colonies. English colonization, in particular, had three very
different patterns for settlement in New England, the Chesapeake, and the “middle colonies.” The most significant development, however, will be the way in which these colonies matured, from being stages for Europeans to make fortunes to being homes for people who were no longer really Europeans (even when they tried to be). In passing, we will see in Lectures Seven and Eight how the colonials practiced and changed religious beliefs, created various levels of culture unique to their own worlds, and struggled to decide (in Lectures Nine and Ten) whether they were simply plantations on the periphery of someone else’s empire or societies that had achieved identities of their own that their European sponsors needed to respect.

Much of the first 12 lectures will be about personalities—John Smith at Jamestown, John Winthrop and Cotton Mather in Boston, William Penn and Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia, Jonathan Edwards in his pulpit, William Billings in his singing school, John Singleton Copley at his easel, and George Whitefield on his travels. This portion of the course will also be about war—at first, brushfire wars for the survival of individual settlements, then world wars in which the colonies were expected to serve as proxies for their empires. Of course, Lectures Eleven through Thirteen will be about the war that eventually separated 13 of these colonies from Great Britain and made them a new nation, the United States.

The American Revolution appeared to be a break with the past—it cut Americans loose politically from Britain, but even more fundamentally, it cut them off from the entire European political tradition. As we will see in Lecture Fourteen, the new American nation was a child of the Enlightenment, and it was the first modern Western nation on any large scale to consciously abandon the age-old traditions of status and monarchy and experiment with an ideal form of enlightened government, a republic. But republics were a new and untested idea, and the newness of the idea was underscored by how quickly Americans developed radically different views about what a republic should look like. These views coalesce in Lectures Fifteen through Eighteen around two figures who are vitally important to these lectures: Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton. But they include a host of characters both great (George Washington) and small (William Maclay) as, of course, they should when our story is about the first great venture in popular government.

The Jefferson-Hamilton division begins a script that will be played out over Lectures Nineteen and Twenty, as Americans struggle to reconcile the impact of the Industrial Revolution with their allegiance to a republican system. Once again, it is the characters who come to the fore—Andrew Jackson, the bank-killer and apostle of agrarian democracy in Lectures Twenty-Seven through Twenty-Eight, and Henry Clay, the sophisticated statesman who, in Lecture Thirty, convinces us that the American experiment would never succeed until it built itself up as an industrial competitor of Europe. But Americans will work to find other ways of sorting out their new identity as distinct from the Old World, in literature and philosophy as much as politics. They will mark out a path of their own by giving religion an entirely new place in public life (Lecture
Twenty-Five), by developing a collegiate moral philosophy that provides instruction for public virtue (Lectures Thirty-One and Thirty-Two), and by entertaining new assumptions about men and women, white and black, slave and free. And there will still be war, literal—the War of 1812 in Lecture Twenty-One; Indian war and the wars of expansion in Lectures Nineteen, Twenty-Two, and Thirty-Four; the Mexican War in Lecture Thirty-Five—and figurative—the Bank War in Lecture Twenty-Nine; the political warfare of Democrat and Whig in Lectures Twenty-Three and Twenty-Four and, again, in Lecture Thirty; the determination of abolitionists to rid America of slavery and of slaveowners to keep it in Lectures Thirty-Three and Thirty-Six.

This is the story of how to make a republic—make it in the midst of a hurricane of economic change in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, make it despite conflict and prejudice, make it so that it re-makes its own citizens into a people utterly different from anything the world has seen before—and how to keep it. Or, as we come to the close of Lecture Thirty-Six, how to very nearly lose it.
Scope: Christopher Columbus’s voyage from Spain, across the Atlantic Ocean, marked the beginning of the most important encounter of places and peoples in human history. It began unpromisingly: Columbus thought his Atlantic voyage westward would establish a shortcut to the backdoor of the Orient, but it produced, first, confusion, then disappointment when it was discovered that two immense land masses lay across the path to that backdoor. Official Europe turned its back on this disappointment. But freebooting Europeans soon learned how to exploit the natural—and human—resources of this “New World,” first by the extraction of valuable metals, then of high-priced commodities. With minimal governmental oversight, investment, or even interest, European adventurers found coming to America to be like “crossing the line” into a place where traditional European ideas of society no longer applied. They created societies unlike any others in Europe, freer from European limitations; open to accumulations of unheard-of wealth by disenfranchised classes; unprecedented in their capacity to absorb, assimilate, and defuse distinctions in status and religion that Europeans had assumed were permanent features of human societies. In the place of traditional notions of order, Europeans found themselves able to “live bravely” and write new social, economic, and political scripts for their lives.

Outline

I. Christopher Columbus’s voyage from Spain, across the Atlantic Ocean, marked the beginning of the most important encounter of places and peoples in human history.
   A. The New World that Columbus “discovered” was first inhabited anywhere from 40,000 to 12,000 years ago and was populated by successive waves of immigrants from eastern Asia.
   B. The remains of Kennewick Man, uncovered in 1996 in Washington state, have contributed to the controversy regarding just who the first immigrants to the Americas were and where they came from.
   C. By 1500, Native Americans may have numbered as many as 15 million in North America and spoke some 300 different languages.
   D. Some native cultures, such as the Aztecs in Mexico and Incas in South America, were socially stratified and highly developed civilizations.

II. After the fall of the Roman Empire, Europe lapsed into a cultural and economic backwater.
   A. The continent was fragmented: controlled in the East by the Byzantine Empire and in the West by the remnants of Roman rule.
It was politically disorganized.
2. Its internal economy was reduced to the most primitive levels of barter and reciprocity.
3. It emphasized the difficulties ancient cultures had in reviving themselves, because the possibility of importing outside influences and new ideas was expensive and minimal.
B. The Crusades changed this picture.
1. They opened the possibility for organized, state-supported exploration.
2. They opened Europe to tremendous new possibilities of trade and culture with the Middle East and, beyond that, the Orient.
C. These possibilities encouraged Europeans and European governments to undertake new explorations for opening markets in the Middle East.
1. Marco Polo demonstrated the opportunities of exploration by penetrating all the way to China but also the limitations on private expeditions.
2. Mediterranean states and cities underwrote trading expeditions and colonies in the eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea.
3. Not all these exposures were profitable—for example, the Black Death was imported into Europe over trade routes to the Black Sea.
D. Western European states, frustrated by lack of geographical proximity, the costs of transport, and eastern Mediterranean monopolies, began to underwrite their own expeditions.
1. Prince Henry the Navigator made Portugal a major sponsor of explorations into the near Atlantic and down the coast of Africa.
2. Vasco da Gama succeeded in rounding the Cape of Good Hope and establishing a trade route to India, which the Portuguese protected by means of colonies.
3. The newly reunited Spanish came late to exploration and were willing to take the risk proposed by Columbus of gaining access to the Orient by sailing west across the Atlantic in 1492.
III. Surprisingly, Columbus’s discovery was at first a great disappointment, because the American continents were an obstacle to reaching China.
A. Subsequent expeditions attempted to find ways around the Americas.
1. Magellan sailed around South America and into the Pacific, only to find it immensely more huge than anyone had thought the path to the East would be.
2. Balboa attempted to find a path across the narrowest part of the Americas in Panama.
3. Other European adventurers looked for a Northwest Passage or a navigable water route through the continents.
4. Europeans found the physical appearance of North America alternately fascinating and frightening.
B. When no such path appeared to be open, the European states turned their attention elsewhere.
   1. This encouraged individual freebooters (Cortés, Pizarro) to launch their own expeditions, looking for treasure in the Americas rather than around it.
   2. With minimal state oversight, these freebooters found America to be a place where traditional European ideas of society and behavior no longer applied.
   3. Colonial societies emerged that were open to social experimentation, to accumulations of unheard-of wealth by disenfranchised classes, to political or exploitative arrangements unthinkable to European society, and to the erosion of distinctions in status and religion.
   4. This frequently came at tremendous cost to the native ecology, native populations, and the slaves and servant classes who were used to extract the wealth and support the experimentations.

**Essential Reading:**

**Supplementary Reading:**

**Questions to Consider:**
1. What were the ecological consequences of European exploration?
2. What were the human consequences of European exploration?
Lecture Two
Spain, France, and the Netherlands

Scope: The Spanish, thanks to Columbus, had the earliest jump on exploiting, then occupying, the Americas. They tapped sources of unbelievable wealth, but they also displayed the most wanton cruelty in obtaining it. They attempted to repeat this pattern in as many places in North and South America as they could, but after the Spanish conquests of Mexico and Peru, discoveries of new wealth petered out, and each adventurer thereafter got less and less for his efforts. In the process, the indigenous tribes of Central and South America were treated as a curiosity, then as a workforce, then as an obstacle, and finally, as a threat to be handled militarily. The Spaniards moved quickly through these stages, aided by technology and, with lesser self-awareness, a host of European pathogens against which native immune systems had no defense. The key move for the Spaniards was from an extraction society to a settler society, which was completed by 1600. The wealth generated by extraction made Spain a major political force in Europe throughout the 1600s. But Spain managed its American profits poorly and was unable to match the energy of France’s rise to European dominance. The French proceeded to copy the Spanish programme by mounting extraction incursions of their own in North America. However, the French found themselves facing very different native societies in North America and never succeeded in creating a strong settler society. The Dutch, who challenged the French for European dominance, mounted their own effort at extraction and settlement and turned out not to be particularly successful at either.

Outline

I. Spaniards attempted to repeat the pattern of the first conquistadors and settlers in as many places in North and South America as they could.
   A. Spanish settlement of Mexico, the Pacific coast, and South America eventually required the institution of formal governments subservient to the Spanish crown.
      1. This called for organizing not only their own European societies, but also those of the indigenous peoples they conquered.
      2. They moved through three stages: enslavement, dislocation, and confrontation (Pueblo Revolt).
      3. The deadliest enemies of the indigenous populations were disease.
   B. The Spanish New World settlements eventually matured from an extraction society to a permanent settler society.
      1. American wealth made Spain a world power in the 16th and 17th centuries.
2. But Spain mismanaged its wealth, resulting in declining profitability of its settlements and diminishing interest in further expansion.

II. France emerged from civil war in the 16th century to European mastery in the 17th.
   A. France hoped to emulate the profitability of the Spanish New World expeditions by subsidizing its own.
      1. By the end of the 1500s, the first French expeditions had established French contact on the maritime coast of Canada and the upper Mississippi.
      2. Samuel de Champlain succeeded in building up the first significant French settlement along the St. Lawrence River at Quebec to exploit the fur trade.
      3. Robert La Salle explored the Gulf Coast, and the Company of the Indies began French settlements along the gulf and the mouth of the Mississippi.
      4. Champlain also helped set the pattern of white-Indian military conflict with the Algonquian and Iroquian peoples of the northeastern woodlands.
   B. The French did not, however, succeed in building a strong settler society.
      1. One of the principal activities of the French was religious proselytizing.
      2. The French government saw only minimal returns on its promotion of New World colonization, especially in Louisiana.
      3. The French forbade the emigration of religious dissidents.
      4. French adventurism in Europe drained the French population of potential settlers and the French treasury of funds whereby it could have further supported exploration under the French flag.

III. The 17th century saw the meteoric rise of the Dutch as a major world commercial power.
   A. Although newly independent from Spanish rule and with some of the most unproductive land in Europe, the Dutch succeeded in positioning themselves as the great financial and trading center of Western Europe.
      1. The Dutch East India Company organized an exploration of the Hudson River in 1609 and the creation of the New Netherland colony.
      2. Although the main settlement was established at New Amsterdam, the immediate goal was the exploitation of the fur trade in the woodland interior.
   B. New Netherland, as a commercial subsidiary, became the most culturally and ethnically diverse settlement in North America.
      1. The colony attracted a wide variety of emigrants.
      2. The company’s government practiced religious toleration.
3. Women possessed more rights than in Europe.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Paul Horgan, *Conquistadores in North American History*.

Questions to Consider:
1. Which of the three colonial empires—Spanish, French, Dutch—was the best governed?
2. Which of the three colonial empires—Spanish, French, Dutch—would have offered the most opportunity?
Lecture Three
Gentlemen in the Wilderness

Scope: The English joined the great game of extraction and settlement last of all the major European nations. They had been so indifferent to America that their first exercise at planting themselves in North America was undertaken by a private corporation and served merely to establish a base from which English pirates could safely raid the Spanish treasure fleets carrying American gold and silver back to Spain. When these enterprises failed financially, the survivors were forced to organize their own settlement societies around the Chesapeake Bay, while the English government looked the other way, unwilling to undertake the costs of running them directly but quite willing to see the colonies become dumping grounds for its various uncooperatives, unemployed, and unwanted. To the surprise of all beholders, by 1680, these settlements achieved success through the development of the first great American commodity, tobacco, and the forced recruitment of a workforce of African slaves. The principal example of this development was Virginia, which worked its way through what became a typical English pattern: from company colony, to unstable free-for-all, to stable aristocracy.

Outline

I. The English joined the great game of extraction and settlement last of all the major European nations.

A. England had been distracted by civil and religious instability through the early 1500s.
   1. Henry VIII had led his kingdom into ruinous wars and even more ruinous experiments with the Protestant Reformation.
   2. The English ventured into the Atlantic only as a means of preying on Spanish shipping.
   3. The earliest interest in settlements was shown by wealthy individuals (such as Sir Walter Raleigh) and for the purpose of establishing bases along the North American coast for ambushing Spanish trade, most of which failed.

B. A joint-stock company, the Virginia Company, undertook to establish a settlement on the Chesapeake Bay at Jamestown.
   1. Even with corporate backing, the settlement nearly failed, and it never yielded any profit.
   2. Antagonism with the Powhatan tribes led to a near annihilation of the Virginia settlements in 1622.
II. The commercial failures of English colonization often stranded settlers in America.
A. This gave several of them, beginning with Virginia, freedom to experiment with establishing their own governments and assemblies, none of which were recognized by the crown, but which the crown did nothing to suppress.
B. The crown did not wish to assume financial liability for ruling these settlements, preferring to franchise out new settlements to those willing to take the risks and let the colonies become dumping grounds for England’s various uncooperative, unemployed, and unwanted inhabitants.
C. Virginia organized a rough-and-ready government and the first American legislative assembly.
D. The crown ignored its own ban on Roman Catholics and allowed English Roman Catholics to establish a settlement on the upper Chesapeake.
E. Political dissidents organized an experimental government in the Carolinas.
F. An experiment in social benevolence was founded by aristocrats in Georgia.

III. To the surprise of all beholders, by 1680, these settlements achieved success.
A. Principally, this success came through economic development.
   1. Virginia developed the first great American commodity, tobacco.
   2. The Carolinas mimicked the pattern of the British West Indies and became a major source for rice and indigo.
   3. The Chesapeake solved the problem of creating a cheap labor force for these commodities by abandoning indentured servitude of whites and moving to a workforce of slaves, who were visibly marked by whites for service by being Africans.
B. All of this came at little cost to the royal government until the 1670s.
   1. The crown was able to practice a policy of “benign neglect.”
   2. Eventually, however, the royal government noticed that the settlements were beginning to compete with the economy of the home islands, which called forth the beginnings of economic regulation.
   3. Social unrest in 1676 (Bacon’s Rebellion) also forced the crown to begin taking a more active interventionist role in colonial administration.
Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Karen Ordahl Kupperman, Roanoke.

Questions to Consider:
1. Was there another alternative to Virginia’s turn to slave labor in the 17th century?
2. Did any of these colonies live up to the expectations of their founders?
Lecture Four
Radicals in the Wilderness

Scope: If the southern English colonies were motivated by economic self-interest—be it piracy, tobacco, or slaves—the northern settlements of New England were motivated by ideas. In New England’s case, the ideas were religious, given that the New England settlements were purposely founded as refuges for English radical Protestants—Puritans—from the English government’s demands for conformity to a single mainstream, state-established church. These ideas gave the organization of New England a peculiar coherence and a sense of crusading mission. Like that of the southern settlements, however, the original purpose of the Puritan mission was soon lost, over the protests of the Puritan clergy, who perfected a literary genre of lament known as the jeremiad to mourn this decay. The “godly commonwealth” of the first Puritans was succeeded by a more subdued state of free-for-all and, in the end, the same slow tendency toward aristocracy, based on transatlantic commerce rather than commodities, that characterized Virginia. Nevertheless, the notion of Puritanism’s special mission to create a “city on a hill” had long innings, especially as a counterpoise to Virginia’s hard-headed preoccupation with commerce and slave labor.

Outline
I. While the southern colonies were being established mostly for the sake of profit, a group of northern colonies was founded mostly for the sake of ideas.
   A. The New England settlements were purposely founded as refuges for English radical Protestants—Puritans.
      1. The Puritans were refugees from the English government’s demands for conformity to a single mainstream, state-established church.
      2. They struggled to affirm their English identity, but in truth, they owed spiritual allegiance to a transnational ideological movement known as Calvinism.
      3. Calvinism taught them theology, but it also taught them about social construction by making church membership a voluntary act to be tested by specific signs of sincerity and organized separately from the state.
      5. It also made its members suspect in the eyes of the Stuart kings—James I and Charles I.
B. To leave England because of deliberate dissent was synonymous with treason.
   1. The Puritans invented a subterfuge to cover their emigration in the form of another joint-stock company, the Massachusetts Bay Company.
   2. John Winthrop was appointed governor, and a corporate board was elected.
   3. Once in New England, Winthrop became de facto governor of a province, not a company, and the board became the legislative assembly.
   4. Under that authority, the Puritans were at last able to freely construct the kind of church and society that they believed conformed to the Calvinist vision—the “city on a hill.”

II. However, under the seductions of profit and growth, the Puritan colonies were gradually pulled in the same direction as the southern colonies.
   A. Originally, the social picture of the New England colonies was starkly different from that of the southern colonies.
      1. New Englanders represented a different demographic cross-section.
      2. They attempted to organize themselves as communally as possible to maintain moral oversight.
   B. Ideologically, the Puritans found it difficult to maintain a consensus.
      1. Ever-more-radical Puritans attempted their own purifications and withdrawals, in the cases of Ann Hutchinson and Roger Williams.
      2. The enthusiasm for undergoing the tests of church membership diminished the eagerness of second- and third-generation New Englanders to join, forcing the churches to move back toward English patterns of church membership and state involvement.
   C. Socially, the Puritans found it difficult to maintain social cohesiveness.
      1. Communal organization broke down over the need for new land.
      2. New England grew into six separately organized settlements—Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, New Haven, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Rhode Island—which generated large-scale warfare with the Indian tribes, especially in King Philip’s War.
      3. Commercial successes after 1700 made Boston a thriving town of merchants.
   D. By the end of the 1600s, the original Puritan vision seemed to have faded.
      1. It was, however, rescued by the clergy and captured in the jeremiad.
      2. The jeremiad became the source for cultural revitalization in New England and, ultimately, in American thought thereafter.

Essential Reading:

**Supplementary Reading:**
Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma*.

**Questions to Consider:**
1. What have been the long-term effects of the Puritans on American culture?
2. How does the stereotypical image of a Puritan contrast with the settlers of Massachusetts Bay in the 1600s?
Scope: The English came last of all to the broad stretch of coastal territory between the Chesapeake and Long Island. Unlike the southern and northern colonies, this region had already been settled by Europeans: the Swedes along the Delaware Bay and the Dutch along the Hudson River. Both colonies had been designed as extraction settlements; both were comparatively feeble (the Dutch swallowed up the Swedes but were nearly swallowed up themselves by the surrounding woodland Indian tribes); and both yielded easily to English conquest. The Dutch settlements (renamed New York) developed into a major commercial center and, following the usual plan, created an upriver aristocracy based on the semi-slavery of tenant farming. The Delaware settlements, which passed into the quixotic ownership of the influential Quaker William Penn, were intended to be a radical religious refuge similar to the Puritan settlements. But Penn’s Pennsylvania passed even more quickly into the free-for-all phase and emerged, by the 1750s, with a commercial aristocracy similar to that of New England, centered around its principal city.

Outline

I. The coastal territory between the Chesapeake and Long Island was the last to be settled by the English.
   A. Unlike the south and New England, this territory had already been previously settled by Europeans.
      1. The Dutch in New Netherland controlled the Hudson River valley from New Amsterdam to Fort Orange.
      2. The Swedes planted a small colony of New Sweden along the Delaware River from Cape May to Kingsessing.
   B. Both colonies had been designed as extraction settlements and were comparatively feeble.
      1. The Dutch swallowed up the Swedes once Swedish military influence in Europe during the Thirty Years’ War declined.
      2. The Dutch were almost destroyed by repeated conflicts with the Algonquian tribes and yielded easily to English conquest once Dutch maritime supremacy was eclipsed by the English.
      3. The Dutch settlements (renamed New York) developed into a major commercial center and, following the usual plan, created an upriver aristocracy based on the semi-slavery of tenant farming.
II. The Delaware settlements passed into the quixotic ownership of the influential Quaker William Penn.

A. The Quakers were similar to the Puritans in their dissent and separatism.
   1. They were sharply persecuted by the English church and state, who sensed in them not merely dissent but social revolution for women and the economically marginalized.
   2. Penn was an unusual convert to Quakerism, coming as he did from the aristocracy.
   3. Penn’s influence and wealth made him a major figure in English Quakerism and tempted him to try to achieve religious toleration through political action.
   4. When politics failed, Penn and the Quakers began looking to replicate the Puritan emigration.
   5. An initial colony was established in New Jersey.

B. Penn was offered a more desirable option by King Charles II on lands that were eventually named, to Penn’s embarrassment, Pennsylvania.
   1. Like Winthrop, Penn hoped to create a consensual society around his model city, Philadelphia.
   2. But Penn’s Pennsylvania passed even more quickly into the free-for-all phase.
   3. By the 1750s, Pennsylvania had become an ethnically and religiously diverse society, rather than a consensual one, with a commercial aristocracy similar to that of Boston.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Michael Kammen, Colonial New York, chapters 2–3.

Questions to Consider:
1. In what ways was Penn’s “holy experiment” in Pennsylvania similar to Winthrop’s “city on a hill”?
2. Was there more or less ethnic diversity in 18th-century British North America than there is in the modern United States and Canada?
Lecture Six
An Economy of Slaves

Scope: The transition of each of these settlements from its original planned form—whether as a company colony or a religious outpost—to stable commercial success would not have been possible without a source of cheap labor. British America’s great asset was an immensity of land, either legally claimed or waiting to be dispossessed of its native inhabitants; its great deficit was a shortage of hands to develop it. The English were not eager to migrate to America, and there was no officially sponsored plan for migration. Those who did migrate were often the least prepared or the most antisocial (for religious or other reasons), and when they did come, the availability of cheap land inclined them more to set up for themselves than as the employees of others. The alternative was to force people to migrate and work to enrich the already-settled colonists. The first way to obtain forced labor was to import convicts, beggars, prisoners-of-war, and poor people who sold themselves into a temporary slavery known as indentured servitude. However, the costs of such imports rose steeply through the 1600s; thus, the colonists turned to a less expensive and more permanent source of cheap labor, black slaves from Africa or the West Indies. All told, 11 million Africans were torn from their homes as slaves. Most of them were shipped to the West Indies and South America, but a sizable proportion went to the North American colonies. All the colonies participated in slavery, although the concentrations varied, with the greatest number living and working in the Carolinas.

Outline

I. Each region of English settlement underwent a transition from radically different models toward convergence on a generally English model.
   A. This would not have been possible without a source of cheap labor.
      1. British America’s great asset was an immensity of land, either legally claimed or waiting to be dispossessed of its native inhabitants.
      2. Its great deficit was a shortage of hands to develop the land.
      3. The English government showed little interest in sponsoring emigration.
      4. Those who did emigrate were often the least prepared or the most antisocial (for religious or other reasons), and when they did come, the availability of cheap land inclined them more to set up for themselves than as the employees of others.
   B. The alternative to cheap labor was forced labor.
      1. Colonists already in America paid for the importation of convicts, beggars, prisoners-of-war, and indentured servants.
2. The costs of such imports rose steeply through the 1600s.
3. The colonists turned to an existing trade in forced labor in the form of slaves, carried by Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch traders.
4. The colonies developed their own domestic slave-trading industry, based on the three-way trade of the Middle Passage, and making Newport, Rhode Island, its center.

II. To support their struggle to imitate the home culture, the English colonists fell back on a form of labor that resembled nothing in the home culture.

A. Enslavement was an attractive option for labor-starved colonists.
   1. It was permanent and could be passed on generationally.
   2. The laws of slavery imposed “social death” on slaves from birth, thus eliminating a political life.
   3. Slavery was total—the slave had no identity apart from that conferred by the slaveowner.

B. Enslavement quickly became race-based, because racial coloring offered an easy basis for marking the enslaved apart from the English population and the surrounding Indian tribes.
   1. All told, 11 million Africans were torn from their homes as slaves.
   2. Most of them were shipped to the West Indies and South America, but a sizable proportion went to the North American colonies.

C. All the colonies participated in slavery, but the concentrations varied.
   1. The greatest concentrations of slave labor were in the Carolinas.
   2. Slave labor participated in almost every aspect of the colonial economy.
   3. Slave labor generated conflict and tension, resulting in slave revolts.

Essential Reading:
Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*.

Supplementary Reading:
Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery*.

Questions to Consider:
1. Why did American slavery become a racial institution rather than just an economic institution?
2. How widespread was the use of forced labor in the British North American colonies?
Lecture Seven
Printers, Painters, and Preachers

Scope: The settlers of British North America brought with them the cultures—the books, music, artistry—of their homelands, which can be sorted into three basic categories: vernacular, urban, and elite culture. These cultures varied in their objects and intensity, but they also displayed a remarkable coherence, except in the case of slaves and the most introverted ethnic and religious groups. Americans developed cultural forms in both music and art (some examples being the music of William Billings and the portraits of John Singleton Copley), which expressed the situation of the English colonies as uniquely American, yet also yearned for a recognized place in the world of elite English culture. The most important cultural transition Americans experienced was religious, as they coped with the movement in the late 1600s and early 1700s, part of the European Enlightenment, from a traditional religion-based understanding of the world to a scientific and secular understanding. Three illustrative figures of this transition are Cotton Mather (who hoped for an accommodation between religion and secularism based on natural law), Benjamin Franklin (who rejected religion in favor of science, both in the physical world and in commerce), and Jonathan Edwards (who used the intellectual weapons of the Enlightenment in an attempt to restore the primacy of religion).

Outline

I. Although Americans produced little in the way of their own music, art, or philosophy, they had great confidence that America would eventually outperform all other older civilizations.
   A. Culture in the 17th and 18th centuries can be understood in three ways:
      1. As vernacular (or folk) culture, in which production and consumption of symbols is for immediate use among a limited circle of persons.
      2. As urban culture, in which production can be for sale or exchange among wider areas.
      3. As elite culture, in which production is by skilled professionals for display more than use.
   B. New England was the most likely place to offer possibilities for urban and elite culture.
      1. Poetry was written by Michael Wigglesworth and Anne Bradstreet.
      2. Painting was produced by Joseph Badger, John Smibert, John Singleton Copley, and Benjamin West.
      3. Music was produced by William Billings, Francis Hopkinson, and James Lyon.
II. Americans were particularly productive at adapting and redeveloping European philosophy.

A. Philosophy was closely tied to theology and was part of curricula aimed at training clergy.
   1. Harvard’s curriculum was dominated by Protestant Scholastics.
   2. However, even then, the authority of Aristotle had to compete with the subtle psychological twists introduced by William Ames and Peter Ramus.

B. The advent of the New Philosophy of Newton and Bacon in Europe induced gradual changes in the collegiate curricula in America.
   1. Harvard moved toward the new “logick” through William Brattle.
   2. Yale was organized as a conservative reaction to Harvard, but it, too, was influenced by the New Philosophy.

C. Americans developed three examples of how to cope with the New Philosophy.
   1. Adaptation, as represented by the intellectual compromises of Cotton Mather.
   2. Complete embrace, as represented by Benjamin Franklin.
   3. Creative dissent, as represented by Jonathan Edwards.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:

Questions to Consider:
1. Has the distance between the various levels of culture grown greater or smaller since the 18th century?
2. On the whole, which was the wiser strategy for dealing with the New Philosophy, Mather’s or Edwards’s?
Lecture Eight
The Great Awakening

Scope: The English colonists encountered novelties for which nothing in their heritage prepared them: an intimidating landscape; native inhabitants with radically different cultures and, frequently, hostile intentions; a rate of social, economic, and political change that violated European senses of order and stability; and fierce infighting by would-be elites. The stress this imposed was aggravated by the lack of oversight, guidance, and regulation by the home country, and it produced unusual social eruptions that were aimed at regaining some sense of control, over one’s external circumstances or personal identity. One early example of this is the Salem witch trials of 1692. But a far more dramatic example is the Great Awakening, a revival of radical Protestant religion across New England and in many of the coastal towns and cities. The Awakening began with an early tremor in New England and New Jersey in the 1730s, then swung into full force in the 1740s behind the marvelous preaching talents of the Englishman George Whitefield, who became the first transatlantic celebrity. Its philosophical and psychological rationale, however, was developed by Jonathan Edwards. The Awakening helped people recover a sense of spiritual significance and moral direction; it also touched off violent religious controversy in New England, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. Over the long term, it led to the founding of many of America’s prestige colleges, as the awakened sought to provide a secure intellectual base from which to promote further awakenings, and it transformed the Puritan notion of mission into a general American possession.

Outline

I. None of the American colonies had turned out quite as planned, a situation that induced a stress of expectations.
   A. America presented a frightening environment to Europeans.
      1. The American landscape was alien to European experience.
      2. It contained native inhabitants with no desire for assimilation, culturally or politically.
      3. Dramatic social inversions were the rule.
      4. The home government was distant and uninterested.
   B. This stress triggered reactions that were aimed at regaining some sense of control, either over one’s external circumstances or personal identity.
      1. One early example of this is the Salem witch trials of 1692.
      2. Other examples included rebellions and mob actions.
II. The most dramatic attempt to redirect American intentions was the Great Awakening.
   A. The Awakening was a revival of religious concern and interest.
      1. It followed a pattern of personal religious renewal already established in New England but made it collective.
      2. It was also linked to a larger pattern of evangelical Protestant renewal movements in Europe known as Pietism.
   B. The first tremors of the Awakening occurred in the 1730s.
      2. Another revival developed in New Jersey under Theodore Frelinghuysen.
   C. The principal Awakening occurred in 1739–1742.
      1. It began with the preaching of the English itinerant George Whitefield in many of the coastal towns and cities.
      2. It was given a philosophical and psychological rationale by Jonathan Edwards.
      3. It had tremendous force in Pennsylvania under Gilbert Tennent.
      4. It was promoted in Virginia by migrants and missionaries from Pennsylvania.

III. The results of the Awakening were great and profound.
   A. Many of America’s prestige educational institutions were founded as an outcome of the Awakening.
      1. Dartmouth was founded as a missionary college.
      2. Princeton was founded by Presbyterian awakeners who were sympathetic to Edwards.
   B. The Awakening was the first authentically American cultural event.
      1. It established patterns of print communication that democratized public discourse.
      2. It empowered non-elites to set up standards of cultural value apart from their social superiors.
      3. It encouraged Americans, principally through missionary work, to see themselves as exporters of ideas to other cultures.
   C. It revived New England’s dormant notion of mission.
      1. The Puritan idea of mission was extended to all of America.
      2. A pattern of cultural renewal was established that has repeatedly given collective strength to Americans in times of crisis.
Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:

Questions to Consider:
1. What are some of the ways in which the Great Awakening had an impact on the American Revolution?
2. What are some of the similarities between the Salem witch trials and the Northampton revival of 1734–1735?
Scope: By the mid-1700s, all except Britain and France had become moribund as rivals for the dominance of America. The Anglo-French rivalry, however, had become deep and broadly situated in Europe, Africa, and Asia, as well as America. After a series of minor collisions, a great war for empire finally broke out in 1754, beginning in America, as the French tried to restrain the westward spread of the English settlements over the Appalachian Mountains and into the great Mississippi River valley. The war—known in Europe as the Seven Years’ War and in America as the French and Indian War—at first went badly for England and its colonies in America, and the Americans were almost forced to create their own self-defense union in order to survive. But the British Empire had greater resources to draw on, and by 1759, those resources, in America and elsewhere, had begun to tell heavily against the French. In 1759, British and colonial forces succeeded in disarming the French in America, and the Treaty of Paris in 1763 forced the French to withdraw entirely from North America. Britain’s colonial claims on North America now stood at the Mississippi River, bordering on the shell of the doddering Spanish Empire. The victory not only made Britain a world superpower but, by including the colonists in the victory, seemed to mark the final movement of the English colonies to full assimilation in English society, aristocracy, and culture.

Outline

I. Great Britain and France developed foreign empires around the world in the 17th and 18th centuries that dwarfed all other competitors.
   A. The British American colonies emerged from an era of benign neglect to become major economic players in the empire.
      1. British imperial planners sought to reintegrate the colonies into the British economy through regulation.
      2. The British government came to believe that it could survive only by conducting its empire defensively, on the basis of mercantilism.
      3. The British sought to recruit the colonies and colonists as resources in ongoing imperial skirmishes with France.
   B. France was much less successful in mobilizing its colonial resources and preferred to concentrate on centralizing power at home and directing warfare in Europe.
      1. Restrictive immigration policies discouraged large-scale settlement.
      2. A badly flawed governmental structure in Canada generated constant internal conflict.
3. Nevertheless, the French were successful in mobilizing Indian tribes to assist them in harassing the English frontier.

II. After a series of increasingly larger conflicts, a Great War for Empire (known as the Seven Years’ War in Europe and the French and Indian War in America) resulted.
   A. The early conflicts in this war were uniformly disastrous for the British.
      2. A British force under General Edward Braddock was humiliated in the battle of the Wilderness.
      3. Panicky colonists organized an ineffective Congress at Albany to deal with the situation.
   B. Changes in British political leadership reversed the course of the war.
      2. Wolfe succeeded in capturing the French fortress of Quebec in 1759, effectively ending French resistance in Canada.
   C. The Treaty of Paris ended France’s empire in the New World.
      1. All of Canada was ceded to British control.
      2. The role the American colonists had played in the victory convinced them that they were finally equal players in the larger scheme of Britain’s empire.

Essential Reading:
Lawrence Henry Gipson, *The British Empire before the Revolution*, vol. 6, chapter 4.

Supplementary Reading:

Questions to Consider:
1. Given the advantages they started with, why did it take so long for the British to win the French and Indian War?
2. Would the French have been better served to have concentrated more, or fewer, resources to the defense of Canada?
Lecture Ten
The Rejection of Empire

Scope: The Great War for Empire beggared the British economy and set off movements in Parliament to make the rest of the empire pay for the defense the British economy had provided. British politicians were also growing anxious at the increasingly unfavorable balance of trade between Britain and the American colonies. Beginning in 1765 with the Stamp Act, Parliament moved to levy direct taxes on the colonies and to regulate colonial trade so that it profited Britain. The legislatures of the North American colonies protested these actions. But Parliament ignored the protests on the grounds that the colonies were only plantations: the colonial assemblies had never been authorized by British law and had no authority to claim that Parliament was interfering with them. Mob actions persuaded Parliament to rescind the Stamp Act but not the principle of parliamentary sovereignty. Americans insisted on “no taxation without representation”—which meant recognition of the authority of the colonial assemblies. American writers were buttressed by the popularity of Whig political thinkers, from John Locke to William Pitt. When Parliament attempted to make the colonies pay for garrisoning British troops there in 1770, more protests led to outright conflict, the suspension of colonial governments by Parliament, the creation of a Continental Congress to speak for North America, and finally, an organized military confrontation at Lexington and Concord in April 1775.

Outline

I. The Great War for Empire left the British government in economic and political disarray.
   A. The empire had spent itself into debt to finance the war.
      1. Total national debt amounted to more than £122 million.
      2. Service on the debt alone would cost £4.5 million a year.
      3. The home islands were already the most heavily taxed in Europe.
      4. Costs of maintaining a military presence in the newly acquired regions would require £200,000 a year.
   B. The empire was riddled by a vast disagreement over the nature of governing power.
      1. The Stuart monarchy had attempted to establish a French-style absolute monarchy in the 1600s.
      2. This had triggered civil war on two occasions, first from the Puritans, then from Parliament.
      3. At the beginning of the 18th century, the disagreement had resolved itself into two political ideologies, Whig and Tory.
4. The Whig political literature was the strongest, with John Locke on political theory and such satirists as Trenchard and Gordon.

C. Parliament’s solution was to compel the colonies to shoulder part of the burden of imperial debt.
   1. Parliament had never before levied *direct* taxes on the colonies.
   2. The colonies had raised their own money for government through their own assemblies, but with the empire providing defense, this taxation was small.
   3. Because the colonies were *plantations* (and, thus, their assemblies had no legal standing), Parliament insisted that it had the authority to levy direct taxes without seeking approval from the colonial assemblies.
   4. Moreover, the colonies should be compelled to support a permanent military garrison in America.

II. Implementation of the new taxation policies fell to George Grenville.
   A. Grenville imposed a series of direct levies, culminating in the Stamp Act.
      1. The colonial assemblies at once rose in protest.
      2. A Stamp Act Congress met in Albany to issue a Declaration of Rights and Grievances, denying that the colonies were plantations and insisting on taxation only through their assemblies.
      3. Crowd actions were organized by the Sons of Liberty.
      4. The Grenville government collapsed, succeeded by the Marquis of Rockingham, who sponsored the repeal of the Stamp Act.
   B. Americans found justification for resistance in Whig political writings.
      1. The American assemblies had always functioned in the manner described by Whig political theory as a “natural” form of government.
      2. Exposure to British troops in the Great War convinced Americans, like the Whigs, that England was awash in depravity.
      3. American elites resented the possibility that British officials would displace them and assume control of colonial affairs.
      4. American Protestants feared that, along with the Stamp Act, the Church of England would install a bishop in America to undermine non-Anglican churches.

III. Rockingham’s government was superseded by a Whig government under William Pitt.
   A. Pitt was elderly and suffered a nervous breakdown, leaving running of the government to Charles Townsend.
      1. Parliament repudiated the Stamp Act but not the principle of direct taxation.
      2. Townsend imposed a series of new taxes, the Townsend Duties.
      3. This act touched off still more American protest.
4. When the first elements of the British garrison arrived in Boston, they caused a confrontation that became known as the Boston Massacre (1770).

B. A new government, headed by Lord Frederick North, suspended the Townsend Duties but would not concede the colonists the right to self-taxation.
   1. A new Tea Act (1773), designed to bail out the East India Company, imposed taxes on imported tea, which was already so cheap that it could undersell colonial merchants.
   2. The Sons of Liberty responded by dumping the tea into Boston harbor in the Boston Tea Party of December 16, 1773.

C. In retaliation, Parliament imposed the “Intolerable Acts.”
   1. The port of Boston was closed, and the Massachusetts government was taken over by crown officials.
   2. Massachusetts responded with the “Suffolk Resolves.”
   3. A Continental Congress was called in Philadelphia (1774).

D. The British government resolved to suppress colonial dissent.
   1. Seizures of colonial military stores were arranged.

**Essential Reading:**

**Supplementary Reading:**
David Hackett Fischer, *Paul Revere’s Ride*.

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Were Parliament’s expectations that the colonies permit direct taxation reasonable?
2. What made the “Intolerable Acts” intolerable?
Lecture Eleven
The American Revolution—Politics and People

Scope: Americans assumed that they were still British subjects, even though they were in the mode of protest. Parliament’s response to American protests, however, increasingly alienated Americans, and the most radical among them used the meeting of the first Continental Congress to begin pressing for a unilateral declaration of independence from Britain. They were unable to get support for this action until after the clash at Lexington and Concord. Even then, hope still existed for a reconciliation with Britain through the winter of 1775. By the spring of 1776, the determination with which the British were waging war and the agitation of pro-independence thinkers (Tom Paine) wore down resistance to independence in the colonies. In the second Continental Congress, in July 1776, a resolution declaring independence was adopted by the Congress, framed by a Declaration of Independence composed by Thomas Jefferson. That, however, only caused problems in making the newly independent United States work together. The Canadian and West Indian colonies refused to join the independence movement, which remained limited to 13 of the North American colonies; not until a compromise was reached in the Articles of Confederation in 1781 was a joint government for the United States created.

Outline

I. The British government’s reaction to the outbreak of conflict played directly into the hands of the most radical Americans, who favored outright independence from Britain.
   A. The First Continental Congress was a triumph for radical politics, but second thoughts soon occurred.
      1. In the months following the First Continental Congress, loyalists began to be fearful that the radicals had other agendas.
      2. Challenges to the authority of Parliament could easily become challenges to the authority of colonial elites.
      3. Independence was what the loyalists feared most.
   B. Parliament managed to subvert the best efforts of the loyalists to prevent a breakaway.
      1. Parliament approved the American Prohibitory Bill.
      2. General Gage was forced to clear Bunker Hill of American militia to protect his hold on Boston, winning a victory but at frightening cost (1775).
   C. Radicals began seizing the initiative.
1. The Massachusetts Provincial Convention petitioned the Second
Continental Congress for recognition as the legitimate government
of Massachusetts.
2. The Congress gave the colonies sanction to reorganize their
governments, and the new legislatures quickly filled with radicals.
3. The legislatures, in turn, recalled loyalist delegates to the Congress
and silenced loyalist opposition.

II. Congress moved to take up the identity of an independent nation.
   A. Richard Henry Lee moved that Congress declare independence, and a
      committee was set up to write a declaration explanatory of the motion.
      1. The committee delegated the writing of the declaration to Thomas
         Jefferson.
      2. Jefferson’s Declaration (1776) was a memorable and compelling
         statement of both American independence and the political ideas
         underlying it.
   B. A committee for drawing up a colonial constitution was organized.
      1. It would be impossible to expect economic and military aid if there
         was no government in the colonies for European nations to
         recognize.
      2. The colonies, once they became independent states, proceeded to
         behave as though they were also independent of each other.
      3. Jonathan Dickinson became the chief architect of the Articles of
         Confederation, but the Articles were weakened by disagreements
         over representation, taxation, and control of the west.
   C. A committee for foreign alliances was established.
      1. Benjamin Franklin and John Adams were sent as America’s chief
         representatives to France, Spain, and the Netherlands.
      2. The French were sympathetic but would not commit themselves
         until it was clear that the Americans could succeed militarily on
         their own.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Charles S. Hyneman and Donald Lutz, eds., *American Political Writings during
the Founding Era*, vol. 1, documents 22–26.
Questions to Consider:
1. In what ways was the Declaration of Independence a philosophical, and not just a political, document?
2. By what means was the Continental Congress turned from a vehicle for loyal protest into an engine of independence?
Lecture Twelve
The American Revolution—Howe’s War

Scope: From a military point of view, the Revolution started well and spiraled downward. The colonial militia successfully bottled up the principal British garrison in America, located in Boston under General Thomas Gage. But it could not dislodge them, something demonstrated at Bunker Hill in June 1775. The Second Continental Congress authorized the creation of an inter-colonial army, the Continental Army, under the overall command of George Washington, and Washington was able to mount an effective siege of Boston that forced the British army to withdraw in early 1776. But American efforts to persuade Britain’s West Indian colonies and the formerly French Canadian provinces to join their revolt failed. The same British army that had abandoned Boston now landed on Long Island under the command of Sir William Howe and handed Washington a series of humiliating defeats, forcing the Continental Army to abandon all of New York and New Jersey to the British. Only a miraculous strike by Washington against British outposts at Trenton and Princeton kept discouragement from dissolving the revolutionary forces. The next spring, the disasters resumed as Howe struck again by sea, landing troops that twice defeated Washington, lost Philadelphia, and compelled the Continental Army to spend an almost-catastrophic winter camped at Valley Forge. Only an American victory at Saratoga in the summer of 1777 salvaged American hopes, and even that was lost more by British incompetence than won by American planning.

Outline

I. The Revolution was not a military success in its initial phases.
   A. The American attempt to contain the British army in Boston was only a partial success.
      1. The British held securely to Boston through the winter of 1775.
      2. Congress authorized George Washington to muster the militia into the service of Congress as the Continental Army.
      3. Washington had only limited resources with which to form a regular army.
         a. Americans had never needed to formulate tactical or strategic doctrine on their own.
         b. Americans were under-supplied in weaponry and experienced officers.
         c. However, their morale compared favorably with that of the British line troops they were facing.
      4. The capture of siege guns and their transportation to Boston forced the British to evacuate Boston in the spring of 1776.
5. General Gage was succeeded in command by General William Howe.

B. The British then staged a succession of well-planned strikes along the North American coast.
2. The British occupied New Jersey but experienced a temporary setback through Washington’s Christmas raid on Trenton.
3. The British mounted a successful invasion of the Chesapeake, climaxing in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown and the capture of Philadelphia (1777).
4. The Continental Congress was forced to find refuge in Lancaster.
5. The Continental Army settled down to a miserable winter in Valley Forge.
6. However, an attempted invasion from Canada under General Burgoyne was stopped and defeated at Saratoga.

II. The British failure to clinch complete victory opened diplomatic opportunities.
A. Congress first appointed peace commissioners to treat with the British in 1776.
1. General Howe disapproved of the war and was disinclined to press his military advantage.
2. The subsequent conference was barren of developments.
3. The American victory at Saratoga forced Britain to make another offer, but it refused to go as far as independence.

B. Congress turned to France to negotiate an alliance.
1. The French were still smarting from their defeat in the Seven Years’ War.
2. Saratoga persuaded the French that the British could be defeated in North America.
3. The French put economic credits at the disposal of the United States and supplied troops and ships under French command.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Richard M. Ketchum, Saratoga.

Questions to Consider:
1. What incentives did France have for entering the war on the American side?
2. What factors caused the British to fail in what should have been an easy campaign to subdue the American rebels?
Timeline

Oct. 12, 1492........................ Christopher Columbus makes the first modern transatlantic crossing from Europe.

Feb. 19, 1519 ....................... Hernándo Cortés sets sail from Cuba to begin the conquest of Mexico.

1585–87 ............................ Sir Walter Raleigh twice is unsuccessful in planting English colonies on the Outer Banks.

May 24, 1607 ....................... The Virginia Company establishes an English colony on the James River at Jamestown.

Summer 1608 ..................... Quebec established by Samuel de Champlain.

Sept. 12, 1609 ..................... Henry Hudson begins exploration of the Hudson River for the Dutch West Indies Company.

May–June 1626 .................... Dutch purchase ground to establish a colony, New Amsterdam, on Manhattan Island.

June 17, 1630 ..................... Massachusetts Bay Company arrives to begin settlement at Boston.


Aug. 27, 1664 ..................... Peter Stuyvesant surrenders New Amsterdam to the British, who rename it New York.

1675–76 ............................. King Philip’s War ravages New England.

1679–82 ............................. La Salle explores the Mississippi River and claims Louisiana for France.

Aug. 10, 1680 ..................... Pueblo Revolt begins, destroying Spanish churches and settlements in New Mexico.


Dec. 11, 1688 ..................... Glorious Revolution topples King James II and replaces him with William and Mary as monarchs.

Feb. 8, 1693 ........................ Charter granted to found the College of William and Mary.

Nov. 8, 1739 ..................... George Whitefield arrives in Philadelphia as part of his first evangelical preaching tour.

July 2, 1741 ..................... Jonathan Edwards delivers his sermon “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God” at Enfield, Massachusetts (now Connecticut).
May 28, 1754 ...................... George Washington surrenders Virginia militia at Fort Necessity, beginning the French and Indian War.

July 9, 1755 ...................... British troops under General Edward Braddock defeated by French and Indians near Fort Duquesne.

Sept. 18, 1759 .................... British capture Quebec, and effective military resistance by the French in Canada ends.


1761–66 ......................... Controversy in the colonies over writs of assistance.


May 7–Nov. 28, 1763 .......... Pontiac lays siege to Fort Detroit as part of Pontiac’s Rebellion.

March 22, 1765 .................. Parliament imposes the Stamp Act, then rescinds it after violent colonial protests.

July 2, 1767 ...................... Townsend Duties enacted.

March 5, 1770 .................... The Boston Massacre leaves five dead in front of the Boston Customs House.

May 10, 1773 .................... Tea Act becomes law.


April 18–19, 1775 .............. Battles of Lexington and Concord.

May 10, 1775 .................... Second Continental Congress meets.

June 17, 1775 .................... Battle of Bunker Hill.

Jan. 10, 1776 .................... Thomas Paine publishes *Common Sense*.

July 4, 1776 ...................... Declaration of American Independence.

Dec. 18–June 9, 1777–78 .... Continental Army’s winter encampment at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

March 1, 1780 .................... Pennsylvania Act for Emancipation, first provision for gradual abolition of slavery in America.

March 1, 1781 .................... Articles of Confederation ratified.
Oct. 19, 1781............... Lord Cornwallis surrenders British forces at Yorktown.

1782 ......................... Hector St. John Crèvecoeur publishes Letters from an American Farmer.

Sept. 3, 1783 ................. Treaty of Paris confirms independence of the United States from Great Britain.

May 20, 1785 ................. Confederation Congress passes Land Ordinance on the organization of the western lands.

Jan. 25, 1787 ................. Shay’s Rebellion climaxes in an assault on the federal arsenal at Springfield, Massachusetts.


July 13, 1787............... Confederation Congress adopts the Northwest Ordinance.


April 30, 1789 ................. George Washington sworn in as the first president of the United States.

Jan. 14, 1790............... The first of Hamilton’s three “reports”—the Report on the Public Credit—is read to Congress.

Aug. 7–Nov. 19, 1791....... Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania.

Dec. 15, 1791 ................. Bill of Rights ratified.

March 14, 1794 ............... Eli Whitney files a patent on the cotton gin, which he had designed and built the previous year while working as a family tutor on a Georgia plantation.

Oct. 8–Nov. 8, 1797–98..... XYZ Affair outlined in dispatches from John Marshall, Timothy Pickering, and Elbridge Gerry.

Summer 1798 .................. June 18, 25/July 6, 14: Alien and Sedition Acts passed by Congress.

Fall/Winter 1798 ............. Nov. 13, Dec. 24: The legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia adopt the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions as drafted by Madison and Jefferson.

Feb. 17, 1801 ................. Thomas Jefferson elected in the House of Representatives as third U.S. president.

March 5, 1801 ................. John Marshall becomes chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

April 30, 1803 .................... U.S. negotiators approve Louisiana Purchase; *Marbury v. Madison* establishes principle of judicial review.

May 14, 1804 ..................... Meriwether Lewis and William Clark lead “Corps of Discovery” up the Missouri River in exploration of the purchase.

July 11, 1804 ...................... Alexander Hamilton is shot by Aaron Burr in a duel.

Feb. 19, 1807 ..................... Aaron Burr arrested for his part in a conspiracy in the Southwest Territory.

Dec. 22, 1807 ..................... Congress passes the Embargo Act, cutting off American commerce with France and Great Britain.

Oct. 11, 1811 ..................... The *New Orleans*, the first steamboat on the western rivers, leaves Pittsburgh on a voyage down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans.

Nov. 7, 1811 ..................... Battle of Tippecanoe.

June 1, 1812 ..................... President Madison asks for declaration of war against Great Britain, beginning the War of 1812.

Oct. 5, 1813 ..................... William Henry Harrison wins a victory for the United States at the battle of the Thames.

Dec. 24, 1814 ..................... Treaty of Ghent ends the War of 1812.

Jan. 9, 1815 ..................... Andrew Jackson victorious at the battle of New Orleans.

March 14, 1816 ................... Second Bank of the United States chartered by Congress.

March 20, 1816 ................... Justice Joseph Story hands down Supreme Court decision in *Martin v. Hunter’s Lessee*.

July 4, 1817 ..................... Work begins on the Erie Canal.

Feb. 2, 1819 ..................... *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* upholds the sanctity of contract.

Feb. 17, 1819 ..................... Chief Justice Marshall writes opinion for unanimous Supreme Court in *Sturgis v. Crowninshield*. 

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March 6, 1819................. *McCulloch v. Maryland* establishes supremacy of federal jurisdiction over state.

Spring 1819..................... Panic of 1819 begins with fall in British commodity prices.

Feb. 16, 1820 .................... Missouri Compromise adopted.

July 1822......................... Slave conspiracy under Denmark Vesey prompts panic and retribution in Charleston.

Dec. 2, 1823 ..................... President James Monroe’s annual message to Congress articulates the Monroe Doctrine; James Fenimore Cooper begins his “Leatherstocking Tales” with the publication of *The Pioneers*.

Jan. 14, 1824 ..................... Henry Clay begins exposition of the “American System” before Congress.

March 2, 1824.................... Chief Justice Marshall hands down opinion for a unanimous Supreme Court in *Gibbons v. Ogden*.

Feb. 9, 1825 ..................... Election of John Quincy Adams as president in the House of Representatives, after the “corrupt bargain.”

March 1, 1826.................... East Chelmsford, Massachusetts, incorporated as Lowell as it becomes the most important center of textile manufacturing in the United States.

July 18–25, 1827................. New Lebanon Conference on revivalism.

July 4, 1828...................... Construction begins on Baltimore & Ohio Railroad.


Aug. 22, 1831.................... Nat Turner leads a bloody slave insurrection in southeastern Virginia.

July 10, 1832.................... President Jackson vetoes re-charter of the Second Bank of the United States.

Nov. 24, 1832.................... South Carolina state convention nullifies federal tariffs of 1828 and 1832.

Dec. 4, 1833..................... Founding of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

April 14, 1834.................... Henry Clay applies the term *Whig* to the anti-Jackson opposition.

March 6, 1836.................... Fall of the Alamo.
April 10, 1836...................... Charles Grandison Finney opens the Broadway Tabernacle in New York City.

Feb. 12, 1837 ..................... Chief Justice Roger Taney writes opinion for a narrow majority in *Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge*.

Aug. 31, 1837..................... Ralph Waldo Emerson delivers “The American Scholar” to the Harvard Phi Beta Kappa society.

Aug.–Dec. 1838 .................... Forcible removal of 15,000 Cherokee Indians (the “Trail of Tears”) begins.

Sept. 3, 1838 ...................... Frederick Douglass flees slavery to Philadelphia.

July 1840......................... Margaret Fuller begins publication of *The Dial*.


April 4, 1841 ...................... President William Henry Harrison, the first Whig president, becomes the first president to die in office.

May 11–12, 1846 ................. Congress approves President Polk’s request for a declaration of war, beginning the Mexican War.

June 19, 1846 ..................... First game of baseball played on rules designed by Alexander Cartwright.


Sept. 14, 1847 ................... Winfield Scott captures Mexico City.

Feb. 2, 1848 ....................... Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ends the Mexican War and provides for cession of 500,000 square miles to the United States.

July 19–20, 1848 ................. Seneca Falls Convention on women’s rights.

Jan. 19, 1850 ..................... Henry Clay introduces the bills that will make up the Compromise of 1850.
Abolitionism: A movement that gathered public visibility beginning in the 1830s; dedicated to the immediate and complete abolition of slavery in the United States.

Agrarian: A term describing a cluster of ideas that located political economic virtue in agricultural employment, including independent land ownership and self-provision from the land, minimal land taxation, decentralized patterns of living, and patriarchy (in both gender and racial terms).

American System: Popularized by Henry Clay, this became the Whig economic platform and included federal government sponsorship for infrastructure (“internal improvements”), federal subsidies for manufacturing, and a fiscal system that helped fund entrepreneurship and contain the costs of risk.

Anglican: Term applied to describe the Church of England and its doctrines or to individual members of that Church; not actually used before the 19th century.

Antislavery: The larger segment of opinion that opposed slavery, but not necessarily through immediate abolition.

Assimilation: The process by which immigrants are brought into conformity with the dominant culture around them and in which they embrace the dominant values and reject those associated with their culture or country of origin.

Business cycle: The pattern of alternating economic expansions and contractions that characterizes production and consumption in the various forms of unregulated market economies.

Calvinism: A system of religious doctrine developed by John Calvin that taught the unlimited sovereignty and power of God in ordering all human affairs and, thereby, undercut the demands for loyalty required by many governments and state-sponsored churches; its specific teachings are sometimes defined by the acronym TULIP (total depravity, unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace, perseverance of the saints).

Capitalism: An economic system in which (a) goods and services are sold at prices higher than their actual cost of production, with the difference between the two saved or reinvested in the production of still more goods and services; (b) resources for exchange and for initial investments in production are made available in the form of credit from financial institutions, such as banks; (c) minimal state regulation allows free movement of credit, resources, and commercial strategies; and (d) a spirit of entrepreneurship, rational abstraction, and disciplined work habits prevails.

Class: A system of hierarchical social organization, based on acquired or inherited property holding and wealth and attaching various cultural attributes to each class.
Colonization: In the 19th century, this term described a variety of plans proposed for repatriating freed slaves back to Africa rather than integrating them into civil and social life.

Common sense philosophy: Term used to describe a system of presentational realism that asserted that the mind could directly know the objects of its ideas and, as such, could have direct and accurate intuitions of both objective reality and the moral content of objects and of internal mental processes, from which a rational and orderly system of understanding can be constructed on inductive (or Baconian) principles.

Culture: The production and organization of symbols, attitudes, ideas, processes, and entertainment that express the common assumptions of a society or of groups in that society; can exist as folk, vernacular, or elite culture.

Deism: General term describing a religion based on rational deduction from the evidences of nature of the existence and attributes of a supreme deity, rather than from an authoritative supernatural revelation.

Democrat: Term for the political party begun as the Democratic-Republicans under Jefferson and Madison; sometimes shortened to “Republicans.” In the 1820s, when a splinter group of National Republicans developed and split off to become the Whigs, the party became known simply as “Democrats” and became the vehicle for expressing the political attitudes and culture symbolized by Andrew Jackson.

Electoral college: A provision in the Constitution designed to de-politicize the presidential election process by having electors in each state cast votes, based on the winner of the most votes in their states, for the president and vice president, with each state having as many votes as its combined number of senators and representatives in Congress.

Enlightenment: An intellectual movement born out of the scientific revolution of the 17th century that flourished on both sides of the Atlantic in the 18th century. The movement was characterized by confidence in reason as the means of solving practical, religious, and philosophical problems; an effort to approximate the order of nature; and a commitment to criticism as a means of discovery.

Evangelicalism: A form of Protestant Christian religious expression growing out of the Great Awakenings of the 18th century; marked by dramatic religious transformation, the location of religious authority in the Bible rather than in reason or in religious authorities, and a disposition to extend moral reform generally across society.

Factory: A system in which workers trained in the production of a specific commodity or similar commodities labor for wages, produce individual parts of such commodities for assembly by other workers (rather than each worker producing the entire commodity), and use a common source of artificial power for the production process.
**Free labor**: An economic system in which an individual, protected by natural and civil rights, is free to seek terms of employment, look for pay in the form of cash wages, and may accumulate sufficient capital through work and savings to acquire property and hire others.

**Frigate**: A warship of the last era of wooden fighting ships, of medium size and armament (carrying anywhere from 44 to 56 cannon of varying weight), between a sloop and a ship-of-the-line.

**Half-Way Covenant**: A redefinition of the exacting standards of church membership originally laid down by New England Puritans, so that those children of church members who had not experienced religious conversion for themselves could nevertheless be admitted to one of the sacraments, baptism, and brought under church discipline.

**Indentured servant**: An individual who sells rights to a term of service (usually seven years) in exchange for the costs of passage to America.

**Jeffersonian**: Refers to a system of ideas articulated by Thomas Jefferson, John Randolph of Roanoke, and John Taylor of Caroline that promoted agrarianism and states’ rights and discouraged concentrations of fiscal and commercial power in governments, cities, institutions, and industries.

**Joint-stock companies**: An early form of corporate organization, designed to limit risk and maximize resources by allowing individuals to contribute to a capital fund through the purchase of shares; this system limited losses to the value of shares bought and permitted sharing of profits through the payment of dividends based on the number of shares.

**Judicial review**: The power of the federal courts to determine the legal standing and/or constitutionality of state or federal legislative actions.

**Jurisprudence**: The theory of law; for example, a jurisprudence of “judicial restraint” would favor minimizing the intervention of judges in legislative matters.

**Laissez-faire**: From the French, “let it be as they wish”; an economic attitude springing from Adam Smith that held that governments should exercise as small an active role as possible in a nation’s economic activities and decisions.

**Liberalism**: From the Latin liber, for “free”; a political and economic attitude developed at the end of the 17th century and growing to full stature in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. This view based organization of human societies on (a) the possession of natural rights rather than inherited status; (b) the notion of a “state of nature” in which the unrestrained competition for scarce resources induced people to create civil societies as a “social contract” for the purpose of acquiring and protecting property; and (c) the notion that the legitimacy of civil societies depended entirely on the securing of natural and civil rights and could be changed if it failed to do so.
Manifest Destiny: Phrase coined by Jacksonian journalist John O'Sullivan in 1845 that expressed the belief that the United States was clearly, or “manifestly,” destined by divine providence, cultural superiority, or racial paternalism to extend U.S. sovereignty over the entire North American continent.

Market: Originally a literal physical location but, in the 19th century, increasingly an abstract “place” in which sellers of goods and services compete with other sellers for the attention and business of consumers.

Mercantilism: The view that national economies constitute resources that the state must manage in order to maximize, through regulation and subsidization, the survival of the state; especially applicable to the preservation of domestic resources and reserves of gold or silver.

Militia: The civilian military forces of each state, who trained for military purposes on indifferent and occasional schedules and were available for active duty on the call of the state’s governor or, in time of war or insurrection, by the president of the United States.

Mobility: The concept that class, tradition, ethnicity, or religion are no barriers to economic or geographical movement.

Moral philosophy: The study of practical applications of religious or philosophical teaching that formed the core of 18th- and 19th-century college curricula.

Nativism: Fear of, or prejudice against, those not native born in the United States or those retaining loyalty to foreign languages, ethnic identities, or religions.

Nullification: The doctrine, articulated first in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, then by John Calhoun in the Nullification Crisis, that held that state governments have the power to veto, or nullify, the operation of federal laws within their bounds.

Plantations: Term used to describe Britain’s North American colonies from the view of the royal government. The implication was that the North American colonies were merely settlements with no forms of self-government that the crown was obligated to consult.

Public lands: The vast holdings owned by the federal government in the areas ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Paris or acquired by the Louisiana Purchase or the Mexican Cession and whose sales were a major source of revenue for the federal government.

Puritanism: A religious protest movement in English Protestantism that identified itself doctrinally with Calvinism, set extremely high moral standards for admission to church membership, and insisted on disentangling the church from state control, even to the point of authorizing individual congregations to manage their own affairs (Congregationalism).
**Racism**: A belief that certain physical marks categorize people into races and that these can be ranked hierarchically in moral, intellectual, or physical terms that permit members of a “superior” race to stigmatize, oppress, or exploit members of an “inferior” race.

**Republicanism**: Any form of political organization or ideology that (a) repudiates monarchy, oligarchy, or tyranny; (b) replaces government by self-interest and patronage with public spirit and considerations of merit; (c) lodges political authority in the community as a whole while restricting legislative, judicial, or executive responsibilities in the state to those enjoying popular endorsement; and (d) may be more or less democratic in the identification of those who are accorded civil rights, especially the vote. Sometimes distinguished into “classical” republicanism, which stresses public spirit and community, and “liberal” republicanism, which legitimates the pursuit of economic and political self-interest as leading to the greatest good.

**Romanticism**: A reaction to the rationalism of the Enlightenment that valued community with nature; the power of emotion, passion, or sentiment over reason; a belief that “organic” and nonrational factors governed human behavior; and an individual subjectivity.

**Sedition**: Treason, as in the Alien and Sedition Acts.

**Specie**: Hard coin, in gold or silver, as opposed to paper money, stock certificates, or credit.

**States’ rights**: A political doctrine rooted in the view that the states of the Union are its primary political units and have surrendered only limited aspects of sovereignty to the federal government.

**Suffrage**: The civil right to vote.

**Tariffs**: A tax laid on imported goods to be paid by the importer, often levied as a way of adding to the costs of foreign-produced goods in order to give competitive advantage to domestically produced goods.

**Temperance**: A reform movement beginning in the 1820s that sought to restrict the consumption of hard alcoholic spirits through moral exhortation; eventually, the movement became interchangeable with the idea of total abstinence from all fermented liquors and political movements to ban alcohol production and distribution.

**Transcendentalism**: Describes the beliefs of a group of New England Romantic philosophers who sought to “transcend” the Realist epistemology of the dominant “common sense” philosophy by discovering ideas of moral truth and beauty apart from sensation. The transcendentalists espoused reform movements based on communities that identified norms for behavior through mystical delight in nature and the discovery of “authenticity.”

**Unitarianism**: A religious movement in 18th- and 19th-century New England Congregationalism that rejected the traditional tenets of Calvinism, in particular,
the notion that God existed as three persons in a Trinity (composed of God the Father, Jesus Christ the Son, and the Holy Spirit), in favor of a “rational” reading of the Bible that found only one “person” in God and, therefore, redefined Jesus Christ as a being of a separate and lower order.

**Utopianism**: From Thomas More’s *Utopia* (as derived from the Greek, *eutopia*, or “good place”), the quest for a perfectly ordered society in which inequality, crime, poverty, and suffering have been abolished by a readjustment of social relations, either through rational management or strict adherence to religious revelation.

**Veto**: From the Latin for “I prevent,” the term is used in article 1, section 9, of the Constitution to describe the power of the president to prevent Congressional legislation from passing into law.

**Voluntary societies**: Describes self-organized associations of citizens for specific goals, usually religious, moral, or philanthropic, that the federal government was restricted by the Constitution from publicly pursuing or was given no mandate to pursue.

**Whig**: Originally, in English political history, the “country” party, opposed to the “court” party and absolute monarchy, this became the name of a party described in 1834 by Henry Clay as the new opposition to “King” Andrew Jackson and the Democrats.
Biographical Notes


Nicholas Biddle (1786–1844). American financier. President of the Second Bank of the United States, who triggered the “Bank War” of 1832 by applying for re-chartering of the bank in the face of Andrew Jackson’s opposition.

John Burnoyne (1722–1792). British playwright, politician, and general. Commanded British invasion force from Canada in 1777, only to be defeated and forced to surrender his army at Saratoga, New York.

Aaron Burr (1756–1836). American lawyer and vice president of the United States. Allied himself with Thomas Jefferson and served as Jefferson’s first vice president but alienated many Jeffersonians and was dropped from the ticket in 1804. Notorious for having killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel in 1804. Indicted for treason in 1807 after a plot to set up a separate republic in the southwest.


John Caldwell Calhoun (1782–1850). American politician and vice president of the United States. Attempted to shield the South from nationalist economic schemes; Calhoun proposed “nullification” of federal tariffs as a state’s right and later demanded the opening of the Mexican Cession to slavery.

Henry Clay (1777–1852). American politician and secretary of state. Originally one of the “hawks” who agitated for the War of 1812, he became the author of the “American System” and founder of the Whig Party.


James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851). American novelist. Introduced Romanticism to American literature through his series of “Leatherstocking Tales” (1823–1841), including The Last of the Mohicans (1826).

Charles Cornwallis (First Marquis and second Earl Cornwallis, 1738–1805). British general. Served in the Seven Years’ War and the Revolution, in which he commanded the major British field force in the American South. Forced to surrender at Yorktown, Virginia, in 1781.
John Dickinson (1732–1808). American lawyer and politician. Served in the Continental Congress and was largely responsible for drafting the Articles of Confederation. Chaired the Annapolis Convention in 1786 and wrote on behalf of the new federal Constitution.

Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758). American Congregational theologian. Pastor of Northampton, Massachusetts, during the Great Awakening and author of important treatises defending the awakening and traditional Puritan Calvinism.


Charles Grandison Finney (1792–1875). American Presbyterian theologian and educator. The most famous preacher of the Second Great Awakening, he helped found Oberlin College and served as pastor of Oberlin’s First Church.


Robert Fulton (1765–1815). American inventor. Designed and built the first commercially successful steamboat, the Clermont.

Thomas Gage (1720–1787). British general. Commanded British forces in North America from 1763 to 1775. Organized the raid that became the battles of Lexington and Concord.


Alexander Hamilton (1757–1804). American lawyer, soldier, and first secretary of the treasury. His three Reports to Congress as treasury secretary helped shape the economic development of the American Republic.

William Henry Harrison (1773–1841). American soldier, politician, and eighth president of the United States. Cleared the Northwest Territory of Indian resistance at the battle of Tippecanoe in 1811 and defeated the British at the battle of the Thames in 1813 during the War of 1812. The first Whig president and the first president to die in office.

Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–1864). American novelist. Originally influenced by transcendentalism, he turned to crafting an outstanding series of historical novels, especially The Scarlet Letter (1850) and The House of Seven Gables (1851).

Charles Hodge (1797–1878). American Presbyterian theologian. As seminary professor at Princeton Theological Seminary, he was the principal figure in the creation of the Princeton Theology.
Sir William Howe (1729–1814). British general. Commanded British forces in North America from 1775 to 1778, winning a series of victories over the Continental Army at Long Island, Brandywine, and Germantown, but he was unsuccessful in completely snuffing out the Revolution.

Henry Hudson (d. 1611). British navigator and explorer. Sponsored by the Dutch West Indies Company, he discovered the Hudson River in 1609 but died in a futile attempt to discover a northwest passage to China.

Andrew Jackson (1767–1845). American soldier and seventh president of the United States. Lionized for his victory over the British at New Orleans in 1815, Jackson was denied the presidency through the “corrupt bargain” of 1824 but was elected in 1828 and 1832 and pursued aggressive policies against the Second Bank of the United States, the Cherokee Indians, and southern threats of nullification of federal legislation.


Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle (1643–1687). French explorer. Explored the Great Lakes and Mississippi River valley for France and died trying to establish a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi in 1687.

Ann Lee (1736–1784). English religious mystic. Founder of the communitarian sect known as the “Shakers” in 1774.

Meriwether Lewis (1774–1809). American soldier and explorer. Together with William Clark, he was commissioned by Thomas Jefferson to survey the Louisiana Purchase and carried out Jefferson’s directive with a Corps of Discovery from 1804 to 1806, having reached the Pacific Ocean and returned with the loss of only one member of the expedition.

Francis Cabot Lowell (1775–1817). American industrialist. Founded the Boston Manufacturing Company and created the first large-scale textile mills in America at Waltham, Massachusetts.


Horace Mann (1796–1859). American lawyer and educator. Designed a comprehensive renovation of the Massachusetts public education system and created the outline of the modern public school system.
John Marshall (1755–1835). American lawyer and chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. A Federalist appointed by John Adams to the Supreme Court, his long tenure as chief justice allowed Marshall to establish important principles of judicial review, the supremacy of federal over state authority, and the protection of the manufacturing economy.


Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (1746–1825) American lawyer, judge, diplomat, and politician. One of three American diplomats sent by President Adams to negotiate with the French Directory, only to be confronted by demands for bribes in the XYZ Affair.

Pontiac (1720–1769). Ottawa chieftain. Organized an intertribal offensive against the British at the close of the French and Indian War.

Paul Revere (1735–1818). Boston artisan. Carried warning of British raid to Lexington on the night of April 18–19, 1775.

Winfield Scott (1786–1866). American soldier. Commanded the principal American field force in the Mexican War, winning successive victories in 1847 that culminated in the capture of Mexico City.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902). American feminist. A pioneer of awarding civil equality to women, she organized the first women’s rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848.


Tecumseh (1768–1813). Shawnee chieftain. Organized a coalition of Indian tribes to resist white expansion in the Northwest Territory. After his forces were defeated at Tippecanoe by William Henry Harrison, he fled to Canada and fought with the British in the War of 1812. He was killed at the battle of the Thames.

George Washington (1732–1799). first president of the United States. Commanded the Continental Army in the Revolution, presided over the Constitutional Convention, and became a leading figure of the Federalists.

Daniel Webster (1782–1852). American lawyer and politician. Involved in the major cases of the Marshall Court, including Gibbons v. Ogden, McCulloch vs.
Maryland, and Dartmouth College vs. Woodward. The greatest orator in the Senate, he attacked nullification and disunion in his great Second Reply to Hayne (1830).


John Winthrop (1588–1649). English lawyer and Puritan, first governor of Massachusetts Bay. Led the Puritan exodus to New England in 1630 and founded the town of Boston.

Essential Reading


Butler, Jon. *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990. Argues that religion established a comparatively feeble presence in early America, despite the presence of radical religious groups, such as the Puritans and Quakers, but eventually, through its own energies, succeeded in rising to cultural prominence in the early republic.


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Morgan, Edmund S. *American Slavery-American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia.* New York: W.W. Norton, 1975. A meticulous history of the settlement of Virginia, from Jamestown through Bacon’s Rebellion, showing how the demand for labor shaped the movement toward slavery and how slavery, in turn, shaped the notions of freedom brought to the Revolution by the Virginia elite.


———. The Radicalism of the American Revolution. New York: Knopf, 1992. Argues that American republicanism was founded on aristocratic values that the Revolution undermined, leading to the swift development of a democratic, rather than a republican, political consciousness.

Supplementary Reading

Some of the following books may be out of print. Internet sites such as www.abebooks.com and www.amazon.com may be helpful in locating copies.


detailed analysis of the 1692 panic in Salem, Massachusetts; the individuals who fostered it; and those who were its victims.


Green, James A. William Henry Harrison: His Life and Times. Richmond, VA: Garrett and Massie, 1941. The principal modern biography of the first Whig president and the first president to die in office.


Gutman, Herbert. The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925. New York: Pantheon, 1976. Pioneering study arguing that enslaved blacks successfully maintained family structures under the pressure of slavery and that the modern disintegration of the black family was a recent political phenomenon.

practical beliefs and non-beliefs of New England Puritans, as opposed to an intellectual history of the clergy, concluding that the gap between the two was not nearly as wide as might be supposed.


Hatch, Nathan O. The Democratization of American Christianity. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989. Argues that evangelical Protestants were influenced by democratization in church structure, leadership, and theology but also contributed tremendously to it, as well.


which not only failed to seize the fort and city, but helped produce the national anthem.


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Stampp, Kenneth M. *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South*. New York: Knopf, 1956. This book single-handedly rewrote the priorities for understanding slavery and ended a long era in which slavery was looked on as a benign institution.


**Document Collections**


Hyneman, Charles S., and Donald Lutz, eds. *American Political Writings during the Founding Era, 1760–1805*. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Press, 1983, two volumes. A broad collection of American political pamphlets, sermons, and treatises, with the first volume devoted to the revolutionary period and the second, to the Constitution and early republic.


Lence, Ross. *Union and Liberty: The Political Philosophy of John C. Calhoun*. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1992. Fourteen of Calhoun’s most important writings, including his protests against the “Tariff of Abomination” and the Compromise of 1850.


The History of the United States
Part II
Professor Allen C. Guelzo

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Dr. Allen C. Guelzo is the Dean of the Templeton Honors College at Eastern University, on Philadelphia’s Main Line, where he is also the Grace Ferguson Kea Professor of American History. He holds an M.A. and a Ph.D. in history from the University of Pennsylvania, an M.Div. from Philadelphia Theological Seminary, and an honorary doctorate in history from Lincoln College in Illinois. Dr. Guelzo’s special field of interest is American intellectual and cultural history in the period between 1750 and 1865. He has published several books on subjects in this period, including Edwards on the Will: A Century of American Philosophical Debate (1989); For the Union of Evangelical Christendom: The Irony of the Reformed Episcopalians (1994), which won the 1994 Outler Prize; The Crisis of the American Republic: A New History of the Civil War and Reconstruction (1995); and Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President (1999), which won the Lincoln Prize. His essays and reviews have appeared in American Historical Review, Journal of American History, William and Mary Quarterly, The Wilson Quarterly, Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association, Civil War History, Journal of the Early Republic, Filson Club History Quarterly, Journal of the History of Ideas, Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, and Anglican and Episcopal History.


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**The History of the United States**

**Scope (Lectures One through Thirty-Six):**

This course chronicles the history of the United States from colonial origins to the beginning of the 21st century. The lectures focus on several key themes: (1) the exceptionalism of the American experiment, symbolized by the Puritan “city on the hill”; (2) the commitment to socioeconomic mobility and opportunity in the marketplace; (3) the expanding enfranchisement of citizens in the development of political democracy; and (4) the confirmation of the “melting pot” as a symbol of inclusion in the national body politic. The spread of literacy and mass information, the political and cultural importance of regionalism, and the central role of civilian government are also salient themes in the lectures that follow.

This portion of the Teaching Company’s *History of the United States* survey course carries you from the beginnings of European settlement of what is now the United States to the end of the Mexican War and the Great Compromise of 1850. It covers, in other words, what historians like to call “Colonial America” and the “Early Republic.” The 36 lectures in this first part are built around four important themes:

5. How did the experience of discovery and settlement change Europeans, American native peoples, African and Caribbean slaves, and all the other different and sometimes hostile populations that came (or were forced to come) to North America into an entirely different kind of people, the Americans? In what ways has that made America exceptional and unique among the other, older nations of the West and of the world?

6. How did the United States manage to assimilate so many different peoples from so many different places?

7. How did the geography, beliefs, and necessities of the settlements Europeans planted along the eastern coast of North America develop such unprecedented religious, political, and economic freedom?

8. How did the natural resources of North America, and the human resourcefulness of its people, generate such an abundance of wealth—and so many confrontations over the way to use it?

We will begin our expedition into the American past in Lectures One and Two with the first phases of European exploration and examine why it was that a continent Europeans at first thought was a disappointment quickly became an asset. From there, in Lectures Three through Five, we will look at how Europeans turned from organizing settlements whose chief purpose was simply extraction of resources for European use to the creation of settlements of occupation, or *colonies*. English colonization, in particular, had three very
different patterns for settlement in New England, the Chesapeake, and the “middle colonies.” The most significant development, however, will be the way in which these colonies matured, from being stages for Europeans to make fortunes to being homes for people who were no longer really Europeans (even when they tried to be). In passing, we will see in Lectures Seven and Eight how the colonials practiced and changed religious beliefs, created various levels of culture unique to their own worlds, and struggled to decide (in Lectures Nine and Ten) whether they were simply plantations on the periphery of someone else’s empire or societies that had achieved identities of their own that their European sponsors needed to respect.

Much of the first 12 lectures will be about personalities—John Smith at Jamestown, John Winthrop and Cotton Mather in Boston, William Penn and Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia, Jonathan Edwards in his pulpit, William Billings in his singing school, John Singleton Copley at his easel, and George Whitefield on his travels. This portion of the course will also be about war—at first, brushfire wars for the survival of individual settlements, then world wars in which the colonies were expected to serve as proxies for their empires. Of course, Lectures Eleven through Thirteen will be about the war that eventually separated 13 of these colonies from Great Britain and made them a new nation, the United States.

The American Revolution appeared to be a break with the past—it cut Americans loose politically from Britain, but even more fundamentally, it cut them off from the entire European political tradition. As we will see in Lecture Fourteen, the new American nation was a child of the Enlightenment, and it was the first modern Western nation on any large scale to consciously abandon the age-old traditions of status and monarchy and experiment with an ideal form of enlightened government, a republic. But republics were a new and untested idea, and the newness of the idea was underscored by how quickly Americans developed radically different views about what a republic should look like. These views coalesce in Lectures Fifteen through Eighteen around two figures who are vitally important to these lectures: Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton. But they include a host of characters both great (George Washington) and small (William Maclay) as, of course, they should when our story is about the first great venture in popular government.

The Jefferson-Hamilton division begins a script that will be played out over Lectures Nineteen and Twenty, as Americans struggle to reconcile the impact of the Industrial Revolution with their allegiance to a republican system. Once again, it is the characters who come to the fore—Andrew Jackson, the bank-killer and apostle of agrarian democracy in Lectures Twenty-Seven through Twenty-Eight, and Henry Clay, the sophisticated statesman who, in Lecture Thirty, convinces us that the American experiment would never succeed until it built itself up as an industrial competitor of Europe. But Americans will work to find other ways of sorting out their new identity as distinct from the Old World, in literature and philosophy as much as politics. They will mark out a path of their own by giving religion an entirely new place in public life (Lecture
Twenty-Five), by developing a collegiate moral philosophy that provides instruction for public virtue (Lectures Thirty-One and Thirty-Two), and by entertaining new assumptions about men and women, white and black, slave and free. And there will still be war, literal—the War of 1812 in Lecture Twenty-One; Indian war and the wars of expansion in Lectures Nineteen, Twenty-Two, and Thirty-Four; the Mexican War in Lecture Thirty-Five—and figurative—the Bank War in Lecture Twenty-Nine; the political warfare of Democrat and Whig in Lectures Twenty-Three and Twenty-Four and, again, in Lecture Thirty; the determination of abolitionists to rid America of slavery and of slaveowners to keep it in Lectures Thirty-Three and Thirty-Six.

This is the story of how to make a republic—make it in the midst of a hurricane of economic change in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, make it despite conflict and prejudice, make it so that it re-makes its own citizens into a people utterly different from anything the world has seen before—and how to keep it. Or, as we come to the close of Lecture Thirty-Six, how to very nearly lose it.
Lecture Thirteen
The American Revolution—Washington’s War

Scope: The Saratoga victory and the diplomacy of Benjamin Franklin in Paris persuaded France to commit itself to an alliance with the United States. This provided money, credit, weapons, and eventually, French naval and military resources to the Americans and forced the British to shift the focus of their war, evacuating Philadelphia, garrisoning New York City, and shifting active campaigning to the southern states and the West Indies. Despite early victories in the South, the British field forces under Lord Cornwallis were eventually cornered by a combined land-and-sea campaign conducted by Washington and the French at Yorktown, where the British surrendered. The Treaty of Paris in 1783 reluctantly conceded American independence.

Outline

I. The French intervention in the Revolution forced the British to completely rethink their strategic priorities.
   A. Howe’s successor, Clinton, was ordered to abandon Philadelphia, withdraw to New York, and confine himself to naval operations.
      1. The Continental Army, coming out of Valley Forge, successfully harassed the retreating British at Monmouth (1778).
      2. British energies were redirected against the French in the West Indies, the New England coastline, and the western frontier.
   B. In 1778, Clinton resolved to extend his coastal operations to the South.
      1. The British occupied Savannah and the Georgia hinterland.
      2. Clinton then organized an expedition that seized Charleston.
   C. The ease of these conquests convinced Clinton that British control could be extended inland.
      1. Lord Cornwallis attempted to invade North Carolina but was stopped at King’s Mountain (1780).
      2. Cornwallis’s second attempt met with defeats at Cowpens and Guildford Courthouse (1781).
      3. Cornwallis attempted to set up a new base for operations at Yorktown, only to be hemmed in by French and American troops and forced to surrender, effectively eliminating the only sizable British land force left in America (1781).

II. The impact of the war was felt even before it had ended.
   A. The American economy was seriously disrupted.
      1. American shipping was hard hit and lost its former protection on the high seas from the British Navy.
      2. Slaves deserted southern plantations to join the British.
3. The attempt to create an American currency was wrecked by disastrous inflation.

B. American politics on the local level were increasingly radicalized.
   1. The old colonial elite was either exiled or deposed.
   2. New state constitutions experimented with democratic politics.

III. The Treaty of Paris (1783) ended by recognizing American independence.
   A. The British conceded the legal existence of the colonies.
      1. British possessions west of the Appalachians were ceded to the United States.
      2. Franklin asked that Canada be ceded to America in return for a separate peace with Britain.
   B. Washington set an example by resigning from the army.
      1. Many of the officers had supported a military intervention to end mismanagement by Congress.
      2. Washington set an example of virtuous republicanism that probably saved the Confederation.

**Essential Reading:**

**Supplementary Reading:**

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Was it a blessing that the Continental Army had lost so many battles that it was not able to pose a political threat until the close of the war?
2. What roles did the interventions of France, the Netherlands, and Spain play in obtaining independence for the United States?
Lecture Fourteen
Creating the Constitution

Scope: The Revolution was not even over before the ramshackle nature of the Articles of Confederation began to show at the seams. The Continental Congress was succeeded by a Confederation Congress in which each state in the Union had an equal vote, the Confederation government had no power of taxation, and revolutionary debts to both foreign and domestic creditors went unpaid. A revolt by disgruntled farmers in western Massachusetts under Daniel Shays stimulated alarm that the Confederation might easily dissolve. A convention called in 1786 to discuss river navigation issued a recommendation to the Confederation Congress for a national convention to draw up a new constitution. The convention assembled in Philadelphia in 1787 and was dominated by nationalists, including Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, who were convinced that the American states could survive only by creating a more effective central government. The Constitution they drew up proposed a single executive president, a bicameral Congress (with one house representing the states and the other representing the population directly), and a judiciary. Anti-Federalists suspicious of central power fought the new Constitution tenaciously, but the persuasive genius of The Federalist Papers and the sorry experience of the Articles of Confederation overrode popular doubts. The Constitution was ratified by the states, and George Washington was inaugurated as the first president in New York City in March 1789.

Outline

I. The Revolution gave independence to 13 new states, but it was not clear whether it also created a new nation.

A. Both Congress and the states were hopelessly in debt by the end of the Revolution.
   1. Congress had taken to paying its bills in paper money, which was hemorrhaging value.
   2. Those who lent Congress money in return for Continental securities watched the value of these pledges dwindle away to nothing
   3. The states tried to prevent their people from using it.
   4. In the summer of 1786, a rebellion led by Daniel Shays protested Massachusetts taxes.
   5. Virginia’s western-most settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee tried to organize their own state of Franklin.

B. But by 1785, many members of the revolutionary leadership were being replaced by a new generation.
1. They saw the nation, not the states, as the source of political authority.
2. The best example among these new men was Alexander Hamilton.
3. Under the new leadership, state constitutions began to revise the organization of power.

C. Two events finally triggered action.
   1. Virginia and Maryland called a convention to discuss river navigation rights and concluded by asking for a national convention to write a new constitution.
   2. The rebellion led by Shays (1787) threatened popular revolution, which the states feared they could not suppress themselves.

II. The Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia in 1787.
   A. The most obvious issue was that of power.
      1. The national government was given the right to levy taxes on the states and on exterior commerce and to issue money.
      2. The national government was given the power to maintain a national army and navy.
   B. The second issue was who should control this government.
      1. The Virginia Plan called for a two-house legislature, an executive, and a judiciary.
      2. The New Jersey Plan called for a one-house legislature with each state having an equal vote.
      3. The Great Compromise created two houses in the Congress, one elected according to population and the other composed of equal representation from each state.
   C. The convention designed a surprisingly powerful presidency.
      1. The president was responsible for executing the laws, commanding the armed forces, and supervising foreign relations.
      2. This might have been a stumbling block, had not the election process been amended so that the states elected the president through the electoral college and had it not been assumed that Washington would be the first president.
   D. The new Constitution also had some striking omissions.
      1. No allowance was made for political parties.
      2. The principle of the supremacy of the national government over the states was implied but not stated.
      3. No precise standard of citizenship was established.

III. The old radicals greeted the Constitution with a hail of abuse, but the “new men” were better organized in reply.
   A. The pro-Constitutionalists took the name Federalist, as though they were still sympathetic to the states.
      1. This left the old revolutionaries with no other choice but to bill themselves merely as the Anti-Federalists.

B. These initiatives paid off handsomely.
   1. By July 1788, the necessary number of states had ratified.
   2. Resistance was pacified by the promise of ten amendments to the Constitution, which would act as a Bill of Rights.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:

Questions to Consider:
1. Why did the Anti-Federalists object so strongly to the Preamble to the Constitution?
2. What has it taken to remedy the Constitution’s omissions?
Lecture Fifteen
Hamilton’s Republic

Scope: For Alexander Hamilton as the first secretary of the treasury, the virtue and liberty of the republic depended on defying the sense of suspicion and apprehension that greeted the new Constitution, first, by keeping the jealous interests of the individual states at bay and in balance, and second, by developing the republic’s systems of finance, manufacturing, and commerce. Hamilton sent to Congress a series of three reports that outlined his plan for the future of the republic: The Report on the Public Credit, The Report on the National Bank, and the Report on the Subject of Manufactures. These reports sketched out a program for the new American economy. Yet Hamilton had to deal with the combined opposition of Thomas Jefferson in the cabinet and the southern agricultural interests in Congress, both of whom believed that the American future lay in independent domestic agriculture.

Outline

I. The new Constitution was greeted with a sense of suspicion and apprehension.
   A. The United States had already gone through two ineffective governments.
      1. The Continental Congress was hardly more than an unofficial federation.
      2. The Articles of Confederation were weak and ramshackle.
   B. Support for the Constitution had to be bought with promises to the states.
      1. It had to promise to do nothing to establish a state religion.
      2. It had to promise to do nothing to restrain freedom of speech.
      3. It would do nothing to meddle in a variety of state affairs.

II. Like most political compromises, these proved impractical from the first day.
   A. The Constitution made no provision for an executive staff, which meant that Washington had to create one.
      1. He authorized four departments—War, Treasury, State, and Attorney General.
      2. He appointed Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, Henry Knox, and Edmund Randolph to head the newly created departments.
   B. Because the new federal government had inherited war indebtedness, Hamilton had to design measures to restore the government to solvency.
1. *The Report on the Public Credit* recommended the assumption of the debt.

C. Hamilton had to deal with the combined opposition of Jefferson and Randolph.
   1. In Congress, Hamilton relied on the support of members of Congress who were invested in government debt.
   2. Hamilton had the authority of Washington behind him, especially concerning the national bank.
   3. Jefferson resigned from the cabinet in frustration.

III. Hamilton stepped down as treasury secretary in 1795, but the decade was clearly Hamilton’s.

A. Hamilton’s economic plans bore early fruit.
   1. Forty new corporations were chartered.
   2. State legislatures chartered new banks.
   3. Europeans began investing in America.

B. Nevertheless, Jefferson remained a serious opponent of the Hamiltonian vision.
   2. Hamilton’s friends in Congress turned out to be worse than his enemies.

**Essential Reading:**
The three reports in Freeman, *Alexander Hamilton: Writings*.

**Supplementary Reading:**
Elkins and McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism*.
McDonald, *Alexander Hamilton*.

**Questions to Consider:**
1. In what ways does the modern American economy resemble the plan set out in Hamilton’s three great reports?
2. Does Washington’s role as president compare favorably or unfavorably with his achievements as a military commander in the Revolution?
Lecture Sixteen
Republicans and Federalists

Scope: The most unforeseen development in the new republic’s political life was the formation of political parties. The idea of party suggests that there are very different, perhaps irreconcilable, solutions to the problems of the public good, and the threat this posed to the Founders was that parties might thrive on sanctioning and perpetuating disagreements and disunion. James Madison became the organizer of the Democratic-Republicans, while Thomas Jefferson became their most important figurehead. Borrowing the name Federalist from the papers he had written in defense of the Constitution, Hamilton recruited his own Congressional supporters into a party. Yet Hamilton’s skill in formulating public policy did not always translate into making party politics work. The Whiskey Rebellion and the Jay Treaty embarrassed the Federalists, who only barely managed to elect their candidate, John Adams, as Washington’s successor in 1796.

Outline

I. The formation of political parties was the most important detail unforeseen in the Constitution.
   A. In the 1790s, politics was dominated by faction, not party.
      1. Faction politics is temporary; parties are built around long-term, comprehensive goals.
      2. Faction politics is local or oriented toward special interests; parties organize broad constituencies.
      3. Faction politics is small scale; parties are large scale.
      4. Faction politics is personal; parties survive the loss or defeat of leaders.
   B. The idea of party was an offense to the republican ideology.
      1. Party politics cuts across the grain of the republican commitment to virtue.
      2. Party politics appeals to self-interest.
      3. Republicanism assumed that politics could point only in a single, non-partisan direction, rather than sanctioning competing directions.
      4. Republics are fragile because they lack hierarchy, which makes them vulnerable to party corruption.

II. No one set out to create parties, but the split between Hamilton and Jefferson was so large that it made party formation inevitable.
   A. James Madison organized the Democratic-Republicans in Congress; John Beckley was their local organizer.
      1. Opposition to Hamilton in Congress was mobilized.
2. Local campaigns employed publicity and get-out-the-vote organizing.
3. By 1793, there were 11 Democratic-Republican societies.

B. The theorist of the Democratic-Republicans was John Taylor of Caroline.
   1. Taylor was an agrarian with no use for Hamilton’s economics.
   2. Taylor blamed Hamilton for making parties necessary in *A Definition of Parties, or the Political Effect of the Paper System Considered* (1794).

C. Hamilton began organizing himself under the name *Federalist*.
   1. He recruited Rufus King and Fisher Ames as congressional leaders.
   2. He established Federalist newspapers.
   3. Most Federalist support was in the urban seaports and depended on the national veneration of Washington.

III. The Republicans were nearly wrecked at the outset by their association with the excesses of the French Revolution.
   
   A. Jefferson was tenacious in his faith in the French Republic, but the revolution embarrassed the Republicans more and more.
      1. Ministers preached against the revolution as anti-Christ.

   B. Nevertheless, the Federalists managed to fumble away all these advantages.
      1. Hamilton could formulate policy but could not make it work.
      3. The Jay Treaty was so lopsidedly pro-British that the Federalist administration was embarrassed.

   C. The 1796 election was won by Adams and the Federalists.
      1. However, under the Constitution’s election procedures, Jefferson was elected vice president.
      2. Jefferson would use the vice presidency to frustrate Adams and the Federalists.
Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Appleby, Capitalism and a New Social Order.
Banning, The Jeffersonian Persuasion.

Questions to Consider:
1. Why did the Constitutional Convention miss so completely the likelihood that political parties would develop in the new republic?
2. Were there any points of shared values between Republicans and Federalists?
Lecture Seventeen
Adams and Liberty

Scope: Few people in the American republic genuinely liked John Adams. It was politically fortunate for Adams, then, that the first major challenge of his administration involved a foreign policy problem, where few Americans had more unchallenged expertise than he. It was even more politically fortunate that this crisis, the XYZ Affair, was provoked by the idol of the Democratic-Republicans, revolutionary France. Despite the fact that no actual declaration of war had been made, an undeclared quasi-war with France broke out on the high seas. But Adams squandered all the political capital he accumulated by backing the Alien and Sedition Acts and by abruptly entering into peace negotiations with the French. Hamilton attempted to persuade the Federalist Party to dump Adams before the election of 1800, but he only succeeded in dividing his own party and guaranteeing that the election would fall to Thomas Jefferson and the Democratic-Republicans.

Outline

I. Despite his long career of public service, John Adams was not well liked.
   A. His personal temperament was unattractive.
      1. Adams was vain and uncooperative
      3. At the same time, Adams showed no enthusiasm for Hamilton’s economic program.
   B. Fortunately for Adams, his first challenge involved foreign policy.
      1. French ships at war with Britain were seizing American ships.
      3. They were met with demands for bribes.
      4. Adams released the news of the XYZ Affair to Congress and asked for military mobilization (1798).
      5. His particular triumph was the success of the American frigates.

II. But Adams proceeded to display the Federalist weakness for losing control.
   A. He created political martyrs out of the Republicans.
      1. In an effort to suppress French “sedition,” Congress passed the Naturalization Act, the Act Concerning Aliens, the Act Concerning Alien Enemies, and the Sedition Act (the Alien and Sedition Acts) (1798).
      2. When the arrests centered on Republicans, public opinion swung against Adams.

B. The French Directory was overthrown by Napoleon, ending the immediate threat of war with France.
   1. Adams unwisely opened negotiations with France and demobilized the military.
   2. Hamilton was so outraged that he inaugurated a dump-Adams movement in 1800.
   3. Hamilton split the Federalists, enabling Jefferson to capture the presidency and attempt the restoration of what he considered “true” republicanism.

Essential Reading:
Ellis, American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson.

Supplementary Reading:
McCullough, John Adams.

Questions to Consider:
1. Could Adams have used the opportunity of war with France to solidify the Federalist grip on political power?
2. Were the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions an appropriate response to the Alien and Sedition Acts?
Lecture Eighteen
The Jeffersonian Reaction

Scope: There was no question in Thomas Jefferson’s mind but that Hamilton and Adams had betrayed the original spirit of the American Revolution. He would dismantle the structure of the federal government, contain the size of the military, and show no favoritism in foreign policy or trade. But Jefferson was not nearly the radical that his enemies and friends alike painted him to be, nor was he politically skilled. He was utterly incapable of creating a practical set of alternatives to Hamilton’s hard-headed fiscal policies. He had no sooner demobilized the navy than a war with the pirates of the North African (Barbary) coast broke out. And his solution to keeping America out of the quarrel between Great Britain and revolutionary France was to impose a sweeping export embargo that did nothing to hurt the British or the French but nearly bankrupted the American economy. He was also taken by surprise by the emerging activism of the federal judiciary, which under Chief Justice John Marshall, began to operate as a serious restraint on the scope of Jefferson’s actions (*Marbury v. Madison*, *Martin v. Hunter’s Lessee*, *McCulloch v. Maryland*).

Outline

I. Thomas Jefferson looked on his election as a new start for American republicanism.
   A. He was convinced that Hamilton and the Federalists had betrayed republicanism.
      1. The Federalists’ opposition to the French Revolution was evidence of common cause with Britain.
      2. Hamilton’s reports were evidence of a determination to entangle America in British finance.
   B. Jefferson was determined to do away with Federalist influence.
      1. His inauguration was the first to be held in Washington, free from corrupting influences in Philadelphia.
      2. He would dismantle the structure of federal government.
      3. He would contain the size of the military.
      4. There would be no favoritism in foreign policy.

II. However, Jefferson’s administration turned out not to be as radical as it at first seemed.
   A. Jefferson made no effort to extend voting rights.
      1. In many states, voting rights were actually decreased.
      2. Jefferson’s only solution was to increase property-holding.
   B. Jefferson was not successful in promoting an agrarian agenda.
      1. He personally knew little about agriculture.
2. He had no objection against small-scale manufacturing.

C. Jefferson was an ineffective administrator.
   1. He failed to displace Hamilton’s fiscal policies.
   2. He canceled military spending, only to be embarrassed by the Barbary pirates (1801–1804).

D. Jefferson attempted to solve the problem of British and French depredations on American commerce with a national embargo on exports.
   1. Renewal of war between France and Great Britain in 1803 made American ships sitting ducks.
   2. A British frigate, Leopard, assaulted an American frigate, Chesapeake, in 1807.
   3. Jefferson called for an embargo in 1808 to force the British and French to cave in.
   4. Instead, the embargo beggared the American economy.

E. Jefferson was hamstrung by the federal courts.
   1. John Marshall was one of Adams’s last appointments, as chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.
   2. He successfully choked off the application of Jefferson’s “revolution of 1800” through Court decisions.
      a. Marbury v. Madison (1803) established the principle of judicial review.
      b. Martin v. Hunter’s Lessee established the authority of the federal courts over the state courts.
      c. McCulloch v. Maryland argued for the existence of “implied powers” in the federal government.

**Essential Reading:**

**Supplementary Reading:**
Newmyer, *John Marshall and the Heroic Age of the Supreme Court*.

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Do you believe the kind of Court that Marshall created was what the Constitution originally envisioned in providing for a Supreme Court?
2. In what ways are the Marshall decisions still important today?
Lecture Nineteen
Territory and Treason

Scope: Nothing terrified the thinking of the American Republic in the first 30 years of its existence more than the fear that somehow, the United States would be ground to pieces between the conflicts of the great European powers and re-colonized. The entire western agricultural traffic along the Mississippi could be held hostage by whoever held New Orleans (at this point, Napoleon Bonaparte’s French Empire). But with renewed war in Europe on the horizon, Napoleon needed cash more than he needed Louisiana; thus, in April of 1803, Napoleon offered to sell not only New Orleans, but all of the Louisiana province—approximately 830,000 square miles—for $15 million in spot cash. Because descriptions of the boundaries of Louisiana were deliberately vague, Jefferson asked Congress to finance a secret scouting party up the Missouri River valley to the Pacific in the spring of 1803 under Lewis and Clark. A different kind of exploration was conducted by former Vice President Aaron Burr, who attempted to set up his own independent republic in the Mississippi valley. But Burr’s conspiracy fell apart, and he was saved from a treason indictment only by Chief Justice John Marshall.

Outline

I. Americans feared the threat to their independence from European empires.
   A. They feared military actions from the Europeans.
      1. Napoleon’s armies toppled one European kingdom after another.
      2. The British responded by preemptive strikes against neutral powers.
      3. The British and French aggressively poached on American shipping in the West Indies.
   B. Americans also feared betrayal to the European empires from within.
      1. Jefferson accused the Federalists of pro-British treason (for example, the Jay Treaty).
      2. Federalists were convinced that the Jeffersonians would plunge them into a pro-French proxy war against Great Britain.
   C. Jefferson personally hoped to avoid any involvement with Europe by turning American attention westward, to ensure American self-sufficiency.
      1. By 1800, the American population in the trans-Appalachia had grown by 400 percent.
      2. Ohio was the first state to be organized from the Northwest Territory, in 1803.
D. The problem with westward expansion was that it oriented trade toward New Orleans, then in Spanish hands.
   1. Bonaparte intended to make New Orleans the center of a plan to revive France’s colonial empire in North America.
   2. Bonaparte’s plan failed because of the resistance of black San Domingue.
   3. Bonaparte then offered to sell Louisiana to the United States, and Jefferson accepted.
   4. Jefferson had already explored the Louisiana Territory by means of secret exploring parties under Lewis and Clark, Zebulon Pike, and commercial freelancers (John Jacob Astor).

II. Louisiana, however, also opened up opportunities for plotters.
   A. The most sinister of these plotters was Aaron Burr.
      1. Burr was the grandson of Jonathan Edwards and Jefferson’s former vice president.
      2. He goaded Alexander Hamilton into a fatal duel in 1804.
   B. Burr plotted to set up an independent republic in Louisiana.
      1. He offered to make the territory a British dependency.
      2. He recruited General James Wilkinson to betray New Orleans.
      3. Wilkinson subsequently double-crossed Burr, and Burr was arrested.
   C. Burr’s treason trial was a fiasco for Jefferson.
      1. Burr had covered his tracks very effectively.
      2. Chief Justice Marshall was eager to even scores with Jefferson.
      3. Burr was acquitted, went into exile, and returned to the United States in 1812.

Essential Reading:
Kline, *The Political Correspondence and Public Papers of Aaron Burr*, vol. 2.

Supplementary Reading:
McDonald, *The Presidency of Thomas Jefferson*.
Ellis, *Founding Brothers*.

Questions to Consider:
1. What might have been the results for the United States had Burr’s conspiracy to create an independent republic in the Southwest succeeded?
2. In what ways were Jefferson’s actions as president inconsistent with the Republican Party attitudes?
Lecture Twenty
The Agrarian Republic

Scope: All through his life, the one fixed and un-moving star in Thomas Jefferson’s political philosophy was the importance of keeping the American Republic an overwhelmingly agrarian society. This agrarian culture was typified by independence, non-market agriculture, and community. No regard was paid to the claims of the North American Indians. As the much-feared Americans began pouring into Kentucky and the Northwest Territory in search of cheap land, the disheartened Indians chose one of two ways of dealing with this challenge: accommodation (as with the Seneca and Cherokees) or resistance (as in the revolt of Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh). On November 7, 1811, Tecumseh’s brother Tenskwatawa unwisely led the Indians to attack an American army under William Henry Harrison, who defeated them and forced Tecumseh to seek refuge in Canada.

Outline

I. The fixed star in Jefferson’s political philosophy was the need to keep America an agrarian society.
   A. Jefferson valorized farmers who owned their own land and lived off their own subsistence.
      1. This meant an antidvelopment posture.
      2. Nevertheless, it reflected much of the reality of early America.
   B. Jefferson was suspicious of the implications of market capitalism.
      1. Capitalism involved the exchange of goods at a profit and the conversion of those profits into more goods for exchange.
      2. It was perceived as a threat to the stability and ethical norms of many societies.
      3. No one did better in this than the English, who simplified the process through the conversion of economic exchange into cash.
      4. The English also set about overhauling their empire to balance supply and demand.
      5. The American colonies were kept deliberately agricultural.
      6. Jefferson inherited the system he loved from the people he hated.

II. Jefferson was also determined to keep America agrarian in culture.
   A. Agrarian culture was typified by independence.
      1. America had no aristocracy.
      2. Americans largely owned their land in fee simple.
      3. Wealth and power were diffused along a rough but recognizable equality.
   B. Agrarian culture was typified by non-market agriculture.
1. Because land titles were not jeopardized by taxes, the chief incentive for production was household consumption.
2. Farm households produced as much as 75 percent of what they required.
3. Cash was almost nonexistent in many places as a medium of exchange.

C. Agrarian culture was typified by patriarchy.
   1. The model for structuring the agrarian household was the rule of the adult male over women and children.
   2. Economic duties were divided along gender and age lines.
   3. Childhood scarcely existed as a separate category.

D. Agrarian culture was typified by the influence of community.
   1. The absence of cash exchange demanded a face-to-face relationship.
   2. Indebtedness was common, without interest, and often not repaid.

III. The fatal flaw in this system was the increase in agricultural population.

A. Reproduction of the subsistence household required the expansion of land to support it.
   1. This generated much of the westward expansion into the Northwest Territory.
   2. Such expansion spawned clashes with the Indian tribes of those regions.

B. Indian tribes were both numerous and well organized.
   1. Indian economies were fundamentally similar to Jefferson’s.
   2. Instead of being a two-way relationship of colonists and British, the colonial economy was really three-way, including Indians.

C. As Americans poured into the Northwest Territory, Indians were confronted with two choices.
   1. They could accommodate themselves by signing over lands and accepting resettlement, by organizing themselves to mirror white society, or by undergoing revitalization.
   2. They could resist, a strategy adopted by Lalawethika, Tenskwatawa, and Tecumseh.

D. Resistance usually ended disastrously.
   1. Tecumseh’s alliance was defeated at Tippecanoe in 1811.
   2. But it convinced Americans that the real enemy was the British.

Essential Reading:
Supplementary Reading:
Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780–1861*.
Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*.

Questions to Consider:
1. What would victory for the Tecumseh alliance have looked like if Tecumseh had been successful?
2. Does the agrarian ideal still have political force today?
Scope: Jefferson carefully hand-picked his own secretary of state, James Madison, as his successor; nonetheless, the congressional elections of 1808 and 1810 added to Congress not only a number of stubborn Federalists, but also wild-eyed young Republicans from the West who were convinced that the Republican leadership had not gone nearly far enough in dealing with the British. These War Hawks had no hesitation in predicting that the Americans could easily bring the British to heel by invading Canada, holding it hostage to good British behavior on the oceans, and, perhaps, even adding it to America’s republican empire. In 1812, Madison sent a request to Congress for a declaration of war. The actual course of the war, which became known as the War of 1812, was a disaster. The only consistent successes the American army enjoyed were in the South, in Georgia and the Mississippi Territory, and in Andrew Jackson’s successful defense of New Orleans. In October 1814, the Massachusetts legislature passed a peace resolution and organized a convention at Hartford, Connecticut, threatening secession from the Union. Only the signing of the Treaty of Ghent at the end of 1814 ended talk of a New England separatist movement.

Outline

I. American commerce had frequently been caught in the crossfire of the Napoleonic Wars.
   A. The British reserved the right to board American ships looking for “deserters.”
      1. This triggered such incidents as the Caravan and the Diana, and the Diana and the Topaz.
      2. Jefferson attempted to deal with this by imposing an embargo on American high-seas commerce.
   B. The embargo failed to ease these confrontations.
      1. It wrecked the American economy.
      2. It wrecked the Republicans’ hold on the government; they retained the presidency by electing James Madison but lost other political ground to the Federalists.
   C. The surviving Republicans in Congress were Jeffersonian radicals from the West who demanded retaliation against the British.
      1. Henry Clay of Kentucky vigorously attacked the British abroad and corporate privilege at home.
      2. He was joined by the War Hawks.
      3. They demanded the seizure of Canada as a hostage to British behavior toward American shipping on the oceans.
D. President Madison preferred diplomatic dealings, but the British undid all his efforts.
   2. In April 1812, Madison finally asked a willing Congress for a declaration of war against Britain.

II. The United States was woefully unprepared to wage war, much less against the British.
   A. Jefferson’s administration had severely underfunded the American military.
      1. The federal budget was incapable of supporting a war.
      2. The U.S. Army listed only 7,500 men.
      3. The U.S. Navy had only 16 ships in commission.
   B. The military results of the war were humiliating for the United States.
      2. General Stephen Van Renssalaer invaded Canada but was forced to retreat.
      3. General W. H. Harrison’s expedition to recover Detroit was massacred at the Raisin River.
      4. General James Wilkinson’s army invaded upper Canada but went wild and burned the town of York.
   C. Actual American victories were few and insubstantial.
      1. Oliver H. Perry defeated the British Navy’s Lake Erie squadron and forced the evacuation of Detroit.
      2. General W. H. Harrison won a subsequent victory at the battle of Thames, where Tecumseh was killed.
      3. General Jacob Brown invaded Canada and defeated the British at Chippewa and Lundy’s Lane but had to withdraw.
   D. The British launched their own counterinvasions in 1814.
      1. Admiral George Cockburn raided the American coast and burnt Washington.
      2. Sir George Prevost invaded New York but was stopped at Plattsburgh by Alexander Macomb and Thomas MacDonough.

III. The most substantial American successes were at sea and in the South.
   A. The American frigates failed to loosen a British blockade but scored several spectacular ship-to-ship battles.
      1. The Constitution fought and defeated the Guerriere and the Java (1812).
      2. The United States defeated the Macedonian.
      3. The Essex raided British shipping in the Pacific.
   B. “Red Stick” Creeks were roused by Tecumseh to attack American settlements.
1. The Tennessee militia under Andrew Jackson crushed the Red Sticks at Horseshoe Bend (1814).
2. Jackson occupied Spanish West Florida.
3. Jackson then repulsed a British attack on New Orleans.

IV. By 1815, both Americans and British were ready for peace.

A. The American war effort was exhausted.
   1. The treasury was depleted, and the war was being financed by borrowing.
   2. American commerce was suffering from the blockade.

B. The British were also exhausted.
   1. The defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig in 1813 allowed the British to hope for all-around peace.
   2. The British offered to begin direct negotiations at Ghent.

C. New England Federalists organized a break-away convention at Hartford.
   1. New England had suffered more than any other region.
   2. The Hartford Convention demanded new constitutional amendments to limit Madison’s powers and threatened a second convention for the purpose of seceding from the Union.
   3. The signing of the Peace of Ghent ended these plans, but the effects of the War of 1812 would be felt for the next 40 years.

Essential Reading:
Hickey, The War of 1812.

Supplementary Reading:
Remini, The Battle of New Orleans.
Banner, To the Hartford Convention.

Questions to Consider:
1. What would have been the consequences had Jackson failed to prevent a British seizure of New Orleans?
2. In what ways was the War of 1812 a direct result of Jefferson’s policies?
Lecture Twenty-Two
The “American System”

Scope: The War of 1812 collapsed the U.S. Treasury, bankrupted hundreds of businesses, and soaked up the tiny hoard of American financial capital by government borrowing. Madison proposed a series of initiatives—a new military, a second Bank of the United States, and a national transportation network. Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun became the principal spokesmen for what came to be called *National Republicanism*. Clay’s proposals for rebuilding the infrastructure of the American economy after 15 years of Jeffersonianism became known as the *American System*. The key to understanding the depth of the appeal of the National Republicans lies in the invention of the cotton gin, the opening of the Mississippi valley to cotton agriculture, the development of steam-powered transportation, canal building (as in the Erie Canal), and finally, the steam-powered railroad. But the greater the distance involved in selling agricultural goods, the more farmers were forced to turn to borrowing on distant credit markets and to the impersonal and abstract form of cash exchange.

Outline

I. The War of 1812 forced the Republican leadership into a series of initiatives that threatened a serious departure from Jeffersonian orthodoxy.

   A. President Madison called for reviving the American military.
      1. New fortifications, an enlarged army, and a naval construction program were proposed.
      2. To fund this, Madison asked for a continuance of wartime taxes and a doubling of the tariff rates.

   B. Madison also called for a revival of the Bank of the United States.
      1. A second bank would be chartered along lines similar to Hamilton’s.
      2. It would be capitalized at $35 million.

   C. Madison also proposed a national transportation initiative.
      1. He found his principal floor leaders in Congress in sadder-but-wiser War Hawks, such as Clay and Calhoun.
      2. These initiatives became known as *National Republicanism*.

   D. These departures shocked Republican elders.
      1. Jefferson predicted that they would concentrate power and money in their own hands.
      2. Republicans sought an uncontroversial presidential candidate for 1816 in James Monroe.
II. President Monroe disappointed old-guard Republicans by continuing Madison’s policies.

A. None of this would have been practicable without a workable system of national transportation.
   1. The Cumberland Road project was hesitatingly supported by Madison and Monroe and followed by state turnpike projects.
   2. Steam-powered riverboats, beginning with Robert Fulton’s Clermont, further cut shipping costs, especially on the Mississippi River.
   3. Canals provided artificial waterways to supplement the rivers, the most spectacularly successful being DeWitt Clinton’s Erie Canal (1825).
   4. Railroads, introduced from Britain in 1828, cut shipping costs still further.

B. The result was the undercutting of the agrarian economy and culture.
   1. Households stopped producing their own support and turned commercial.
   2. Face-to-face reciprocity yielded to formal contract and distant market obligations.
   3. Following the second Bank of the United States, new banks sprang into life with state charters, issuing a flood of paper bank notes.

C. Monroe’s two terms as president became known as the era of good feelings.
   1. Anxieties diminished as the social costs of market capitalism were outweighed by the prosperity that resulted.
   2. Nevertheless, Jefferson looked at the postwar policies as a betrayal of republicanism.

Essential Reading:
Watson, Liberty and Power.

Supplementary Reading:
Sheriff, The Artificial River.
Dawidoff, The Education of John Randolph.

Questions to Consider:
1. Why were Jeffersonians so suspicious of banks?
2. To what degree were slavery and Indian removal the byproducts of economic decisions?
Lecture Twenty-Three
A Nation Announcing Itself

Scope: Lafayette’s visit for the 50th anniversary of the Revolution and the passing of both Jefferson and Adams on July 4, 1826, were landmarks in the progress of the republic. By the 1820s, rural households in Massachusetts were no longer the self-sufficient, independent economic worlds they had once been; immigrants flowed through America’s seaports from Europe; and with the clearance of Indian resistance, the Northwest Territory was opened by massive government land sales. Many emigrants chose to stay in the cities they first entered, and their numbers soon swelled the size of the American urban population. The result was an ever-increasing imbalance in the distribution of wealth in the new cities of the republic, especially for free urban black Americans. The disorienting physical symbols of the new western land, and the even more disorienting reality of being thrown together with new people, created what Alexis de Tocqueville called “a perpetual instability in the men and in the laws.”

Outline

I. The 50th anniversary of American independence marked a turning point for the republic.

A. The anniversary marked the passing of the revolutionary generation.
   1. The Marquis de Lafayette made a state visit in 1824–1825.
   2. The Bunker Hill Monument was dedicated in 1825.
   3. John Adams and Thomas Jefferson both died on July 4, 1826.

B. The anniversary also highlighted changes in American demography.
   1. Between 1790 and 1820, the American population more than doubled.
   2. Although domestic birth rates declined, the decline was more than offset by immigration from Europe.
   3. English-speaking emigrants amounted to 500,000 by 1840.

C. The anniversary pointed to immense geographical growth.
   1. The end of the War of 1812 led to tremendous sales of public lands.
   2. Most of this went to land speculators.
   3. Congress constantly lowered the restrictions to allow greater access to land purchases, but many simply ‘squatted’ and claimed title preemption.
   4. The speculators were disliked but were crucial to land development.
II. The most unsettling development was the growth of American cities.
   A. Although predominantly agricultural, the United States saw a significant upswing in urban population.
      1. Between 1820 and 1850, the number of cities with more than 5,000 inhabitants rose from 12 to 150.
      2. Existing cities became denser.
      3. Many western pioneers went, not to farm, but to build cities in the interior.
   B. Cities were the economic nerve centers of the republic.
      1. Home-based manufacturing yielded to the factory system.
      2. The imbalance of wealth distribution became acute.
   C. In theory, urban laborers had an “escape valve” available in western lands.
      1. That was not true for urban free blacks.
      2. White migrants discovered flimsiness and instability.
   D. The ultimate casualty of these developments was republicanism.
      1. Republicanism feared a society built on self-interest rather than virtue.
      2. In the West and in the cities, self-interest reigned supreme.
      3. This signaled the conversion of republicanism into democracy.

Essential Reading:
Faragher, Sugar Creek.

Supplementary Reading:
Tocqueville, Democracy in America.

Questions to Consider:
1. Does the sale of federal lands constitute a governmental “intervention” in the economy?
2. How is democracy different from republicanism?
Lecture Twenty-Four
National Republican Follies

Scope: The year 1819 blew up in the faces of the bankers, brokers, National Republicans, and everyone else who had leveraged themselves to the market system. The next great shock, in 1819, was known as the Great Panic. The United States had to learn that committing itself to the world market system exacted a price in the form of the unpredictable cycle of boom and bust. Popular outrage against the legislatures that had permitted this to happen exploded in demands to widen voting rights. Ultimately, the Supreme Court sat squarely in the path of an angered democracy. In 1819, the Supreme Court heard appeals in the cases of Dartmouth College v. Woodward and Sturgis v. Crowninshield and, in 1824, in Gibbons v. Ogden, all of which determined the fault-line between economics and politics in American life.

Outline

I. The National Republicans were not unaware of the risks of market involvement, but they believed it was essential to national greatness.
   A. The rapid rate of American development came to a crashing halt in the economic panic of the year 1819.
   B. The Panic of 1819 began with the state banks.
      1. State banks could not issue coin, but they could issue paper bank notes.
      2. The collapse of British cotton prices set off a run on the state banks.
      3. The state banks and the Second Bank of the United States, in turn, called in loans.

II. The panic generated massive popular unrest.
   A. Debtor relief laws were passed by state legislatures.
      1. Every western legislature adopted measures to postpone foreclosure sales, restricting liquidation sales, closing state courts to creditors, and forcing creditors to accept bank notes.
      2. These measures were risky because they were unconstitutional.
   B. Banks were closed or outlawed by legislatures.
      1. Some states permitted the establishment only of a state-controlled bank.
      2. Even non-bank corporations became the targets of legislative control.
   C. Voter reform admitted thousands of new voters to the franchise by eliminating property qualifications.
1. Republicanism was suspicious of concentrations of power, even when that power was in the hands of the people.
2. The economic crisis led to an explosion in demands to widen voting rights to the victims of the panic.
3. Voter participation now surged from 27 percent in 1824 to 80 percent in 1840.
4. Presidential nominations began moving out of party caucuses and into national conventions.

III. The principal restraint on this popular backlash was the Supreme Court.
   A. Law shifted from concentrating on the regulation of behavior to the protection of property and contract.
      1. Law did this because of its kinship to the capitalist ethic.
      2. Lawyers became the “shock troops” of capitalism.
      3. The principal example of this was John Marshall.
   B. The Marshall Court heard appeals in a series of critical cases that restrained popular attacks on corporations and contract.
      1. *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* prevented the state of New Hampshire from interfering in the corporate charter of Dartmouth College.
      3. *Gibbons v. Ogden* invoked the Commerce Clause to prevent states from interfering in the competitive operations of the market.
      4. The success of the Marshall Court outraged Jeffersonians, who looked for a candidate to turn the tide against the market and found him in Andrew Jackson.

Essential Reading:
Freehling, *The Road to Disunion*, vol. 1: *Secessionists at Bay*.

Supplementary Reading:

Questions to Consider:
1. How did the roles of lawyers change from the colonial era to the early republic?
2. Why did the application of Missouri for admission as a slave state trigger a controversy in 1819, but not the applications of Ohio, Mississippi, Indiana, or Alabama?
Timeline

Oct. 12, 1492......................... Christopher Columbus makes the first modern transatlantic crossing from Europe.

Feb. 19, 1519 ....................... Hernando Cortez sets sail from Cuba to begin the conquest of Mexico.

1585–87 .......................... Sir Walter Raleigh twice is unsuccessful in planting English colonies on the Outer Banks.

May 24, 1607 ....................... The Virginia Company establishes an English colony on the James River at Jamestown.

Summer 1608 ................. Quebec established by Samuel de Champlain.

Sept. 12, 1609 ..................... Henry Hudson begins exploration of the Hudson River for the Dutch West Indies Company.

May–June 1626 ................... Dutch purchase ground to establish a colony, New Amsterdam, on Manhattan Island.

June 17, 1630 ..................... Massachusetts Bay Company arrives to begin settlement at Boston.


Aug. 27, 1664 ..................... Peter Stuyvesant surrenders New Amsterdam to the British, who rename it New York.

1675–76 .......................... King Philip’s War ravages New England.

1679–82 .......................... La Salle explores the Mississippi River and claims Louisiana for France.

Aug. 10, 1680 ..................... Pueblo Revolt begins, destroying Spanish churches and settlements in New Mexico.


Dec. 11, 1688 ..................... Glorious Revolution topples King James II and replaces him with William and Mary as monarchs.

Feb. 8, 1693 ..................... Charter granted to found the College of William and Mary.

Nov. 8, 1739 ..................... George Whitefield arrives in Philadelphia as part of his first evangelical preaching tour.

July 2, 1741 ..................... Jonathan Edwards delivers his sermon “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God” at Enfield, Massachusetts (now Connecticut).
May 28, 1754 ...................... George Washington surrenders Virginia militia at Fort Necessity, beginning the French and Indian War.

July 9, 1755 ....................... British troops under General Edward Braddock defeated by French and Indians near Fort Duquesne.

Sept. 18, 1759 ..................... British capture Quebec, and effective military resistance by the French in Canada ends.


1761–66 ......................... Controversy in the colonies over writs of assistance.


May 7–Nov. 28, 1763 .......... Pontiac lays siege to Fort Detroit as part of Pontiac’s Rebellion.

March 22, 1765 ................... Parliament imposes the Stamp Act, then rescinds it after violent colonial protests.

July 2, 1767 ....................... Townsend Duties enacted.

March 5, 1770 .................... The Boston Massacre leaves five dead in front of the Boston Customs House.

May 10, 1773 ..................... Tea Act becomes law.


April 18–19, 1775 ............... Battles of Lexington and Concord.

May 10, 1775 ..................... Second Continental Congress meets.

June 17, 1775 .................... Battle of Bunker Hill.

Jan. 10, 1776 ..................... Thomas Paine publishes Common Sense.

July 4, 1776 ....................... Declaration of American Independence.

Dec. 18–June 9, 1777–78 ..... Continental Army’s winter encampment at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

March 1, 1780 ..................... Pennsylvania Act for Emancipation, first provision for gradual abolition of slavery in America.

March 1, 1781 ..................... Articles of Confederation ratified.
Oct. 19, 1781........................ Lord Cornwallis surrenders British forces at Yorktown.

1782 ................................ Hector St. John Crèvecoeur publishes *Letters from an American Farmer.*

Sept. 3, 1783 ....................... Treaty of Paris confirms independence of the United States from Great Britain.

May 20, 1785 ...................... Confederation Congress passes Land Ordinance on the organization of the western lands.

Jan. 25, 1787 ...................... Shay’s Rebellion climaxes in an assault on the federal arsenal at Springfield, Massachusetts.


July 13, 1787 ...................... Confederation Congress adopts the Northwest Ordinance.


April 30, 1789 .................... George Washington sworn in as the first president of the United States.

Jan. 14, 1790 ..................... The first of Hamilton’s three “reports”—the *Report on the Public Credit*—is read to Congress.

Aug. 7–Nov. 19, 1791........... Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania.

Dec. 15, 1791 ..................... Bill of Rights ratified.

March 14, 1794 ................. Eli Whitney files a patent on the cotton gin, which he had designed and built the previous year while working as a family tutor on a Georgia plantation.

Oct. 8–Nov. 8, 1797–98 ...... *XYZ Affair* outlined in dispatches from John Marshall, Timothy Pickering, and Elbridge Gerry.

Summer 1798 ..................... June 18, 25/July 6, 14: Alien and Sedition Acts passed by Congress.

Fall/Winter 1798 ............... Nov. 13, Dec. 24: The legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia adopt the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions as drafted by Madison and Jefferson.


March 5, 1801 ..................... John Marshall becomes chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

April 30, 1803 ........................ U.S. negotiators approve Louisiana Purchase; *Marbury v. Madison* establishes principle of judicial review.

May 14, 1804 ........................ Meriwether Lewis and William Clark lead “Corps of Discovery” up the Missouri River in exploration of the purchase.

July 11, 1804 ........................ Alexander Hamilton is shot by Aaron Burr in a duel.

Feb. 19, 1807 ........................ Aaron Burr arrested for his part in a conspiracy in the Southwest Territory.

Dec. 22, 1807 ........................ Congress passes the Embargo Act, cutting off American commerce with France and Great Britain.

Oct. 11, 1811 ......................... The *New Orleans*, the first steamboat on the western rivers, leaves Pittsburgh on a voyage down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans.

Nov. 7, 1811 ........................... Battle of Tippecanoe.

June 1, 1812 ........................... President Madison asks for declaration of war against Great Britain, beginning the War of 1812.

Oct. 5, 1813 ........................... William Henry Harrison wins a victory for the United States at the battle of the Thames.

Dec. 24, 1814 ......................... Treaty of Ghent ends the War of 1812.

Jan. 9, 1815 ........................... Andrew Jackson victorious at the battle of New Orleans.

March 14, 1816 ....................... Second Bank of the United States chartered by Congress.

March 20, 1816 ....................... Justice Joseph Story hands down Supreme Court decision in *Martin v. Hunter’s Lessee*.

July 4, 1817 ........................... Work begins on the Erie Canal.

Feb. 2, 1819 ........................... *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* upholds the sanctity of contract.

Feb. 17, 1819 ........................ Chief Justice Marshall writes opinion for unanimous Supreme Court in *Sturgis v. Crowninshield*. 

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March 6, 1819. McCulloch v. Maryland establishes supremacy of federal jurisdiction over state.

Spring 1819. Panic of 1819 begins with fall in British commodity prices.

Feb. 16, 1820. Missouri Compromise adopted.

July 1822. Slave conspiracy under Denmark Vesey prompts panic and retribution in Charleston.

Dec. 2, 1823. President James Monroe’s annual message to Congress articulates the Monroe Doctrine; James Fenimore Cooper begins his “Leatherstocking Tales” with the publication of The Pioneers.


March 2, 1824. Chief Justice Marshall hands down opinion for a unanimous Supreme Court in Gibbons v. Ogden.

Feb. 9, 1825. Election of John Quincy Adams as president in the House of Representatives, after the “corrupt bargain.”

March 1, 1826. East Chelmsford, Massachusetts, incorporated as Lowell as it becomes the most important center of textile manufacturing in the United States.


July 10, 1832. President Jackson vetoes re-charter of the Second Bank of the United States.

Nov. 24, 1832. South Carolina state convention nullifies federal tariffs of 1828 and 1832.


April 14, 1834. Henry Clay applies the term Whig to the anti-Jackson opposition.

March 6, 1836. Fall of the Alamo.
April 10, 1836..................... Charles Grandison Finney opens the Broadway Tabernacle in New York City.

Feb. 12, 1837....................... Chief Justice Roger Taney writes opinion for a narrow majority in *Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge*.

Aug. 31, 1837...................... Ralph Waldo Emerson delivers “The American Scholar” to the Harvard Phi Beta Kappa society.

Aug.–Dec. 1838 ................... Forcible removal of 15,000 Cherokee Indians (the “Trail of Tears”) begins.

Sept. 3, 1838 ....................... Frederick Douglass flees slavery to Philadelphia.

July 1840.............................. Margaret Fuller begins publication of *The Dial*.


April 4, 1841....................... President William Henry Harrison, the first Whig president, becomes the first president to die in office.

May 11–12, 1846 ................. Congress approves President Polk’s request for a declaration of war, beginning the Mexican War.

June 19, 1846....................... First game of baseball played on rules designed by Alexander Cartwright.


Sept. 14, 1847..................... Winfield Scott captures Mexico City.

Feb. 2, 1848......................... Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ends the Mexican War and provides for cession of 500,000 square miles to the United States.

July 19–20, 1848............... Seneca Falls Convention on women’s rights.

Jan. 19, 1850....................... Henry Clay introduces the bills that will make up the Compromise of 1850.
Glossary

**Abolitionism**: A movement that gathered public visibility beginning in the 1830s; dedicated to the immediate and complete abolition of slavery in the United States.

**Agrarian**: A term describing a cluster of ideas that located political economic virtue in agricultural employment, including independent land ownership and self-provision from the land, minimal land taxation, decentralized patterns of living, and patriarchy (in both gender and racial terms).

**American System**: Popularized by Henry Clay, this became the Whig economic platform and included federal government sponsorship for infrastructure ("internal improvements"), federal subsidies for manufacturing, and a fiscal system that helped fund entrepreneurship and contain the costs of risk.

**Anglican**: Term applied to describe the Church of England and its doctrines or to individual members of that Church; not actually used before the 19th century.

**Antislavery**: The larger segment of opinion that opposed slavery, but not necessarily through immediate abolition.

**Assimilation**: The process by which immigrants are brought into conformity with the dominant culture around them and in which they embrace the dominant values and reject those associated with their culture or country of origin.

**Business cycle**: The pattern of alternating economic expansions and contractions that characterizes production and consumption in the various forms of unregulated market economies.

**Calvinism**: A system of religious doctrine developed by John Calvin that taught the unlimited sovereignty and power of God in ordering all human affairs and, thereby, undercut the demands for loyalty required by many governments and state-sponsored churches; its specific teachings are sometimes defined by the acronym TULIP (total depravity, unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace, perseverance of the saints).

**Capitalism**: An economic system in which (a) goods and services are sold at prices higher than their actual cost of production, with the difference between the two saved or reinvested in the production of still more goods and services; (b) resources for exchange and for initial investments in production are made available in the form of credit from financial institutions, such as banks; (c) minimal state regulation allows free movement of credit, resources, and commercial strategies; and (d) a spirit of entrepreneurship, rational abstraction, and disciplined work habits prevails.

**Class**: A system of hierarchical social organization, based on acquired or inherited property holding and wealth and attaching various cultural attributes to each class.
Colonization: In the 19th century, this term described a variety of plans proposed for repatriating freed slaves back to Africa rather than integrating them into civil and social life.

Common sense philosophy: Term used to describe a system of presentational realism that asserted that the mind could directly know the objects of its ideas and, as such, could have direct and accurate intuitions of both objective reality and the moral content of objects and of internal mental processes, from which a rational and orderly system of understanding can be constructed on inductive (or Baconian) principles.

Culture: The production and organization of symbols, attitudes, ideas, processes, and entertainment that express the common assumptions of a society or of groups in that society; can exist as folk, vernacular, or elite culture.

Deism: General term describing a religion based on rational deduction from the evidences of nature of the existence and attributes of a supreme deity, rather than from an authoritative supernatural revelation.

Democrat: Term for the political party begun as the Democratic-Republicans under Jefferson and Madison; sometimes shortened to “Republicans.” In the 1820s, when a splinter group of National Republicans developed and split off to become the Whigs, the party became known simply as “Democrats” and became the vehicle for expressing the political attitudes and culture symbolized by Andrew Jackson.

Electoral college: A provision in the Constitution designed to de-politicize the presidential election process by having electors in each state cast votes, based on the winner of the most votes in their states, for the president and vice president, with each state having as many votes as its combined number of senators and representatives in Congress.

Enlightenment: An intellectual movement born out of the scientific revolution of the 17th century that flourished on both sides of the Atlantic in the 18th century. The movement was characterized by confidence in reason as the means of solving practical, religious, and philosophical problems; an effort to approximate the order of nature; and a commitment to criticism as a means of discovery.

Evangelicalism: A form of Protestant Christian religious expression growing out of the Great Awakenings of the 18th century; marked by dramatic religious transformation, the location of religious authority in the Bible rather than in reason or in religious authorities, and a disposition to extend moral reform generally across society.

Factory: A system in which workers trained in the production of a specific commodity or similar commodities labor for wages, produce individual parts of such commodities for assembly by other workers (rather than each worker producing the entire commodity), and use a common source of artificial power for the production process.
Free labor: An economic system in which an individual, protected by natural and civil rights, is free to seek terms of employment, look for pay in the form of cash wages, and may accumulate sufficient capital through work and savings to acquire property and hire others.

Frigate: A warship of the last era of wooden fighting ships, of medium size and armament (carrying anywhere from 44 to 56 cannon of varying weight), between a sloop and a ship-of-the-line.

Half-Way Covenant: A redefinition of the exacting standards of church membership originally laid down by New England Puritans, so that those children of church members who had not experienced religious conversion for themselves could nevertheless be admitted to one of the sacraments, baptism, and brought under church discipline.

Indentured servant: An individual who sells rights to a term of service (usually seven years) in exchange for the costs of passage to America.

Jeffersonian: Refers to a system of ideas articulated by Thomas Jefferson, John Randolph of Roanoke, and John Taylor of Caroline that promoted agrarianism and states’ rights and discouraged concentrations of fiscal and commercial power in governments, cities, institutions, and industries.

Joint-stock companies: An early form of corporate organization, designed to limit risk and maximize resources by allowing individuals to contribute to a capital fund through the purchase of shares; this system limited losses to the value of shares bought and permitted sharing of profits through the payment of dividends based on the number of shares.

Judicial review: The power of the federal courts to determine the legal standing and/or constitutionality of state or federal legislative actions.

Jurisprudence: The theory of law; for example, a jurisprudence of “judicial restraint” would favor minimizing the intervention of judges in legislative matters.

Laissez-faire: From the French, “let it be as they wish”; an economic attitude springing from Adam Smith that held that governments should exercise as small an active role as possible in a nation’s economic activities and decisions.

Liberalism: From the Latin liber, for “free”; a political and economic attitude developed at the end of the 17th century and growing to full stature in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. This view based organization of human societies on (a) the possession of natural rights rather than inherited status; (b) the notion of a “state of nature” in which the unrestrained competition for scarce resources induced people to create civil societies as a “social contract” for the purpose of acquiring and protecting property; and (c) the notion that the legitimacy of civil societies depended entirely on the securing of natural and civil rights and could be changed if it failed to do so.
Manifest Destiny: Phrase coined by Jacksonian journalist John O'Sullivan in 1845 that expressed the belief that the United States was clearly, or “manifestly,” destined by divine providence, cultural superiority, or racial paternalism to extend U.S. sovereignty over the entire North American continent.

Market: Originally a literal physical location but, in the 19th century, increasingly an abstract “place” in which sellers of goods and services compete with other sellers for the attention and business of consumers.

Mercantilism: The view that national economies constitute resources that the state must manage in order to maximize, through regulation and subsidization, the survival of the state; especially applicable to the preservation of domestic resources and reserves of gold or silver.

Militia: The civilian military forces of each state, who trained for military purposes on indifferent and occasional schedules and were available for active duty on the call of the state’s governor or, in time of war or insurrection, by the president of the United States.

Mobility: The concept that class, tradition, ethnicity, or religion are no barriers to economic or geographical movement.

Moral philosophy: The study of practical applications of religious or philosophical teaching that formed the core of 18th- and 19th-century college curricula.

Nativism: Fear of, or prejudice against, those not native born in the United States or those retaining loyalty to foreign languages, ethnic identities, or religions.

Nullification: The doctrine, articulated first in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, then by John Calhoun in the Nullification Crisis, that held that state governments have the power to veto, or nullify, the operation of federal laws within their bounds.

Plantations: Term used to describe Britain’s North American colonies from the view of the royal government. The implication was that the North American colonies were merely settlements with no forms of self-government that the crown was obligated to consult.

Public lands: The vast holdings owned by the federal government in the areas ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Paris or acquired by the Louisiana Purchase or the Mexican Cession and whose sales were a major source of revenue for the federal government.

Puritanism: A religious protest movement in English Protestantism that identified itself doctrinally with Calvinism, set extremely high moral standards for admission to church membership, and insisted on disentangling the church from state control, even to the point of authorizing individual congregations to manage their own affairs (Congregationalism).
Racism: A belief that certain physical marks categorize people into races and that these can be ranked hierarchically in moral, intellectual, or physical terms that permit members of a “superior” race to stigmatize, oppress, or exploit members of an “inferior” race.

Republicanism: Any form of political organization or ideology that (a) repudiates monarchy, oligarchy, or tyranny; (b) replaces government by self-interest and patronage with public spirit and considerations of merit; (c) lodges political authority in the community as a whole while restricting legislative, judicial, or executive responsibilities in the state to those enjoying popular endorsement; and (d) may be more or less democratic in the identification of those who are accorded civil rights, especially the vote. Sometimes distinguished into “classical” republicanism, which stresses public spirit and community, and “liberal” republicanism, which legitimates the pursuit of economic and political self-interest as leading to the greatest good.

Romanticism: A reaction to the rationalism of the Enlightenment that valued community with nature; the power of emotion, passion, or sentiment over reason; a belief that “organic” and nonrational factors governed human behavior; and an individual subjectivity.


Specie: Hard coin, in gold or silver, as opposed to paper money, stock certificates, or credit.

States’ rights: A political doctrine rooted in the view that the states of the Union are its primary political units and have surrendered only limited aspects of sovereignty to the federal government.

Suffrage: The civil right to vote.

Tariffs: A tax laid on imported goods to be paid by the importer, often levied as a way of adding to the costs of foreign-produced goods in order to give competitive advantage to domestically produced goods.

Temperance: A reform movement beginning in the 1820s that sought to restrict the consumption of hard alcoholic spirits through moral exhortation; eventually, the movement became interchangeable with the idea of total abstinence from all fermented liquors and political movements to ban alcohol production and distribution.

Transcendentalism: Describes the beliefs of a group of New England Romantic philosophers who sought to “transcend” the Realist epistemology of the dominant “common sense” philosophy by discovering ideas of moral truth and beauty apart from sensation. The transcendentalists espoused reform movements based on communities that identified norms for behavior through mystical delight in nature and the discovery of “authenticity.”

Unitarianism: A religious movement in 18th- and 19th-century New England Congregationalism that rejected the traditional tenets of Calvinism, in particular,
the notion that God existed as three persons in a Trinity (composed of God the Father, Jesus Christ the Son, and the Holy Spirit), in favor of a “rational” reading of the Bible that found only one “person” in God and, therefore, redefined Jesus Christ as a being of a separate and lower order.

**Utopianism:** From Thomas More’s *Utopia* (as derived from the Greek, *eutopia*, or “good place”), the quest for a perfectly ordered society in which inequality, crime, poverty, and suffering have been abolished by a readjustment of social relations, either through rational management or strict adherence to religious revelation.

**Veto:** From the Latin for “I prevent,” the term is used in article 1, section 9, of the Constitution to describe the power of the president to prevent Congressional legislation from passing into law.

**Voluntary societies:** Describes self-organized associations of citizens for specific goals, usually religious, moral, or philanthropic, that the federal government was restricted by the Constitution from publicly pursuing or was given no mandate to pursue.

**Whig:** Originally, in English political history, the “country” party, opposed to the “court” party and absolute monarchy, this became the name of a party described in 1834 by Henry Clay as the new opposition to “King” Andrew Jackson and the Democrats.
Biographical Notes


**Nicholas Biddle** (1786–1844). American financier. President of the Second Bank of the United States, who triggered the “Bank War” of 1832 by applying for re-chartering of the bank in the face of Andrew Jackson’s opposition.

**John Burgoyne** (1722–1792). British playwright, politician, and general. Commanded British invasion force from Canada in 1777, only to be defeated and forced to surrender his army at Saratoga, New York.

**Aaron Burr** (1756–1836). American lawyer and vice president of the United States. Allied himself with Thomas Jefferson and served as Jefferson’s first vice president but alienated many Jeffersonians and was dropped from the ticket in 1804. Notorious for having killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel in 1804. Indicted for treason in 1807 after a plot to set up a separate republic in the southwest.


**John Caldwell Calhoun** (1782–1850). American politician and vice president of the United States. Attempted to shield the South from nationalist economic schemes; Calhoun proposed “nullification” of federal tariffs as a state’s right and later demanded the opening of the Mexican Cession to slavery.

**Henry Clay** (1777–1852). American politician and secretary of state. Originally one of the “hawks” who agitated for the War of 1812, he became the author of the “American System” and founder of the Whig Party.


**James Fenimore Cooper** (1789–1851). American novelist. Introduced Romanticism to American literature through his series of “Leatherstocking Tales” (1823–1841), including *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826).

**Charles Cornwallis** (First Marquis and second Earl Cornwallis, 1738–1805). British general. Served in the Seven Years’ War and the Revolution, in which he commanded the major British field force in the American South. Forced to surrender at Yorktown, Virginia, in 1781.
John Dickinson (1732–1808). American lawyer and politician. Served in the Continental Congress and was largely responsible for drafting the Articles of Confederation. Chaired the Annapolis Convention in 1786 and wrote on behalf of the new federal Constitution.

Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758). American Congregational theologian. Pastor of Northampton, Massachusetts, during the Great Awakening and author of important treatises defending the awakening and traditional Puritan Calvinism.


Charles Grandison Finney (1792–1875). American Presbyterian theologian and educator. The most famous preacher of the Second Great Awakening, he helped found Oberlin College and served as pastor of Oberlin’s First Church.


Robert Fulton (1765–1815). American inventor. Designed and built the first commercially successful steamboat, the Clermont.

Thomas Gage (1720–1787). British general. Commanded British forces in North America from 1763 to 1775. Organized the raid that became the battles of Lexington and Concord.


Alexander Hamilton (1757–1804). American lawyer, soldier, and first secretary of the treasury. His three Reports to Congress as treasury secretary helped shape the economic development of the American Republic.

William Henry Harrison (1773–1841). American soldier, politician, and eighth president of the United States. Cleared the Northwest Territory of Indian resistance at the battle of Tippecanoe in 1811 and defeated the British at the battle of the Thames in 1813 during the War of 1812. The first Whig president and the first president to die in office.

Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–1864). American novelist. Originally influenced by transcendentalism, he turned to crafting an outstanding series of historical novels, especially The Scarlet Letter (1850) and The House of Seven Gables (1851).

Charles Hodge (1797–1878). American Presbyterian theologian. As seminary professor at Princeton Theological Seminary, he was the principal figure in the creation of the Princeton Theology.
Sir William Howe (1729–1814). British general. Commanded British forces in North America from 1775 to 1778, winning a series of victories over the Continental Army at Long Island, Brandywine, and Germantown, but he was unsuccessful in completely snuffing out the Revolution.

Henry Hudson (d. 1611). British navigator and explorer. Sponsored by the Dutch West Indies Company, he discovered the Hudson River in 1609 but died in a futile attempt to discover a northwest passage to China.

Andrew Jackson (1767–1845). American soldier and seventh president of the United States. Lionized for his victory over the British at New Orleans in 1815, Jackson was denied the presidency through the “corrupt bargain” of 1824 but was elected in 1828 and 1832 and pursued aggressive policies against the Second Bank of the United States, the Cherokee Indians, and southern threats of nullification of federal legislation.


Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle (1643–1687). French explorer. Explored the Great Lakes and Mississippi River valley for France and died trying to establish a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi in 1687.

Ann Lee (1736–1784). English religious mystic. Founder of the communitarian sect known as the “Shakers” in 1774.

Meriwether Lewis (1774–1809). American soldier and explorer. Together with William Clark, he was commissioned by Thomas Jefferson to survey the Louisiana Purchase and carried out Jefferson’s directive with a Corps of Discovery from 1804 to 1806, having reached the Pacific Ocean and returned with the loss of only one member of the expedition.

Francis Cabot Lowell (1775–1817). American industrialist. Founded the Boston Manufacturing Company and created the first large-scale textile mills in America at Waltham, Massachusetts.


Horace Mann (1796–1859). American lawyer and educator. Designed a comprehensive renovation of the Massachusetts public education system and created the outline of the modern public school system.
**John Marshall** (1755–1835). American lawyer and chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. A Federalist appointed by John Adams to the Supreme Court, his long tenure as chief justice allowed Marshall to establish important principles of judicial review, the supremacy of federal over state authority, and the protection of the manufacturing economy.

**Cotton Mather** (1663–1728). American Congregational clergyman. Tireless promoter of schemes for public welfare and the reconciliation of Calvinism with the New Philosophy.


**Charles Cotesworth Pinckney** (1746–1825) American lawyer, judge, diplomat, and politician. One of three American diplomats sent by President Adams to negotiate with the French Directory, only to be confronted by demands for bribes in the XYZ Affair.

**Pontiac** (1720–1769). Ottawa chieftain. Organized an intertribal offensive against the British at the close of the French and Indian War.

**Paul Revere** (1735–1818). Boston artisan. Carried warning of British raid to Lexington on the night of April 18–19, 1775.

**Winfield Scott** (1786–1866). American soldier. Commanded the principal American field force in the Mexican War, winning successive victories in 1847 that culminated in the capture of Mexico City.

**Elizabeth Cady Stanton** (1815–1902). American feminist. A pioneer of awarding civil equality to women, she organized the first women’s rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848.


**Tecumseh** (1768–1813). Shawnee chieftain. Organized a coalition of Indian tribes to resist white expansion in the Northwest Territory. After his forces were defeated at Tippecanoe by William Henry Harrison, he fled to Canada and fought with the British in the War of 1812. He was killed at the battle of the Thames.

**George Washington** (1732–1799). first president of the United States. Commanded the Continental Army in the Revolution, presided over the Constitutional Convention, and became a leading figure of the Federalists.

**Daniel Webster** (1782–1852). American lawyer and politician. Involved in the major cases of the Marshall Court, including *Gibbons v. Ogden*, *McCulloch vs.*
Maryland, and Dartmouth College vs. Woodward. The greatest orator in the Senate, he attacked nullification and disunion in his great Second Reply to Hayne (1830).


John Winthrop (1588–1649). English lawyer and Puritan, first governor of Massachusetts Bay. Led the Puritan exodus to New England in 1630 and founded the town of Boston.

Bibliography

Essential Reading


Butler, Jon. *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990. Argues that religion established a comparatively feeble presence in early America, despite the presence of radical religious groups, such as the Puritans and Quakers, but eventually, through its own energies, succeeded in rising to cultural prominence in the early republic.


Morgan, Edmund S. *American Slavery-American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1975. A meticulous history of the settlement of Virginia, from Jamestown through Bacon’s Rebellion, showing how the demand for labor shaped the movement toward slavery and how slavery, in turn, shaped the notions of freedom brought to the Revolution by the Virginia elite.


———. The Radicalism of the American Revolution. New York: Knopf, 1992. Argues that American republicanism was founded on aristocratic values that the Revolution undermined, leading to the swift development of a democratic, rather than a republican, political consciousness.

**Supplementary Reading**

Some of the following books may be out of print. Internet sites such as www.abebooks.com and www.amazon.com may be helpful in locating copies.


detailed analysis of the 1692 panic in Salem, Massachusetts; the individuals who fostered it; and those who were its victims.


practical beliefs and non-beliefs of New England Puritans, as opposed to an
intellectual history of the clergy, concluding that the gap between the two was
not nearly as wide as might be supposed.

Hambrick-Stowe, Charles E. The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional
of North Carolina Press, 1982. A sympathetic and in-depth examination of
Puritan spiritual disciplines and devotional reading.

New York: W.W. Norton, 1964. The standard account of the political conflict
over the extension of slavery into the Mexican Cession and its resolution in the
Great Compromise.

Hatch, Nathan O. The Democratization of American Christianity. New Haven:
Yale University Press, 1989. Argues that evangelical Protestants were
influenced by democratization in church structure, leadership, and theology but
also contributed tremendously to it, as well.

Hickey, Donald. The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict. Urbana, IL: University
of 1812–1815.

Hodges, Graham Russell. Slavery and Freedom in the Rural North: African-
Americans in Monmouth County, New Jersey, 1665–1865. Madison, WI:
Madison House, 1997. Studies the lives of slave and free African Americans in a
central New Jersey county.

Straus, 1963. A delightfully written and short survey of the Spanish colonial
empire in northern Mexico.

Howe, Daniel Walker. Making the American Self: From Jonathan Edwards to
the creation of an American model personality, based on notions of self-control
and self-transformation, which played large roles in the formation of the Whig
and evangelical Protestant minds.

Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970. An engaging examination of
Unitarianism’s capture of Harvard and its major personalities and ethical
teachings.

Isaac, Rhys. The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790. Chapel Hill, NC:
University of North Carolina Press, 1982. Explores the way in which radical
evangelicalism in Virginia undermined the authority of traditional Virginia elites
in the 18th century and prepared Virginians for participation in the Revolution.

Jennings, Francis. The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant
colonial history that treats the process of settlement as destructive, murderous,
and ruthless.


which not only failed to seize the fort and city, but helped produce the national anthem.


———. *John Quincy Adams*. New York: Times Books, 2002. A brief biography of one of the most gifted, but one of the most politically unfortunate, presidents.


Stampp, Kenneth M. *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South*. New York: Knopf, 1956. This book single-handedly rewrote the priorities for understanding slavery and ended a long era in which slavery was looked on as a benign institution.


Document Collections


Belz, Herman, ed. The Webster-Hayne Debate on the Nature of the Union. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2000. Complete texts of Webster’s debates in the Senate with Robert Hayne over the tariff, plus speeches from Thomas Hart Benton, Edward Livingston, and others.


Hyneman, Charles S., and Donald Lutz, eds. American Political Writings during the Founding Era, 1760–1805. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Press, 1983, two volumes. A broad collection of American political pamphlets, sermons, and treatises, with the first volume devoted to the revolutionary period and the second, to the Constitution and early republic.


Lence, Ross. Union and Liberty: The Political Philosophy of John C. Calhoun. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1992. Fourteen of Calhoun’s most important writings, including his protests against the “Tariff of Abomination” and the Compromise of 1850.


The History of the United States
Part III
Professor Allen C. Guelzo

THE TEACHING COMPANY ®
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Dr. Allen C. Guelzo is the Dean of the Templeton Honors College at Eastern University, on Philadelphia’s Main Line, where he is also the Grace Ferguson Kea Professor of American History. He holds an M.A. and a Ph.D. in history from the University of Pennsylvania, an M.Div. from Philadelphia Theological Seminary, and an honorary doctorate in history from Lincoln College in Illinois. Dr. Guelzo’s special field of interest is American intellectual and cultural history in the period between 1750 and 1865. He has published several books on subjects in this period, including Edwards on the Will: A Century of American Philosophical Debate (1989); For the Union of Evangelical Christendom: The Irony of the Reformed Episcopalians (1994), which won the 1994 Outler Prize; The Crisis of the American Republic: A New History of the Civil War and Reconstruction (1995); and Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President (1999), which won the Lincoln Prize. His essays and reviews have appeared in American Historical Review, Journal of American History, William and Mary Quarterly, The Wilson Quarterly, Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association, Civil War History, Journal of the Early Republic, Filson Club History Quarterly, Journal of the History of Ideas, Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, and Anglican and Episcopal History.

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The History of the United States

Scope (Lectures One through Thirty-Six):

This course chronicles the history of the United States from colonial origins to the beginning of the 21st century. The lectures focus on several key themes: (1) the exceptionalism of the American experiment, symbolized by the Puritan “city on the hill”; (2) the commitment to socioeconomic mobility and opportunity in the marketplace; (3) the expanding enfranchisement of citizens in the development of political democracy; and (4) the confirmation of the “melting pot” as a symbol of inclusion in the national body politic. The spread of literacy and mass information, the political and cultural importance of regionalism, and the central role of civilian government are also salient themes in the lectures that follow.

This portion of the Teaching Company’s History of the United States survey course carries you from the beginnings of European settlement of what is now the United States to the end of the Mexican War and the Great Compromise of 1850. It covers, in other words, what historians like to call “Colonial America” and the “Early Republic.” The 36 lectures in this first part are built around four important themes:

9. How did the experience of discovery and settlement change Europeans, American native peoples, African and Caribbean slaves, and all the other different and sometimes hostile populations that came (or were forced to come) to North America into an entirely different kind of people, the Americans? In what ways has that made America exceptional and unique among the other, older nations of the West and of the world?

10. How did the United States manage to assimilate so many different peoples from so many different places?

11. How did the geography, beliefs, and necessities of the settlements Europeans planted along the eastern coast of North America develop such unprecedented religious, political, and economic freedom?

12. How did the natural resources of North America, and the human resourcefulness of its people, generate such an abundance of wealth—and so many confrontations over the way to use it?

We will begin our expedition into the American past in Lectures One and Two with the first phases of European exploration and examine why it was that a continent Europeans at first thought was a disappointment quickly became an asset. From there, in Lectures Three through Five, we will look at how Europeans turned from organizing settlements whose chief purpose was simply extraction of resources for European use to the creation of settlements of occupation, or colonies. English colonization, in particular, had three very
different patterns for settlement in New England, the Chesapeake, and the
“middle colonies.” The most significant development, however, will be the way
in which these colonies matured, from being stages for Europeans to make
fortunes to being homes for people who were no longer really Europeans (even
when they tried to be). In passing, we will see in Lectures Seven and Eight how
the colonials practiced and changed religious beliefs, created various levels of
culture unique to their own worlds, and struggled to decide (in Lectures Nine
and Ten) whether they were simply plantations on the periphery of someone
else’s empire or societies that had achieved identities of their own that their
European sponsors needed to respect.

Much of the first 12 lectures will be about personalities—John Smith at
Jamestown, John Winthrop and Cotton Mather in Boston, William Penn and
Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia, Jonathan Edwards in his pulpit, William
Billings in his singing school, John Singleton Copley at his easel, and George
Whitefield on his travels. This portion of the course will also be about war—at
first, brushfire wars for the survival of individual settlements, then world wars in
which the colonies were expected to serve as proxies for their empires. Of
course, Lectures Eleven through Thirteen will be about the war that eventually
separated 13 of these colonies from Great Britain and made them a new nation,
the United States.

The American Revolution appeared to be a break with the past—it cut
Americans loose politically from Britain, but even more fundamentally, it cut
them off from the entire European political tradition. As we will see in Lecture
Fourteen, the new American nation was a child of the Enlightenment, and it was
the first modern Western nation on any large scale to consciously abandon the
age-old traditions of status and monarchy and experiment with an ideal form of
enlightened government, a republic. But republics were a new and untested idea,
and the newness of the idea was underscored by how quickly Americans
developed radically different views about what a republic should look like.
These views coalesce in Lectures Fifteen through Eighteen around two figures
who are vitally important to these lectures: Thomas Jefferson and Alexander
Hamilton. But they include a host of characters both great (George Washington)
and small (William Maclay) as, of course, they should when our story is about
the first great venture in popular government.

The Jefferson-Hamilton division begins a script that will be played out over
Lectures Nineteen and Twenty, as Americans struggle to reconcile the impact of
the Industrial Revolution with their allegiance to a republican system. Once
again, it is the characters who come to the fore—Andrew Jackson, the bank-
killer and apostle of agrarian democracy in Lectures Twenty-Seven through
Twenty-Eight, and Henry Clay, the sophisticated statesman who, in Lecture
Thirty, convinces us that the American experiment would never succeed until it
built itself up as an industrial competitor of Europe. But Americans will work to
find other ways of sorting out their new identity as distinct from the Old World,
in literature and philosophy as much as politics. They will mark out a path of
their own by giving religion an entirely new place in public life (Lecture
Twenty-Five), by developing a collegiate moral philosophy that provides instruction for public virtue (Lectures Thirty-One and Thirty-Two), and by entertaining new assumptions about men and women, white and black, slave and free. And there will still be war, literal—the War of 1812 in Lecture Twenty-One; Indian war and the wars of expansion in Lectures Nineteen, Twenty-Two, and Thirty-Four; the Mexican War in Lecture Thirty-Five—and figurative—the Bank War in Lecture Twenty-Nine; the political warfare of Democrat and Whig in Lectures Twenty-Three and Twenty-Four and, again, in Lecture Thirty; the determination of abolitionists to rid America of slavery and of slaveowners to keep it in Lectures Thirty-Three and Thirty-Six.

This is the story of how to make a republic—make it in the midst of a hurricane of economic change in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, make it despite conflict and prejudice, make it so that it re-makes its own citizens into a people utterly different from anything the world has seen before—and how to keep it. Or, as we come to the close of Lecture Thirty-Six, how to very nearly lose it.
Lecture Twenty-Five
The Second Great Awakening

Scope: Religion had only rarely enjoyed a stable footing in American life before the Revolution, and it should not have come as a terrible surprise that its hold on American life after the Revolution was even more fragile. James Madison was responsible for composing the provision in the First Amendment that committed Congress to making “no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,” and this was not intended as a mere statement of neutrality. Strange forms of republican religious replacements, such as Deism, Unitarianism, and Freemasonry, were springing up. But instead of republicanism absorbing religion, religion co-opted and absorbed the energies of republicanism between 1780 and 1860. Three major factors played a role in creating a Christian America: the resiliency of revival, the absorption of virtue, and the substitution of millennialism.

Outline

I. The Enlightenment had little use for religion as sanctioning or confirming its ideas.
   A. As an Enlightenment ideology, republicanism had little need for religious sanction.
      1. Republicanism based itself entirely on human longings, human morals, and human nature.
      2. Jefferson was openly critical of Christianity.
   B. Christianity had rarely enjoyed a stable footing in American life even before the Revolution.
      1. Most colonial religious groups were anti-authoritarian come-outers.
      2. The English state church had been indifferent to colonial religious life.
      3. The Great Awakening revived anti-authoritarian instincts.
   C. The Revolution cost American religious groups dearly in public influence.
      1. Loyalist Anglicans fled the country and reduced the Church of England to a tiny group.
      2. Wartime disruptions interfered with stable religious life.
      4. The federal Constitution forbade federal support for religious denominations.
   D. As formal Christianity declined, unusual substitutes sprang up.
      1. Deists were usually belligerent, skeptical, and anti-Calvinist.
2. Unitarianism offered an alternative to New Englanders who could not stomach revivalism.
3. Freemasonry offered secular ritualism as an alternative to religion.

II. But instead of fading into the background, Christian churches staged a remarkable comeback.
   A. The organization of congregations went on the upswing.
      1. Congregationalists went from about 750 to 2,200 congregations.
      2. Methodists went from nothing to 20,000 congregations by 1860.
      3. Roman Catholics went from 50 congregations to 2,500 by 1860.
   B. This upswing grew from three factors.
      1. Based on the example of the Great Awakening, revivals proved to be a vigorous way of renewing Christian conversion.
      2. The virtue republicanism saw as vital to a republican order was claimed by the churches as religion’s special province.
      3. Churches co-opted republican optimism about the future with religious optimism in the form of millennialism.
   C. By 1835, Christianity had recovered much of its lost ground.
      1. Religious leaders identified Christianity as the best friend of republicanism.
      2. However, it would have to cope with the challenge posed by the materialism of the market.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Cross, *The Burned-over District*.
Johnson, *A Shopkeeper’s Millennium*.

Questions to Consider:
1. What role did the Founders intend for religion to play in the new republic?
2. How did churches adapt themselves and recover influence once they had been stripped of public support?
Lecture Twenty-Six
Dark Satanic Mills

Scope: The Industrial Revolution can be thought of as really consisting of four smaller revolutions, separate but related, involving the invention or the reinvention of machines, power, labor, and capital. In 1789, Samuel Slater slipped out of England and rebuilt from memory the machinery for cotton-spinning. In 1813, Francis Cabot Lowell organized the Boston Manufacturing Company and built the first large-scale American cotton textile factory beside the Charles River at Waltham, Massachusetts. The Merrimack Manufacturing Company built an even more successful mill operation at Lowell, Massachusetts, recruiting a new workforce: young, single New England females between the ages of 16 and 30. Powering steam machinery, in turn, required fuel, and with that, an American coal industry was born. The problem hidden behind all this industrial growth was that it could not go on forever or, at least, not without serious social consequences, manifested in the first labor strikes, union organizations, and workingmen’s political parties in the 1830s.

Outline

I. Republicanism was built on the pillars of liberty, virtue, and commerce, but democracy and revivalism challenged the first two, and the Industrial Revolution challenged the third.

A. The Industrial Revolution was built around four important developments.
   1. The substitution of machines for production of commodities.
   2. The application of artificial power for human, wind, or animal power.
   3. The organization of labor into the factory system.
   4. The funding of enterprise through commercial capitalism.

B. It took 50 years after the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain for these developments to mature in the United States.
   1. British colonial policy had obstructed American industrial development.
   2. Not until 1789 did a British emigrant, Samuel Slater, build a cotton-spinning mill in Rhode Island from memory of English models.
   3. New England merchants built up fortunes in trade, allowing the formation of sufficient capital to fund the building of factories.

C. The first major experiments in factory organization were in New England.
1. Francis Cabot Lowell organized a textile mill at Waltham and Chelmsford, Massachusetts.
2. A new workforce was created from single females who were recruited from the rural countryside.

D. The mills experienced tremendous growth and profitability.
   1. Eli Whitney introduced assembly-line manufacturing.
   2. Alfred Jenks opened a steam-powered mill.
   3. Cyrus McCormick mechanized agriculture with the mechanical reaper.

II. The success of the factory system also generated problems and opposition.
   A. The multiplication of mills created greater supply.
      1. As supply increased, demand fell, and so did prices and wages.
      2. Industrial workers began to organize and form unions and stage strikes, which were treated by the courts as breaches of contract.
   B. Workingmen then turned to political solutions.
      1. Workingmen’s parties were organized.
      2. These parties found their champion in Andrew Jackson.

Essential Reading:
Wallace, Rockdale.

Supplementary Reading:
Wilentz, Chants Democratic.
Cochran, Frontiers of Change: Early Industrialism in America.

Questions to Consider:
1. Would the Industrial Revolution have been possible if the federal government was understood in the minimal terms it was in the 1800s?
2. What were the components of an early textile factory?
Lecture Twenty-Seven
The Military Chieftain

Scope: Ever since 1800, Thomas Jefferson’s Republicans had been virtually the only functioning political party with anybody to elect. But it was clear in 1824 that the Republican Party was, in fact, becoming two parties, the National Republicans and the Democratic-Republicans. John Quincy Adams, the heir apparent, was unmistakably a National Republican in his sympathies and vigorously opposed by the rest of the party, including the ambitious Henry Clay. The most unpredictable candidate was Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. Jackson swept the popular vote, but his 99 electoral votes did not constitute a majority of the 216 electoral votes cast.

Outline

I. The election of 1824 represented a break in the normal presidential nominating process.
   A. As the reigning political organization, the Republicans chose their candidates by caucus.
      1. The president usually sent in the name of his secretary of state as his successor.
      2. Under this plan, in 1824, James Monroe would nominate John Quincy Adams.
   B. The expansion of voting rights forced a change in this process in 1824.
      1. The caucus system seemed like an insider process.
      2. Divisions had grown up within the Republicans, with the National Republicans and the Democratic-Republicans sponsoring differing agendas.

II. The likelihood of Adams’s succession to the nomination became clouded.
   A. Although he had substantial experience as a diplomat, he still resembled a Federalist.
      1. His father was the Federalists’ last president.
      2. He espoused the National Republican agenda.
   B. Adams had a challenger in Henry Clay.
      1. Clay represented the interests of the West.
      2. Clay was the Speaker of the House of Representatives and was in a position to obstruct an Adams nomination.
      3. Clay was becoming the exponent of the “American System.”
   C. Republican Party regulars used the caucus to nominate William Crawford.
      1. Clay arranged for a rival nomination by the Kentucky legislature.
3. The split made it likely that the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives, where Clay was confident of victory.

III. Clay had reckoned without the popular emergence of Andrew Jackson.
   A. Andrew Jackson had become the favorite of western Republicans and an enemy of the National Republican agenda.
      1. He was a self-made lawyer who rose to prominence and wealth in Tennessee.
      2. He was possessed of a volcanic temper and given to dueling.
      3. He established a reputation as a ruthless Indian fighter.
      4. He won the War of 1812’s greatest victory at New Orleans.
      5. He nearly triggered war with Great Britain again in 1818 by hanging two British subjects and occupying Florida.
   B. The Panic of 1819 pushed Jackson back into politics.
      1. He was an enemy of the banks.
      2. He was more of a Democrat than a classical Republican.
   C. Jackson became the favorite candidate of Republicans who liked neither Clay nor Adams.
      1. The Tennessee legislature nominated Jackson.
      2. In 1824, Jackson swept the popular vote but failed to garner sufficient electoral votes to beat Clay, Adams, and Crawford.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Remini, *John Quincy Adams*.
Rogin, *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian*.

Questions to Consider:
1. Did Clay have good reason to believe he could defeat Adams?
2. What made Jackson so much more attractive politically to American voters than Clay or Adams, with their wide experience in national government?
Lecture Twenty-Eight

The Politics of Distrust

Scope: The election of 1828 went to the House of Representatives, where ugly rumors began to surface that Clay had struck a “corrupt bargain” with Adams: Clay would throw the election to Adams if Adams would name Clay as his secretary of state. Adams’s presidency quickly turned into one of the worst political disasters in the history of the American presidency. Jackson gathered his forces for 1828, which was a staggering landslide for Jackson in what became the first popular election of a president. The election was a critical moment of transition in American political life, although not for the reasons that at first seemed the most obvious. To Andrew Jackson, it meant the opportunity to break up dangerous concentrations of political and financial power. To Henry Clay and the National Republicans, it meant that the American Republic had been deceived by the gaudiness of a “military chieftain.” What they missed in the election of 1828 was a much larger shift in American political consciousness, and the movement of the United States from its original shape as a republic toward the newer shape of popular democracy. But Henry Clay had no intention of letting the Democrats pick his American System apart, and he mustered support in Congress for a new compromise tariff. The result was an attempt by South Carolina to nullify the tariff.

Outline

I. The stalled election was thrown into the House of Representatives.
   A. Although Clay finished fourth in electoral votes, he used his position as Speaker of the House to recruit votes.
      1. Clay was rumored to have struck a “corrupt bargain” with Adams to permit an Adams election, after which Clay would become secretary of state.
      2. Adams was elected on the first ballot.
   B. The corrupt bargain besmirched the reputations of both Adams and Clay.
      1. Adams tried to prove his innocence by including Jackson’s supporters in his administration, only to have them sabotage it.
      2. Adams got no support for implementing the National Republican economic agenda.
   C. Jackson gathered his forces for the election of 1828.
      1. Jackson won an overwhelming victory, especially among new voters.
      2. He was supported by an alliance of anti-tax, anti-bank, and anti-corporate farmers and workers.
3. Ironically, Jackson himself was a slaveholder and a wealthy man.
4. But Jackson appeared as the enemy of all great concentrations of power and the friend of territorial expansion.

D. The election of 1828 marked a shift from republican politics to democratic politics.
   1. Democracy was the answer to distrust.
   2. In contrast to the private swearing-in ceremonies of previous presidents, thousands flooded unbidden into Washington.
   3. Jackson’s inaugural reception resembled a democratic bacchanal.

E. Jackson instituted an internal administrative revolution.
   1. Nearly 1,000 officers, from the cabinet down to postmasters, were turned out.
   2. They were replaced by Jackson’s personal friends: Martin Van Buren, Samuel Ingham, John H. Eaton.
   3. Jackson insisted on conducting the appointment process by the spoils system.

II. While Jackson worked to promote agricultural interests, he fought government support for manufacturing and commerce, although he allowed neither to threaten the permanence of the federal Union.

A. Jackson used his veto to strike down a number of congressionally funded projects.
   1. He vetoed the Maysville Road project.
   2. He signed a tariff bill in 1832, but only with the understanding that it would be used to permanently eliminate the national debt.

B. Southern interests were aghast at Jackson’s approval of the tariff.
   1. John Calhoun wrote two major protests, advocating state nullification of the tariff.
   2. Calhoun delegated defense of nullification in the Senate to Robert Hayne, who was out-argued by Daniel Webster.
   3. Calhoun failed to enlist Jackson’s endorsement of nullification at the 1830 Jefferson’s birthday dinner.
   4. Calhoun prompted South Carolina to challenge the tariff by nullifying it within state boundaries, only to be forced by Jackson to back down.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Remini, Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom.
Freehling, Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina.

Questions to Consider:
1. Was Calhoun or Jackson more attuned to the ideas of Thomas Jefferson?
2. How did Jackson align his promotion of southern interests with his hostility to South Carolina and nullification?
Lecture Twenty-Nine
The Monster Bank

Scope: The Second Bank of the United States had been the prime symbol of National Republicanism ever since its original charter was approved by Congress in 1816. It regulated the economy by controlling the money supply and by promoting national investment. From Andrew Jackson’s viewpoint, this meant that not only did this single institution have more power than any single institution could safely be trusted with, but that power was based on money. In 1831, Second Bank director Nicholas Biddle applied to Congress for re-chartering; Jackson vetoed the bill. Clay believed that the veto would help elect him president in 1832 on an anti-Jackson backlash, but Clay was badly defeated by Jackson. Biddle now began shortening credit and triggered a major economic depression.

Outline

I. The Second Bank of the United States (BUS) had been the prime symbol of National Republicanism ever since its original chartering in 1816.
   A. It served to regulate the national money supply.
      1. All federal customs duties and taxes were payable to the BUS.
      2. It could demand repayment for bank notes from the original issuers in specie.
      3. This power restrained banks from overextending themselves by over-printing bank notes.
   B. The BUS provided resources for national investment.
      1. As a mixed public/private corporation, it could put government economic clout behind private enterprises.
      2. The constant inflow of government revenues gave it constant liquidity and vast financial reserves.
   C. The BUS could step in to fund development projects that Congress could not.

II. The power of the BUS outraged Democratic-Republicans.
   A. The BUS did nothing to allay these suspicions.
      1. The first president, William Jones, helped trigger the Panic of 1819.
      2. The second president, Nicholas Biddle, used the BUS’s resources to protect the BUS politically.
   B. Jackson would have moved more dramatically against the bank in his first term but didn’t.
      1. He was restrained by other political problems.
      2. The BUS had a 20-year charter.
III. Biddle actually provoked a confrontation by appealing to Congress in 1832 for an early re-chartering.

A. Henry Clay advised in favor of re-chartering.
   1. It would pass Congress without difficulty.
   2. If Jackson vetoed it, the veto would be overridden by Congress and alarm the electorate.
   3. If Jackson signed it, it would destroy his reputation with his own party.

B. A re-chartering petition was submitted by Clay in 1832.
   1. Jackson vetoed it.
   2. Accompanying the veto was a veto message that identified the BUS’s supporters as foreigners, financiers, and usurpers.
   3. The veto message was instantly popular.

C. Clay called for an override of the veto.
   1. Clay warned of dire financial consequences if the BUS was shut down.
   2. Jackson’s logic in the veto was identical with nullification.
   3. However, the veto was not overridden.
   4. When Clay attempted to make the BUS an issue in the 1832 election, he was soundly defeated by Jackson.

IV. The veto inaugurated a bank war.

A. The BUS still had four more years to run on its charter.
   1. Jackson went on the offensive and removed government deposits from the BUS.
   2. Two successive treasury secretaries refused to obey Jackson’s order.
   3. Finally, Jackson recruited Roger Taney to remove the deposits.

B. Government funds were now deposited in seven “pet” state banks.
   1. The redeposit led Clay to ask Congress for a motion of censure against Jackson.
   2. Biddle retaliated by calling in loans.
   3. The result was a major financial panic in 1837.

C. Jackson eventually increased the number of pet banks to more than 300.
   1. He used the pet banks to pay off the national debt.
   2. He parceled out government revenue surpluses to the states.
   3. He issued a Specie Circular, which required that payment for federal lands be made only in specie, thus nudging the country away from the use of bank notes.

D. The bank war left Jackson with an even more secure grip on power.
   1. The BUS was reduced to seeking a state charter from Pennsylvania to keep operating.
Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Schlesinger, *The Age of Jackson*.
Silbey, *The Partisan Imperative*.

Questions to Consider:
1. What aspects of the economy were most likely to be hit by Jackson’s veto of the BUS charter?
2. Why was destroying the “monster bank” essential to Jackson’s political vision?
Lecture Thirty
Whigs and Democrats

Scope: The bank war destroyed all illusion that a single Republican Party still existed. In 1834, the National Republicans took their own party name as the Whigs. The Whigs were committed to economic dynamism, social moralism, and national union. Jackson’s Democrats made political virtue synonymous with the popular will, thought of freedom as the privilege to restrain large concentrations of wealth, and thought of liberty as a negative, rather than a positive, idea. The Whigs were the party of optimism, while the Democrats were the party of fear. Their first major electoral contest occurred after Martin van Buren had succeeded Jackson as president and after the full effect of the bank recession had been felt. Blaming van Buren for the depression, voters turned out to give a majority to William Henry Harrison as the first Whig president. But the unlucky Whigs saw Harrison die a month after inauguration; his vice president, John Tyler, was an old-line Democrat who promptly reinstalled the Jacksonian agenda.

Outline

I. The bank war destroyed all illusion that a single Republican Party still existed.
   A. The National Republicans had organized themselves around the need for a national banking system.
      1. The attack on the BUS exposed the central line of division in the Republican house.
      2. In 1832, National Republicans organized their own national nominating convention.
   B. In 1834, Clay gives the National Republicans the title *Whig*.
      1. This was originally the name for the British party dedicated to resistance against monarchical tyranny.
      2. It was applied by Clay to stigmatize Andrew Jackson as a would-be king.

II. The Whigs came to stand for a cluster of ideas that sharply differentiated them from the Jacksonians.
   A. The Whigs encouraged economic dynamism.
      1. They became associated with small-scale urban business and finance.
      2. Whig farmers tended to be commercial farmers.
      3. Whigs did not tie themselves to local or state identities.
      4. This attracted them to Clay’s American System.
      5. It also opened them to the charge of being the “party of the rich.”
B. The Whigs looked to create a place for social morality in a secular republic.
   1. The Whigs established a close alliance with moderate Protestants.
   2. These moderate Protestants sought to rebuild religious influence in society.
   3. Whig Protestants sought to rationalize and sanction the market system.
   4. They often ignored the costs of private opportunism but were incensed by departures from public morality.

C. The Whigs thought of themselves as the protectors of national union.
   1. The key to establishing a national economy and national morality was the preservation of the Union in the face of democratic individualism.
   2. Whigs tended to attack extremists from both South and North.
   3. Whig politicians liked to think of themselves as disinterested statesmen who concentrated on formulating compromises to save the Union rather than tearing it apart to satisfy regional agendas.

D. The Whig mentality contained some important connections to European liberalism.
   1. It was based on reason, especially the rationalism of the marketplace.
   2. It glorified the Union but applauded individual self-help.
   3. It revered the past but believed confidently in progress.
   4. It was suspicious of democracy and believed that only an enlightened elite was fit to govern.

III. By contrast, Jackson’s Democrats liked to think of themselves as the “party of the people.”

A. Democrats called for laissez faire to reign in private but not public spheres.
   1. Political virtue became synonymous with the public will.
   2. Democrats resisted the intrusion of religion into public affairs.

B. Democrats increasingly came to see liberty as negative rather than positive.
   1. Whigs wanted economic diversity and cultural uniformity.
   2. Democrats favored economic uniformity and cultural diversity.

IV. Democrats had more to fear than they expected from the Whigs.

A. Jackson confidently anointed his vice president, Martin Van Buren, as the Democratic candidate in 1836, who easily defeated a divided Whig Party.
   1. Van Buren turned out to have little talent for the presidency.
   2. Without the BUS, the American economy slid into a panic in 1837.

B. Van Buren attempted to shore up the collapse by half-restoring the BUS in the form of the Independent Treasury.
1. But the Independent Treasury only provided a safe haven for federal funds and did nothing to revive the overall economy.
2. Van Buren cultivated an offensively ostentatious lifestyle.
C. Clay hoped that Van Buren’s unpopularity would finally give him the chance to win the presidency.
   1. Whigs decided not to risk Clay and nominated William Henry Harrison for president in 1840.
   2. The Harrison campaign artfully reinvented Harrison as a “man of the people.”
   3. Harrison easily won the election, thus ending three decades of nearly continuous rule by Jefferson and his heirs.

Essential Reading:
Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs*.

Supplementary Reading:
Howe, *The American Whigs: An Anthology*.
Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion*.

Questions to Consider:
1. What were the chief problems faced by the Whigs in gaining voter allegiance?
2. How did the various parts of the Whig political agenda fit together?
Lecture Thirty-One
American Romanticism

Scope: The American Republic was the first offspring of the Enlightenment’s ideas, and as such, the Founders shared the Enlightenment’s commitment to reason, criticism, and natural law. That commitment flourished in the emergence of American collegiate moral philosophy (Francis Wayland, Charles Hodge). But in Europe, a backlash against the Enlightenment, in the form of Romanticism, downplayed reason and order in the search for authenticity, emotion, and drama. America already possessed a domestic form of Romanticism in evangelical Protestantism, and from the 1820s, many Americans embraced the appeal of the Romantics. In philosophy, this was marked by James Marsh’s *Aids to Reflection*; in literature, it was manifested in the work of the New England Renaissance, whose representatives included Ralph Waldo Emerson and the Transcendentalists, Margaret Fuller, Henry David Thoreau, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Herman Melville; in religion, it was illustrated by the Mercersburg theology (John Williamson Nevin); and in politics, it was reflected in the rhetoric of Whigs and Democrats and the argument over passion.

Outline

I. The American Republic was shaped, intellectually as well as politically, by the Enlightenment.
   A. A broad variety of American thinkers embraced the universality of natural law. Examples include:
      3. Scottish “common sense” philosophy, which provided a realist underpinning for natural-law thinking.
   B. The most popular tool for inquiry across many disciplines was the *Baconian method*.
      1. In theology, as demonstrated by Charles Hodge.
      2. In medicine, as demonstrated by Benjamin Rush.
   C. American law was codified to create a system, based on English common law, that avoided both religion and utilitarianism.
      1. The first law schools and legal theorists tried to create a system as regular and scientific as nature itself.
      2. The process of codifying American law is amazingly fast, from almost nothing in 1790 to the great commentaries of Joseph Story and James Kent by 1850.
II. There were, however, many other forces at work in the United States in the early 19th century that cut against the grain of the Enlightenment heritage to create a “Romantic rebellion.”

A. Evangelical Protestantism.
   1. Many Protestants saw the Enlightenment as synonymous with religious unbelief.
   2. The Princeton theology was a major attempt to reconcile the demands of reason and experience.

B. Radical revivalism.
   1. The historic appeal of personal experience to radical Protestants manifested itself in public revivals of religion, modeled after the Great Awakening, with steadily more exotic aspects.
   2. Charles Grandison Finney became the most significant popularizer of the triumph of religious emotion.

C. American art.
   1. American art moved out of its infancy as chiefly portraiture (Ralph Earl) for the mercantile classes into glorification of the American landscape.
   2. American architecture abandoned the Georgian classical for Gothic.
   3. American Romantic art reached its highest point in the Hudson River School.

D. Anti-legalism.
   1. Resentment of the rule of lawyers broke out into criticism of law as a profession; ordinary justice based on honesty was championed, along with equity over legal theory.
   2. The classic case for anti-legalism was made by the popularity of “Davy” Crockett.

III. The most important expression of a Romantic rebellion was in philosophy.

A. The Romantic rebellion was originally a European movement, characterized by:
   1. A sense of admiration for, and harmony with, nature (Rousseau).
   2. A revolt against reason as senseless formality and cold logic.
   3. The glorification of emotion, or “the sublime.”
   5. The cult of the artist.

B. Its first appearance in America was in the work of James Marsh.
   1. Marsh produced an edition of Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s *Aids to Reflection* and introduced American readers to Kant.
   2. Marsh became the founder of Vermont Transcendentalism.

IV. American Romantic philosophy was matched by a new Romantic theology.

A. Horace Bushnell.
   1. Bushnell was a Connecticut Congregationalist and Yale graduate.
2. He called for a revision of the Calvinist understanding of human nature and of the nature of religious language.
3. Bushnell’s comments on language were echoed by other New England Calvinists, most importantly, Edwards Amasa Park.

B. John Williamson Nevin and the Mercersburg theology.
   1. Nevin was a product of the Princeton theology but abandoned it under German philosophical influences.
   2. Nevin became a theology teacher at the small German Reformed Seminary at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania.
   3. Nevin developed a theology based on organic tradition and the use of liturgy for religious experience.

C. Episcopal Anglo-Catholicism.
   2. It captured the Episcopal Church in America and converted it from a Protestant identity to a Romantic “Catholic” one.

V. In turn, American Romanticism came to its fullest flower in literature.
   A. The earliest representatives of Romantic literature were Charles Brockden Brown and James Fenimore Cooper.
      1. Brown’s horror novels (such as *Wieland*) show the weakness of reason and the power of the passions.
      2. Cooper’s *Leatherstocking Tales* (1823–1841) praise the untutored natural wisdom of Natty Bumppo and his Indian friends over against organized society.
   B. But the center of American Romanticism shifted rapidly to Boston and its environs.
      1. Ralph Waldo Emerson gave American Romanticism its classic expression in his essays.
      2. Emerson was the chief of a literary circle of Transcendentalists that included Margaret Fuller, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, Henry David Thoreau, and George Ripley.
      3. Transcendentalism’s greatest literary talents, however, also became its harshest critics, especially in the case of Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Essential Reading:
Supplementary Reading:
Richardson, *Emerson*, chapters 23–25, 40, 43.
Conkin, *The Uneasy Center: Reformed Christianity in Antebellum America*.

Questions to Consider:
1. What point was Emerson trying to make by complaining about the need for a new kind of “American Scholar”?
2. What made the Scottish “common sense” philosophy so attractive for American thinkers?
Lecture Thirty-Two
The Age of Reform

Scope: The sense that the American Republic represented the vanguard of a new age of human freedom spawned a series of campaigns in the United States to advance American perfection and freedom. Breakaway religious groups founded separatist communities (Shakers, Amana) or prophesied the coming of the millennium (Millerites). Movements for social reorganization dotted the prairies (Morris Birkbeck, Bishop’s Hill). Temperance societies tried to persuade Americans to moderate or eliminate the widespread reliance on alcohol. Movements for free public education (Horace Mann), healthy diets (graham crackers, breakfast cereals), and rights for women (Seneca Falls convention) abounded. Their common message was one of optimism, but it carried the threat that a democracy would find itself incapable of achieving stability. The French observer Alexis de Tocqueville tracked all these plans for social perfection, along with the other tensions of a democratic society, in Democracy in America, which gave a favorable reading to the American future, perfectionism and all.

Outline

I. Americans adopted an optimistic view of what their new republic was capable of achieving.
   
   A. They believed that the American experiment was unheralded in human history and that having once begun, the path to further improvement lay open.
      1. Andrew Jackson’s political philosophy glorified American progress.
   
   B. Americans also feared that this experiment could be compromised.
      1. They continued to resent humiliations visited on them by Great Britain.
      2. The European monarchies remained a threat.
      3. Americans dreaded the influence of material success on public virtue.
      4. Immigrants, with different languages, folkways, and versions of Christianity, provoked fear that immigrant minorities could be easily seduced and turned into instruments of political corruption.
   
   C. This pushing for more reform was combined with a pulling away to guarantee the survival of reform in the midst of a threatening and unstable society.
1. Many Americans were convinced that the threat to their republican purity was so great that it was necessary for them to withdraw from society.
2. Examples of this were offered by America’s own colonial past and by emigrant colonies organized by Gustavus Unonius and Morris Birkbeck.

II. Some of these reform efforts were religious.

A. Movements for social improvement were inaugurated by many churches as a way of recapturing their lost position as the moral arbiters of American society.
   1. Churches attempted to promote the idea that Christianity was part of the common law.
   2. Churches sought to gain special exemptions.
   3. Churches sought to veto objectionable legislation.

B. On the other hand, many religious movements withdrew from contact with society to set up separatist colonies, either because they were convinced their purity was at stake or because they espoused beliefs unpopular in the larger society.
   1. The Shakers practiced absolute celibacy and subordination to the teachings of Mother Ann Lee.
   2. The Millerites literally believed they would be taken up out of the world by the Second Coming of Jesus Christ in 1843.
   3. The Mormons organized their own colony at Nauvoo, Illinois, then withdrew still further to the West because of persecution for their practice of polygamy.

III. Secular reform movements called for a rethinking of American participation in the world of market capitalism, education, diet, and women’s rights.

A. Many secular reform movements were attempts to reorganize society.
   1. Economic protest took the form of the creation of workingmen’s parties.
   2. Education reform was championed by Horace Mann.
   3. Dietary reform was promoted by Sylvester Graham and W. K. Kellogg.
   4. Temperance was promoted by a full spectrum of organizations and leaders.

B. Other reform movements, however, copied religious come-outers by attempting to create secular philosophical reform colonies.
   1. Brook Farm was a transcendentalist experiment in communal living.
   2. The Northampton Association tried to organize an industrial, non-capitalist economic cooperative.
   3. Oberlin, Ohio, was organized as both a colony and a college, with the college based on a philosophy of self-sufficient manual labor.
IV. The obsession with reform movements drew severe criticism from Americans and foreign observers, who equated the reform frenzy with the influence of democracy.

A. American critics feared that the reformers were making democracy ridiculous.
   1. Orestes Brownson thought that reform enthusiasm was the logical fruit of Protestant individualism.
   2. Nathaniel Hawthorne believed that most reform movements were based on a flawed overestimate of human nature.

B. Foreign critics retailed stories of American reform movements that seemed to underscore all the frailties of democracy.
   2. However, the shrewdest foreign observer, Alexis de Tocqueville, saw the excesses of reform as part of the overall health of American democracy.

Essential Reading:
Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform*.

Supplementary Reading:
Howe, *Making the American Self*.
Brooke, *The Refiner’s Fire*.

Questions to Consider:
1. In what ways did the “comeouter” reform movements resemble earlier religious movements?
2. What in the nature of American government made the resort to private voluntary agencies necessary?
Lecture Thirty-Three
Southern Society and the Defense of Slavery

Scope: Slavery was considered by the Founders to be an anomaly in the age of the Enlightenment, especially in the American Republic. Its declining profitability before 1800 seemed to suggest that it would gradually die out, as it did in such northern states as New Jersey and New York, where immigrant labor made slave labor unprofitable. But the success of cotton agriculture and the labor needed to sustain it resurrected slavery. It became a system characterized by racism, legal and social death, and resistance. Especially after the Nat Turner slave revolt in 1831, southerners abandoned plans for abolition and began defending slavery as a social good. Pro-slavery writers lauded slavery as a non-economic patriarchal institution. But they recruited non-slaveholding support in the South by playing on poor white racism and fears of economic competition. When a northern abolition movement gathered force in the 1830s behind William Lloyd Garrison, southern demands for protection and rendition of runaways to the North led to mob violence, aggressive antislavery organizing in the North, and the splitting of American religious denominations.

Outline

I. Slavery was considered a contradiction of the spirit of liberty.
   A. To hold some people in bondage while theorizing about liberty seemed ridiculous.
      1. Numerous states and some prominent individuals began emancipation movements.
      2. Most of these emancipations were not immediate.
      3. Most emancipation programs favored colonization to Liberia or elsewhere.
      4. Many of them were made possible by competition from immigrant labor.
   B. Slavery became an offense to religious conviction.
      1. Slavery was opposed by increasing numbers of New England Calvinists, beginning with Samuel Hopkins.
      2. Slavery was denounced by marginal religious groups, beginning with the Quakers.

II. In the South, where slavery was the most heavily concentrated, many southerners were inclined to agree with the criticism.
   A. Slavery was ceasing to be profitable.
      1. The principal cash crops for which slavery was vital began to decline.
2. British interference with the Atlantic slave trade diminished the prospect of sustaining slave imports.

B. Southerners allowed the federal Constitution to begin whittling away at slavery.
   1. The slave trade was to be abolished in 1808.
   2. All mention of slavery was avoided.
   3. Southern representation in Congress could be based on counting only two-fifths of the slave population, rather than all of it.
   4. The Northwest Territory was organized without slavery.

III. Southern opposition to slavery began to weaken by the 1830s.
   A. Slavery in the South returned to profitability.
      1. Southerners turned to a new staple crop, cotton.
      2. Cotton was the “white gold” of the Industrial Revolution.
      3. Cotton became the principal export commodity of the United States.
      4. The invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney made the aggressive use of slave labor economically dominant.
   B. The possibility of slave revolts made southerners fearful of ending slavery.
      1. There were early revolt plots in Charleston and Richmond, and slave-ship uprisings, such as that of the Amistad in 1839.
      2. The most successful revolt was the most unplanned, that of Nat Turner in southside Virginia in 1831.
      3. Turner raised the specter of mass racial murder and convinced hesitant whites that slavery was the only means of protecting themselves from the bloody consequences of emancipation.

IV. Southerners created a pro-slavery ideology to suit their economic needs and racial fears.
   A. One part of this ideology was based on racial difference theory.
      1. European Romanticism glorified racial and national identities of blood (Gobineau, H. S. Chamberlain).
      2. Hierarchies of races were created with subordinated Africans.
      3. Characteristics of Africans were supposed to make them fit only for enslavement (Josiah Nott).
      4. It was never explained how this made blacks equally capable of revolt.
   B. Another part of the pro-slavery ideology was based on paternalism.
      1. Some sections of the South liked to defend slavery as a household institution.
      2. Paternalism, however, was usually contradicted in practice.
   C. Others defended slavery on simple economic grounds.
1. It was in the interest and power of southerners to exploit others, and those others might as well be of another race (James Henry Hammond).

2. Southern slavery was actually more socially responsible than the wage-slavery of northern factory workers (George Fitzhugh).

D. Nevertheless, many southern slaveholders were plagued with doubt about slavery.
   1. They feared the resentment of non-slaveholding whites and tried to deal with that by promoting white-man’s democracy.
   2. They were conscious of the exploitation they were guilty of, and religious conviction doomed them to constant self-torment.
   3. They feared that slavery was dying out in the upper South and would cost the slave South the loyalty of its most settled regions.

V. Southerners were outraged when, after 1831, a northern abolition movement appeared.

A. Unlike earlier antislavery movements, the new abolitionism was immediatist.
   1. William Lloyd Garrison demanded an immediate end to slavery.
   2. Garrison popularized his views in The Liberator.
   3. The new abolitionism was also opposed to colonization.

B. Abolitionism displayed many of the internal problems of other reform movements.
   1. Garrison favored withdrawal from the political process and criticized religious influences.
   2. Garrison split the American Anti-Slavery Society over women’s issues.
   3. Evangelical abolitionists resented Garrison’s criticism of religion.
   4. They attracted more hatred than recruits from other northerners.
   5. Many of the abolitionists were themselves racists who were more concerned about the ill effects of slavery on whites than on blacks.

C. Nevertheless, southerners feared the abolitionists and tried to suppress them.
   1. They purged abolitionist literature from the federal mail.
   2. They organized elaborate systems of supervision and repression.
   3. They split several religious denominations.
   4. They installed a “gag rule” on abolitionist petitions in Congress.

D. Was the defense of slavery irrational?
   1. Not on the basis of economic profitability.
   2. Not on the basis of the reproduction of the slave population.
   3. Not on the basis of slavery’s capacity for expansion.
   4. Not on the basis of slavery’s adaptability from agricultural to industrial labor.
5. Not on the basis of the resources available to the South and West in the form of land that could easily be seized from weaker nations and converted to slave agriculture.

**Essential Reading:**
Oakes, *The Ruling Race*.

**Supplementary Reading:**
Mayer, *All on Fire*.
Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*.

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Was slavery an outmoded throwback to feudalism or a modern aspect of market economies?
2. Was Garrison’s absolutism helpful or harmful in the crusade against slavery?
Lecture Thirty-Four
Whose Manifest Destiny?

Scope: Americans swarmed into the Louisiana Purchase territories far faster and in greater numbers than Jefferson could have predicted, and in the process, they triggered three major conflicts: the first with the Plains Indian tribes of the trans-Mississippi, the second with Mexico over American emigration into the northern Mexican province of Texas, and the third with each other over the admission of slavery into the Louisiana Purchase. The first triggered a series of border wars that continued off and on until 1890. In the process, western immigration became a romantic epic, glorified in fiction and nonfiction by James Fenimore Cooper and Francis Parkman. The second led to an uprising in Texas in 1835, marked by the siege of the Alamo and the Texan victory at San Jacinto and the creation of an independent Texan republic that was finally annexed by the United States in 1845. The third was solved by Henry Clay and the creation of the Compromise of 1820 (Missouri Compromise), which was supposed to solve the question of slavery’s expansion. Despite the fame Clay gained as a statesman, he was unable to gain the prize he wanted most, the presidency, and lost his best chance for election in 1844 to Andrew Jackson’s protégé, James Knox Polk.

Outline
I. Ever since the 18th century, Americans believed that the westward sway of empire would carry republicanism and Christianity into the uninhabited western regions of the United States.
   A. These regions, however, were “uninhabited” only in the sense that they contained few English-speaking white people.
      1. French-speaking and Spanish-speaking settlements covered the Mississippi valley, and until 1821, Spain still ruled an empire that covered the modern Southwest.
      2. The woodland Indian tribes had to be legally dispossessed.
      3. Several of these tribes possessed cultural organization rivaling and sometimes mimicking that of American whites.
      5. Dispossession triggered civil litigation and forced transfer in the case of the Cherokees and other tribes. “Indian removal” caused the loss of thousands of Indian lives.
      6. Once dispossession had removed the woodland tribes, Americans encountered a new cultural phenomenon in the form of the nomadic Plains Indians.
B. Certain regions, especially the lower Mississippi valley and the prairies of the Northwest Territory, turned out to contain some of the finest agricultural land in the world.
   1. The agricultural possibilities of both Mississippi and Illinois astounded foreign observers.
   2. Title to these lands was easy, dependable, and cheap to obtain.
   3. Although technically supervised by Congress, occupation of these lands often proceeded by simple squatting and preemption.

C. American expansion and settlement into the trans-Mississippi proceeded far faster than anyone, including Thomas Jefferson, had predicted.
   1. The structure of territorial government allowed settlements to organize themselves politically at a very fast rate.
   2. By 1818-19, Illinois, Indiana, Alabama, and Mississippi passed through the territorial phase and were admitted as states.

II. The relentless expansion of American settlement generated two major conflicts that overshadowed all the others.

A. Missouri was the first territory carved out of the Louisiana Purchase to apply for admission to the Union as a state, in 1819.
   1. As part of the Louisiana Purchase and not the Northwest Territory, Missouri had been settled by slaveholders.
   2. The territorial legislature asked for admission as a slave state.
   3. This generated protests from northern members of Congress, who saw the recognition of slavery in the Purchase as a symbolic attempt by slaveholders to identify slavery with expansion.
   4. A year of angry debate ensued, to be resolved only by Henry Clay’s proposal of the Missouri Compromise (1820), which drew a line through the Purchase, dividing the portions that could be admitted as slave states and the portions that could be admitted as free states.

B. Slavery also became an issue in another incident of expansion in Texas.
   1. Texas was the northeastward-most province of the Spanish vice-royalty of Mexico.
   2. When Mexicans overthrew Spanish rule in 1821 and proclaimed a republic, Texas passed under Mexican control.
   3. Texas remained sparsely settled.
   4. When a revolution brought a military dictator, Antonio de Santa Anna, to power in Mexico, Santa Anna proposed to develop Texas by inviting American settlers on generous terms, provided they embraced Roman Catholicism and renounced slavery.
   5. Americans, under the impresario Stephen Austin, took up Santa Anna’s offer but refused to subscribe to its conditions.
   6. As the number of American settlers increased, Santa Anna attempted to cut off immigration and disarm the Texans.
   7. The Texans revolted in 1835 and defeated Santa Anna.
8. Congress balked at annexing another slave state, and for 11 years, Texas remained an independent republic.

III. Western expansion fed the notion that the United States had a manifest (that is, “plainly obvious”) destiny to rule the North American continent.

A. Western expansion began to acquire the status of romantic legend.
   1. This legend was fed by American artists depicting the Plains Indians as “noble savages” and the mystique of the “mountain men.”
   2. The legend was also fed by tales of missionary martyrs.
   3. It was given literary status by the histories of Francis Parkman.

B. Expansionism began to have real political consequences.
   1. It created friction with Great Britain over boundaries with Canada.
   2. It encouraged filibustering.
   3. It destroyed Henry Clay’s last chance for election to the presidency in 1844 and paved the way for the election of an outright expansionist and protégé of Andrew Jackson, James Knox Polk.

Essential Reading:
Benson, The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy.

Supplementary Reading:
Lord, A Time to Stand.
Schoelwer, Alamo Images: Changing Perceptions of a Texas Experience.

Questions to Consider:
1. Why should Americans have regarded expansion to the Pacific coast as a “manifest” destiny?
2. What role did Romantic visions of the West play in promoting western expansion?
Lecture Thirty-Five
The Mexican War

Scope: Polk’s election was the signal for the renewal of Jacksonian expansionism and, as many suspected, the use of expansionism to serve the interests of slavery. Polk aggressively pushed American claims to territory along the southern border with Mexico and the Canadian border with Great Britain. The last of these was resolved diplomatically; the first ended in armed border clashes, which Polk seized on to ask for the declaration of war against Mexico. Despite political hesitations (not to mention military difficulties), the American army—a composite of regulars and volunteers—successfully cleared the Mexican provinces of New Mexico and California, then launched two invasions of Mexico itself, under Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott, which resulted in the dramatic capture of Mexico City by Scott. The war was ended with the Treaty of Guadelupe-Hidalgo, which saw Mexico cede to the United States all of what is now the American Southwest, from the Rio Grande River westward to the Pacific. It was the first American war waged primarily as an aggressive war against another country and the first to be widely criticized by Americans as an unrepublican exercise of power against another republic.

Outline

I. Polk’s election was the signal for confrontation for the sake of expansion.
   A. The Polk administration made demands on the British government.
      1. Polk demanded recognition of the 54°40′ line as the northern border of the Oregon Territory.
      2. Eventually, this demand was settled by negotiation.
      3. Many critics of Polk believed that he backed down because expansion to the North would not have created new opportunities for slavery.
   B. After Polk’s election, the disheartened resistance to the annexation of Texas withered.
      1. Texas was annexed in 1845 as a state by a simple resolution of Congress.
      2. The Mexican government refused to recognize the annexation and refused to recognize the Rio Grande River as a legitimate boundary.

II. Polk invited a clash with Mexico as a means of seizing still more territory.
   A. Polk shared a general contempt for Mexico.
      1. The instability of the Mexican government and the bloody example of the Alamo during the Texan War of Independence appalled and embarrassed the American confidence in republicanism.
2. White Americans stigmatized Mexicans on racial grounds, despite the fact that Mexican culture was as thoroughly Europeanized as their own.

B. In January 1846, Polk ordered American troops to occupy and patrol the Rio Grande River region.
   1. Troops under Zachary Taylor were ambushed by Mexican cavalry on April 23, 1846.
   2. Polk asked Congress for a declaration of war on May 11, 1846.

III. The first phase of the Mexican War began with an invasion of northern Mexico under Zachary Taylor and the conquest of New Mexico and California.
   A. Although outnumbered, American troops won repeated victories along the Rio Grande and in the Mexican province of Nuevo León.
      1. Taylor won two small-scale victories above the Rio Grande at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma in May 1846, then crossed the Rio Grande and occupied Monterey in September.
      2. Taylor won a major victory over Santa Anna at Buena Vista on February 22–23, 1847.
   B. Stephen W. Kearney’s “Army of the West” crossed the New Mexico desert.
      1. Kearney occupied New Mexico, capturing Santa Fe.
      2. Kearney then conquered California, aided by ships of the U.S. Navy and a domestic uprising of American immigrants who briefly organized themselves as the “Bear Flag Republic.”

IV. The second phase of the Mexican War began with an ambitious invasion of Mexico from the Gulf of Mexico under Winfield Scott.
   A. Scott’s expedition was one of the most ambitious and well-coordinated military operations carried out since the Napoleonic Wars.
      1. Scott landed and seized Vera Cruz in March 1847.
      2. Scott then marched inland and won victories over Santa Anna at Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec Castle, and occupied Mexico City.
   B. With the fall of Mexico City, the war was effectively over.
      1. The war involved only 115,000 American soldiers, with only 1,721 battle deaths.
      2. However, the army was plagued by desertion, disease, and conflict between soldiers and officers of the regular army and state volunteers.
      3. The war provided a practical training ground for many officers who would later rise to command in the Civil War.
V. The war was officially concluded with the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in February 1848.
   A. Mexico was forced to submit to American demands for territory and reparations.
      1. Mexico ceded two-fifths of its territory, including California and New Mexico, and recognized the Rio Grande as the boundary of Texas.
      2. Mexico agreed to pay $15 million to settle all Mexican claims and debts to the United States.
      3. The treaty was followed in 1853 by an additional purchase of land along the Gila River (known as the Gadsden Purchase).
   B. The acquisition of this territory aroused rejoicing and criticism.
      1. Gold was discovered at Sutter’s Mill in California in 1848, setting off the world’s greatest gold rush, just in time for the benefits to flow entirely to the United States.
      2. Opposition to expansion and fear that the Mexican Cession would be used to open up room for the expansion of slavery provoked opposition from figures as varied as Henry David Thoreau and Abraham Lincoln.

Essential Reading:
Eisenhower, So Far from God.

Supplementary Reading:
Holt, Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party.

Questions to Consider:
1. Was the Mexican War a justifiable response to aggression?
2. How did the performance of the American army in the Mexican War contrast with its performance in the War of 1812?
Lecture Thirty-Six
The Great Compromise

Scope: The pride of Americans in the defeat of Mexico quickly turned to ashes as the question of what to do with the territory ceded by Mexico to the United States became ensnarled in the ill-feelings of North and South over slavery. Four positions were staked out: 1) no expansion of slavery (as described in the Wilmot Proviso); 2) no interference with the expansion of slavery (the doctrine of John C. Calhoun); 3) popular sovereignty (first promoted by Lewis Cass but championed by Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois); and 4) an executive initiative by the new president, Zachary Taylor, which admitted certain key portions of the Mexican Cession as free states and left the rest to Congress to determine. The wrangling over these plans for the Mexican Cession led to southern threats of disunion and was aggravated by the sudden death of President Taylor. However, Henry Clay took the floor of the Senate to shape his last Union-saving compromise, the Compromise of 1850, which looked as if it would permanently dampen the slavery agitation.

Outline
I. Even before the Mexican War was over, controversy stirred in Congress over whether slavery should be admitted to any territory acquired from Mexico as a result of the war.
   A. Four alternatives emerged between 1846 and 1850 for dealing with the future of the Mexican Cession.
      1. David Wilmot proposed a rider to an appropriations bill, known as the Wilmot Proviso, which banned slavery completely from the Mexican Cession.
      2. President Polk proposed to extend the division line of the Missouri Compromise through the Cession, which would have thrown almost all of it open to slavery.
      3. John Calhoun demanded that the Cession be recognized as “common property” among all U.S. citizens to enable slaveowners to take slaves with them anywhere into the Cession.
      4. Lewis Cass outlined a plan, known as popular sovereignty, which allowed settlers in the Cession to make their own decisions for or against slavery as they organized the Cession into territories and states.
   B. Disagreements between northern and southern Democrats over these alternatives split the Democratic Party, which nominated Lewis Cass for president.
      1. The split allowed the Whigs to nominate Zachary Taylor for president in 1848.
2. Taylor was a southern slaveholder but had no known stand on the Cession question.
3. Once elected, Taylor had his own plan for the Cession, which involved admitting California and New Mexico as free states.
4. Southerners were so angered by Taylor’s proposal that a convention was called to discuss withdrawing from the Union.

II. The situation was rescued by the elderly Henry Clay, who stepped forward to produce one more Union-saving compromise.
   A. In January 1850, Clay laid eight resolutions before Congress.
      1. Clay proposed admitting California as a free state.
      2. New Mexico and Utah would be allowed to organize themselves according to popular sovereignty.
      3. A new Fugitive Slave Law would be adopted, and Congress would be barred from interfering with the interstate slave trade.
   B. Clay made the tactical error of insisting that all the resolutions be voted on together as an omnibus bill.
      1. Partisans of slavery opposed it because it seemed to give everything away.
      2. Critics of slavery disliked the possibility that popular sovereignty might open New Mexico and Utah to slavery.
      3. In an effort to save Clay’s compromise and the Union, Daniel Webster took the floor of the Senate to endorse the compromise, earning himself the denunciations of New England antislavery advocates.
      4. President Taylor, who saw Clay as a rival for leadership of the Whigs, gave no aid to Clay’s compromise.
      5. The compromise was defeated in the Senate in July 1850.

III. The compromise was revived, however, by Illinois Senator Stephen A. Douglas.
   A. Douglas was born in Vermont but emigrated to Illinois.
      1. He was short, stout, and energetic, with a powerful and persuasive speaking manner.
      2. He rose quickly from the Illinois state legislature to the judiciary, then to the Senate, becoming one of the up-and-coming personalities of the Democratic Party.
   B. Douglas was aided by the deaths of Calhoun and President Taylor in 1850.
      1. Taylor was succeeded by Vice President Millard Fillmore, who backed the compromise.
      2. When Clay withdrew from the Senate, Douglas assumed management of the compromise.
   C. Douglas reorganized the compromise into a more palatable format.
      1. He broke the eight resolutions into five separate bills and built separate coalitions around each bill.
2. Fillmore rallied Whigs to support the reshaped compromise in Congress.

3. By mid-September, Douglas had managed each of the bills through Congress, and the compromise was a fact.

IV. The passage of the Compromise of 1850 was a great achievement of practical politics, but what did the compromise actually accomplish?

A. It staved off civil war for another decade.
   1. The movement for southern secession quietly receded for the time being.
   2. Southerners interested in expanding the domain of slavery increasingly turned to the idea of annexing Cuba.

B. It allowed the immediate admission of California as a free state.
   1. As a result of the gold rush, California’s population soared.
   2. Statehood allowed the federal government to stabilize law and order in California.

C. By endorsing popular sovereignty, the compromise asserted the right of Congress to legislate for the territories on the slavery issue.
   1. One of Calhoun’s contentions was that because the territories were common property, Congress had no authority to legislate against the ownership of the property of some citizens.
   2. On the other hand, the great weakness of popular sovereignty was its assumption that settlers in the territories would be willing to arrive at peaceful conclusions to the slavery question.

D. The compromise also created a new Fugitive Slave law to succeed the original Fugitive Slave Law of 1793.
   1. Originally, this was the most unnoticed part of the compromise.
   2. However, it was a time bomb waiting to explode, because its terms threatened to make every northerner complicit in slave pursuit and rendition.

E. The compromise made Douglas a nationally famous figure.
   1. Douglas was reelected to the Senate in 1852.
   2. He now began to be spoken of as a possible presidential candidate.

Essential Reading:

Hamilton, *Prologue to Conflict*. 
Supplementary Reading:
Bartlett, Daniel Webster.
Lence, Union and Liberty: The Political Philosophy of John C. Calhoun,
“Speech on the Admission of California.”

Questions to Consider:
1. Why was the ‘popular sovereignty’ solution so popular?
2. What enabled Douglas to succeed with the Compromise where Clay had failed?
Timeline

Oct. 12, 1492...................... Christopher Columbus makes the first modern transatlantic crossing from Europe.

Feb. 19, 1519 ..................... Hernando Cortez sets sail from Cuba to begin the conquest of Mexico.

1585–87 ......................... Sir Walter Raleigh twice is unsuccessful in planting English colonies on the Outer Banks.

May 24, 1607 ..................... The Virginia Company establishes an English colony on the James River at Jamestown.

Summer 1608..................... Quebec established by Samuel de Champlain.

Sept. 12, 1609 .................... Henry Hudson begins exploration of the Hudson River for the Dutch West Indies Company.

May–June 1626................... Dutch purchase ground to establish a colony, New Amsterdam, on Manhattan Island.

June 17, 1630 .................... Massachusetts Bay Company arrives to begin settlement at Boston.


Aug. 27, 1664..................... Peter Stuyvesant surrenders New Amsterdam to the British, who rename it New York.

1675–76 ......................... King Philip’s War ravages New England.

1679–82 ......................... La Salle explores the Mississippi River and claims Louisiana for France.

Aug. 10, 1680..................... Pueblo Revolt begins, destroying Spanish churches and settlements in New Mexico.


Dec. 11, 1688 ..................... Glorious Revolution topples King James II and replaces him with William and Mary as monarchs.

Feb. 8, 1693 ..................... Charter granted to found the College of William and Mary.

Nov. 8, 1739 ..................... George Whitefield arrives in Philadelphia as part of his first evangelical preaching tour.

July 2, 1741 ..................... Jonathan Edwards delivers his sermon “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God” at Enfield, Massachusetts (now Connecticut).
May 28, 1754..................... George Washington surrenders Virginia militia at Fort Necessity, beginning the French and Indian War.

July 9, 1755....................... British troops under General Edward Braddock defeated by French and Indians near Fort Duquesne.

Sept. 18, 1759.................... British capture Quebec, and effective military resistance by the French in Canada ends.


1761–66 ......................... Controversy in the colonies over writs of assistance.


May 7–Nov. 28, 1763............ Pontiac lays siege to Fort Detroit as part of Pontiac’s Rebellion.

March 22, 1765................... Parliament imposes the Stamp Act, then rescinds it after violent colonial protests.

July 2, 1767....................... Townsend Duties enacted.

March 5, 1770..................... The Boston Massacre leaves five dead in front of the Boston Customs House.

May 10, 1773..................... Tea Act becomes law.


April 18–19, 1775.............. Battles of Lexington and Concord.

May 10, 1775..................... Second Continental Congress meets.

June 17, 1775.................... Battle of Bunker Hill.

Jan. 10, 1776..................... Thomas Paine publishes *Common Sense*.

July 4, 1776....................... Declaration of American Independence.

Dec. 18–June 9, 1777–78..... Continental Army’s winter encampment at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

March 1, 1780..................... Pennsylvania Act for Emancipation, first provision for gradual abolition of slavery in America.

March 1, 1781..................... Articles of Confederation ratified.
Oct. 19, 1781.................... Lord Cornwallis surrenders British forces at Yorktown.

1782 .............................. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur publishes *Letters from an American Farmer*.

Sept. 3, 1783 ........................ Treaty of Paris confirms independence of the United States from Great Britain.

May 20, 1785 ........................ Confederation Congress passes Land Ordinance on the organization of the western lands.

Jan. 25, 1787 ........................ Shay’s Rebellion climaxes in an assault on the federal arsenal at Springfield, Massachusetts.


July 13, 1787 ........................ Confederation Congress adopts the Northwest Ordinance.


April 30, 1789 ........................ George Washington sworn in as the first president of the United States.

Jan. 14, 1790 ........................ The first of Hamilton’s three “reports”—the *Report on the Public Credit*—is read to Congress.

Aug. 7–Nov. 19, 1791 ............. Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania.

Dec. 15, 1791 ........................ Bill of Rights ratified.

March 14, 1794 ........................ Eli Whitney files a patent on the cotton gin, which he had designed and built the previous year while working as a family tutor on a Georgia plantation.

Oct. 8–Nov. 8, 1797–98 ......... XYZ Affair outlined in dispatches from John Marshall, Timothy Pickering, and Elbridge Gerry.

Summer 1798 ..................... June 18, 25/July 6, 14: Alien and Sedition Acts passed by Congress.

Fall/Winter 1798 .................. Nov. 13, Dec. 24: The legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia adopt the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions as drafted by Madison and Jefferson.

Feb. 17, 1801 ........................ Thomas Jefferson elected in the House of Representatives as third U.S. president.

March 5, 1801 ........................ John Marshall becomes chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

April 30, 1803 ....................... U.S. negotiators approve Louisiana Purchase; *Marbury v. Madison* establishes principle of judicial review.

May 14, 1804 ....................... Meriwether Lewis and William Clark lead “Corps of Discovery” up the Missouri River in exploration of the purchase.

July 11, 1804 ....................... Alexander Hamilton is shot by Aaron Burr in a duel.

Feb. 19, 1807 ....................... Aaron Burr arrested for his part in a conspiracy in the Southwest Territory.

Dec. 22, 1807 ....................... Congress passes the Embargo Act, cutting off American commerce with France and Great Britain.

Oct. 11, 1811 ....................... The *New Orleans*, the first steamboat on the western rivers, leaves Pittsburgh on a voyage down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans.

Nov. 7, 1811 ....................... Battle of Tippecanoe.

June 1, 1812 ....................... President Madison asks for declaration of war against Great Britain, beginning the War of 1812.

Oct. 5, 1813 ....................... William Henry Harrison wins a victory for the United States at the battle of the Thames.

Dec. 24, 1814 ....................... Treaty of Ghent ends the War of 1812.

Jan. 9, 1815 ....................... Andrew Jackson victorious at the battle of New Orleans.

March 14, 1816 ....................... Second Bank of the United States chartered by Congress.

March 20, 1816 ....................... Justice Joseph Story hands down Supreme Court decision in *Martin v. Hunter’s Lessee*.

July 4, 1817 ....................... Work begins on the Erie Canal.

Feb. 2, 1819 ....................... *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* upholds the sanctity of contract.

Feb. 17, 1819 ....................... Chief Justice Marshall writes opinion for unanimous Supreme Court in *Sturgis v. Crowninshield*. 
March 6, 1819.......................... *McCulloch v. Maryland* establishes supremacy of federal jurisdiction over state.

Spring 1819.......................... Panic of 1819 begins with fall in British commodity prices.

Feb. 16, 1820.......................... Missouri Compromise adopted.

July 1822............................ Slave conspiracy under Denmark Vesey prompts panic and retribution in Charleston.

Dec. 2, 1823.......................... President James Monroe’s annual message to Congress articulates the Monroe Doctrine; James Fenimore Cooper begins his “Leatherstocking Tales” with the publication of *The Pioneers*.

Jan. 14, 1824......................... Henry Clay begins exposition of the “American System” before Congress.

March 2, 1824.......................... Chief Justice Marshall hands down opinion for a unanimous Supreme Court in *Gibbons v. Ogden*.

Feb. 9, 1825.......................... Election of John Quincy Adams as president in the House of Representatives, after the “corrupt bargain.”

March 1, 1826.......................... East Chelmsford, Massachusetts, incorporated as Lowell as it becomes the most important center of textile manufacturing in the United States.

July 18–25, 1827...................... New Lebanon Conference on revivalism.

July 4, 1828.......................... Construction begins on Baltimore & Ohio Railroad.


July 10, 1832.......................... President Jackson vetoes re-charter of the Second Bank of the United States.

Nov. 24, 1832.......................... South Carolina state convention nullifies federal tariffs of 1828 and 1832.

Dec. 4, 1833.......................... Founding of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

April 14, 1834.......................... Henry Clay applies the term Whig to the anti-Jackson opposition.

March 6, 1836.......................... Fall of the Alamo.
April 10, 1836 .................. Charles Grandison Finney opens the Broadway Tabernacle in New York City.


Aug. 31, 1837 .................. Ralph Waldo Emerson delivers “The American Scholar” to the Harvard Phi Beta Kappa society.

Aug.–Dec. 1838 ................. Forcible removal of 15,000 Cherokee Indians (the “Trail of Tears”) begins.

Sept. 3, 1838 ................... Frederick Douglass flees slavery to Philadelphia.

July 1840 ....................... Margaret Fuller begins publication of The Dial.

March 9, 1841 ................... Justice Joseph Story, in U.S. v. The Amistad, frees slaves who rose in mutiny aboard slave ship Amistad in 1837.

April 4, 1841 ................... President William Henry Harrison, the first Whig president, becomes the first president to die in office.

May 11–12, 1846 ............... Congress approves President Polk’s request for a declaration of war, beginning the Mexican War.

June 19, 1846 ................... First game of baseball played on rules designed by Alexander Cartwright.


Sept. 14, 1847 ................. Winfield Scott captures Mexico City.

Feb. 2, 1848 .................... Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ends the Mexican War and provides for cession of 500,000 square miles to the United States.

July 19–20, 1848 ............. Seneca Falls Convention on women’s rights.

Jan. 19, 1850 ................... Henry Clay introduces the bills that will make up the Compromise of 1850.
Glossary

**Abolitionism**: A movement that gathered public visibility beginning in the 1830s; dedicated to the immediate and complete abolition of slavery in the United States.

**Agrarian**: A term describing a cluster of ideas that located political economic virtue in agricultural employment, including independent land ownership and self-provision from the land, minimal land taxation, decentralized patterns of living, and patriarchy (in both gender and racial terms).

**American System**: Popularized by Henry Clay, this became the Whig economic platform and included federal government sponsorship for infrastructure (“internal improvements”), federal subsidies for manufacturing, and a fiscal system that helped fund entrepreneurship and contain the costs of risk.

**Anglican**: Term applied to describe the Church of England and its doctrines or to individual members of that Church; not actually used before the 19th century.

**Antislavery**: The larger segment of opinion that opposed slavery, but not necessarily through immediate abolition.

**Assimilation**: The process by which immigrants are brought into conformity with the dominant culture around them and in which they embrace the dominant values and reject those associated with their culture or country of origin.

**Business cycle**: The pattern of alternating economic expansions and contractions that characterizes production and consumption in the various forms of unregulated market economies.

**Calvinism**: A system of religious doctrine developed by John Calvin that taught the unlimited sovereignty and power of God in ordering all human affairs and, thereby, undercut the demands for loyalty required by many governments and state-sponsored churches; its specific teachings are sometimes defined by the acronym TULIP (total depravity, unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace, perseverance of the saints).

**Capitalism**: An economic system in which (a) goods and services are sold at prices higher than their actual cost of production, with the difference between the two saved or reinvested in the production of still more goods and services; (b) resources for exchange and for initial investments in production are made available in the form of credit from financial institutions, such as banks; (c) minimal state regulation allows free movement of credit, resources, and commercial strategies; and (d) a spirit of entrepreneurship, rational abstraction, and disciplined work habits prevails.

**Class**: A system of hierarchical social organization, based on acquired or inherited property holding and wealth and attaching various cultural attributes to each class.
Colonyization: In the 19th century, this term described a variety of plans proposed for repatriating freed slaves back to Africa rather than integrating them into civil and social life.

Common sense philosophy: Term used to describe a system of presentational realism that asserted that the mind could directly know the objects of its ideas and, as such, could have direct and accurate intuitions of both objective reality and the moral content of objects and of internal mental processes, from which a rational and orderly system of understanding can be constructed on inductive (or Baconian) principles.

Culture: The production and organization of symbols, attitudes, ideas, processes, and entertainment that express the common assumptions of a society or of groups in that society; can exist as folk, vernacular, or elite culture.

Deism: General term describing a religion based on rational deduction from the evidences of nature of the existence and attributes of a supreme deity, rather than from an authoritative supernatural revelation.

Democrat: Term for the political party begun as the Democratic-Republicans under Jefferson and Madison; sometimes shortened to “Republicans.” In the 1820s, when a splinter group of National Republicans developed and split off to become the Whigs, the party became known simply as “Democrats” and became the vehicle for expressing the political attitudes and culture symbolized by Andrew Jackson.

Electoral college: A provision in the Constitution designed to de-politicize the presidential election process by having electors in each state cast votes, based on the winner of the most votes in their states, for the president and vice president, with each state having as many votes as its combined number of senators and representatives in Congress.

Enlightenment: An intellectual movement born out of the scientific revolution of the 17th century that flourished on both sides of the Atlantic in the 18th century. The movement was characterized by confidence in reason as the means of solving practical, religious, and philosophical problems; an effort to approximate the order of nature; and a commitment to criticism as a means of discovery.

Evangelicalism: A form of Protestant Christian religious expression growing out of the Great Awakenings of the 18th century; marked by dramatic religious transformation, the location of religious authority in the Bible rather than in reason or in religious authorities, and a disposition to extend moral reform generally across society.

Factory: A system in which workers trained in the production of a specific commodity or similar commodities labor for wages, produce individual parts of such commodities for assembly by other workers (rather than each worker producing the entire commodity), and use a common source of artificial power for the production process.
**Free labor**: An economic system in which an individual, protected by natural and civil rights, is free to seek terms of employment, look for pay in the form of cash wages, and may accumulate sufficient capital through work and savings to acquire property and hire others.

**Frigate**: A warship of the last era of wooden fighting ships, of medium size and armament (carrying anywhere from 44 to 56 cannon of varying weight), between a sloop and a ship-of-the-line.

**Half-Way Covenant**: A redefinition of the exacting standards of church membership originally laid down by New England Puritans, so that those children of church members who had not experienced religious conversion for themselves could nevertheless be admitted to one of the sacraments, baptism, and brought under church discipline.

**Indentured servant**: An individual who sells rights to a term of service (usually seven years) in exchange for the costs of passage to America.

**Jeffersonian**: Refers to a system of ideas articulated by Thomas Jefferson, John Randolph of Roanoke, and John Taylor of Caroline that promoted agrarianism and states’ rights and discouraged concentrations of fiscal and commercial power in governments, cities, institutions, and industries.

**Joint-stock companies**: An early form of corporate organization, designed to limit risk and maximize resources by allowing individuals to contribute to a capital fund through the purchase of shares; this system limited losses to the value of shares bought and permitted sharing of profits through the payment of dividends based on the number of shares.

**Judicial review**: The power of the federal courts to determine the legal standing and/or constitutionality of state or federal legislative actions.

**Jurisprudence**: The theory of law; for example, a jurisprudence of “judicial restraint” would favor minimizing the intervention of judges in legislative matters.

**Laissez-faire**: From the French, “let it be as they wish”; an economic attitude springing from Adam Smith that held that governments should exercise as small an active role as possible in a nation’s economic activities and decisions.

**Liberalism**: From the Latin liber, for “free”; a political and economic attitude developed at the end of the 17th century and growing to full stature in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. This view based organization of human societies on (a) the possession of natural rights rather than inherited status; (b) the notion of a “state of nature” in which the unrestrained competition for scarce resources induced people to create civil societies as a “social contract” for the purpose of acquiring and protecting property; and (c) the notion that the legitimacy of civil societies depended entirely on the securing of natural and civil rights and could be changed if it failed to do so.
**Manifest Destiny**: Phrase coined by Jacksonian journalist John O'Sullivan in 1845 that expressed the belief that the United States was clearly, or “manifestly,” destined by divine providence, cultural superiority, or racial paternalism to extend U.S. sovereignty over the entire North American continent.

**Market**: Originally a literal physical location but, in the 19th century, increasingly an abstract “place” in which sellers of goods and services compete with other sellers for the attention and business of consumers.

**Mercantilism**: The view that national economies constitute resources that the state must manage in order to maximize, through regulation and subsidization, the survival of the state; especially applicable to the preservation of domestic resources and reserves of gold or silver.

**Militia**: The civilian military forces of each state, who trained for military purposes on indifferent and occasional schedules and were available for active duty on the call of the state’s governor or, in time of war or insurrection, by the president of the United States.

**Mobility**: The concept that class, tradition, ethnicity, or religion are no barriers to economic or geographical movement.

**Moral philosophy**: The study of practical applications of religious or philosophical teaching that formed the core of 18th- and 19th-century college curricula.

**Nativism**: Fear of, or prejudice against, those not native born in the United States or those retaining loyalty to foreign languages, ethnic identities, or religions.

**Nullification**: The doctrine, articulated first in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, then by John C. Calhoun in the Nullification Crisis, that held that state governments have the power to veto, or nullify, the operation of federal laws within their bounds.

**Plantations**: Term used to describe Britain’s North American colonies from the view of the royal government. The implication was that the North American colonies were merely settlements with no forms of self-government that the crown was obligated to consult.

**Public lands**: The vast holdings owned by the federal government in the areas ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Paris or acquired by the Louisiana Purchase or the Mexican Cession and whose sales were a major source of revenue for the federal government.

**Puritanism**: A religious protest movement in English Protestantism that identified itself doctrinally with Calvinism, set extremely high moral standards for admission to church membership, and insisted on disentangling the church from state control, even to the point of authorizing individual congregations to manage their own affairs (Congregationalism).
**Racism**: A belief that certain physical marks categorize people into races and that these can be ranked hierarchically in moral, intellectual, or physical terms that permit members of a “superior” race to stigmatize, oppress, or exploit members of an “inferior” race.

**Republicanism**: Any form of political organization or ideology that (a) repudiates monarchy, oligarchy, or tyranny; (b) replaces government by self-interest and patronage with public spirit and considerations of merit; (c) lodges political authority in the community as a whole while restricting legislative, judicial, or executive responsibilities in the state to those enjoying popular endorsement; and (d) may be more or less democratic in the identification of those who are accorded civil rights, especially the vote. Sometimes distinguished into “classical” republicanism, which stresses public spirit and community, and “liberal” republicanism, which legitimates the pursuit of economic and political self-interest as leading to the greatest good.

**Romanticism**: A reaction to the rationalism of the Enlightenment that valued community with nature; the power of emotion, passion, or sentiment over reason; a belief that “organic” and nonrational factors governed human behavior; and an individual subjectivity.

**Sedition**: Treason, as in the Alien and Sedition Acts.

**Specie**: Hard coin, in gold or silver, as opposed to paper money, stock certificates, or credit.

**States’ rights**: A political doctrine rooted in the view that the states of the Union are its primary political units and have surrendered only limited aspects of sovereignty to the federal government.

**Suffrage**: The civil right to vote.

**Tariffs**: A tax laid on imported goods to be paid by the importer, often levied as a way of adding to the costs of foreign-produced goods in order to give competitive advantage to domestically produced goods.

**Temperance**: A reform movement beginning in the 1820s that sought to restrict the consumption of hard alcoholic spirits through moral exhortation; eventually, the movement became interchangeable with the idea of total abstinence from all fermented liquors and political movements to ban alcohol production and distribution.

**Transcendentalism**: Describes the beliefs of a group of New England Romantic philosophers who sought to “transcend” the Realist epistemology of the dominant “common sense” philosophy by discovering ideas of moral truth and beauty apart from sensation. The transcendentalists espoused reform movements based on communities that identified norms for behavior through mystical delight in nature and the discovery of “authenticity.”

**Unitarianism**: A religious movement in 18th- and 19th-century New England Congregationalism that rejected the traditional tenets of Calvinism, in particular,
the notion that God existed as three persons in a Trinity (composed of God the Father, Jesus Christ the Son, and the Holy Spirit), in favor of a “rational” reading of the Bible that found only one “person” in God and, therefore, redefined Jesus Christ as a being of a separate and lower order.

**Utopianism**: From Thomas More’s *Utopia* (as derived from the Greek, *eutopia*, or “good place”), the quest for a perfectly ordered society in which inequality, crime, poverty, and suffering have been abolished by a readjustment of social relations, either through rational management or strict adherence to religious revelation.

**Veto**: From the Latin for “I prevent,” the term is used in article 1, section 9, of the Constitution to describe the power of the president to prevent Congressional legislation from passing into law.

**Voluntary societies**: Describes self-organized associations of citizens for specific goals, usually religious, moral, or philanthropic, that the federal government was restricted by the Constitution from publicly pursuing or was given no mandate to pursue.

**Whig**: Originally, in English political history, the “country” party, opposed to the “court” party and absolute monarchy, this became the name of a party described in 1834 by Henry Clay as the new opposition to “King” Andrew Jackson and the Democrats.
**Biographical Notes**


**Nicholas Biddle** (1786–1844). American financier. President of the Second Bank of the United States, who triggered the “Bank War” of 1832 by applying for re-chartering of the bank in the face of Andrew Jackson’s opposition.

**John Burgoyne** (1722–1792). British playwright, politician, and general. Commanded British invasion force from Canada in 1777, only to be defeated and forced to surrender his army at Saratoga, New York.

**Aaron Burr** (1756–1836). American lawyer and vice president of the United States. Allied himself with Thomas Jefferson and served as Jefferson’s first vice president but alienated many Jeffersonians and was dropped from the ticket in 1804. Notorious for having killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel in 1804. Indicted for treason in 1807 after a plot to set up a separate republic in the southwest.


**John Caldwell Calhoun** (1782–1850). American politician and vice president of the United States. Attempted to shield the South from nationalist economic schemes; Calhoun proposed “nullification” of federal tariffs as a state’s right and later demanded the opening of the Mexican Cession to slavery.

**Henry Clay** (1777–1852). American politician and secretary of state. Originally one of the “hawks” who agitated for the War of 1812, he became the author of the “American System” and founder of the Whig Party.


**James Fenimore Cooper** (1789–1851). American novelist. Introduced Romanticism to American literature through his series of “Leatherstocking Tales” (1823–1841), including *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826).

**Charles Cornwallis** (First Marquis and second Earl Cornwallis, 1738–1805). British general. Served in the Seven Years’ War and the Revolution, in which he commanded the major British field force in the American South. Forced to surrender at Yorktown, Virginia, in 1781.
John Dickinson (1732–1808). American lawyer and politician. Served in the Continental Congress and was largely responsible for drafting the Articles of Confederation. Chaired the Annapolis Convention in 1786 and wrote on behalf of the new federal Constitution.

Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758). American Congregational theologian. Pastor of Northampton, Massachusetts, during the Great Awakening and author of important treatises defending the awakening and traditional Puritan Calvinism.


Charles Grandison Finney (1792–1875). American Presbyterian theologian and educator. The most famous preacher of the Second Great Awakening, he helped found Oberlin College and served as pastor of Oberlin’s First Church.


Robert Fulton (1765–1815). American inventor. Designed and built the first commercially successful steamboat, the Clermont.

Thomas Gage (1720–1787). British general. Commanded British forces in North America from 1763 to 1775. Organized the raid that became the battles of Lexington and Concord.


Alexander Hamilton (1757–1804). American lawyer, soldier, and first secretary of the treasury. His three Reports to Congress as treasury secretary helped shape the economic development of the American Republic.

William Henry Harrison (1773–1841). American soldier, politician, and eighth president of the United States. Cleared the Northwest Territory of Indian resistance at the battle of Tippecanoe in 1811 and defeated the British at the battle of the Thames in 1813 during the War of 1812. The first Whig president and the first president to die in office.

Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–1864). American novelist. Originally influenced by transcendentalism, he turned to crafting an outstanding series of historical novels, especially The Scarlet Letter (1850) and The House of Seven Gables (1851).

Charles Hodge (1797–1878). American Presbyterian theologian. As seminary professor at Princeton Theological Seminary, he was the principal figure in the creation of the Princeton Theology.
Sir William Howe (1729–1814). British general. Commanded British forces in North America from 1775 to 1778, winning a series of victories over the Continental Army at Long Island, Brandywine, and Germantown, but he was unsuccessful in completely snuffing out the Revolution.

Henry Hudson (d. 1611). British navigator and explorer. Sponsored by the Dutch West Indies Company, he discovered the Hudson River in 1609 but died in a futile attempt to discover a northwest passage to China.

Andrew Jackson (1767–1845). American soldier and seventh president of the United States. Lionized for his victory over the British at New Orleans in 1815, Jackson was denied the presidency through the “corrupt bargain” of 1824 but was elected in 1828 and 1832 and pursued aggressive policies against the Second Bank of the United States, the Cherokee Indians, and southern threats of nullification of federal legislation.


Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle (1643–1687). French explorer. Explored the Great Lakes and Mississippi River valley for France and died trying to establish a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi in 1687.

Ann Lee (1736–1784). English religious mystic. Founder of the communitarian sect known as the “Shakers” in 1774.

Meriwether Lewis (1774–1809). American soldier and explorer. Together with William Clark, he was commissioned by Thomas Jefferson to survey the Louisiana Purchase and carried out Jefferson’s directive with a Corps of Discovery from 1804 to 1806, having reached the Pacific Ocean and returned with the loss of only one member of the expedition.

Francis Cabot Lowell (1775–1817). American industrialist. Founded the Boston Manufacturing Company and created the first large-scale textile mills in America at Waltham, Massachusetts.


Horace Mann (1796–1859). American lawyer and educator. Designed a comprehensive renovation of the Massachusetts public education system and created the outline of the modern public school system.
John Marshall (1755–1835). American lawyer and chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. A Federalist appointed by John Adams to the Supreme Court, his long tenure as chief justice allowed Marshall to establish important principles of judicial review, the supremacy of federal over state authority, and the protection of the manufacturing economy.


Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (1746–1825) American lawyer, judge, diplomat, and politician. One of three American diplomats sent by President Adams to negotiate with the French Directory, only to be confronted by demands for bribes in the XYZ Affair.

Pontiac (1720–1769). Ottawa chieftain. Organized an intertribal offensive against the British at the close of the French and Indian War.

Paul Revere (1735–1818). Boston artisan. Carried warning of British raid to Lexington on the night of April 18–19, 1775.

Winfield Scott (1786–1866). American soldier. Commanded the principal American field force in the Mexican War, winning successive victories in 1847 that culminated in the capture of Mexico City.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902). American feminist. A pioneer of awarding civil equality to women, she organized the first women’s rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848.


Tecumseh (1768–1813). Shawnee chieftain. Organized a coalition of Indian tribes to resist white expansion in the Northwest Territory. After his forces were defeated at Tippecanoe by William Henry Harrison, he fled to Canada and fought with the British in the War of 1812. He was killed at the battle of the Thames.

George Washington (1732–1799). first president of the United States. Commanded the Continental Army in the Revolution, presided over the Constitutional Convention, and became a leading figure of the Federalists.

Daniel Webster (1782–1852). American lawyer and politician. Involved in the major cases of the Marshall Court, including Gibbons v. Ogden, McCulloch vs.
Maryland, and Dartmouth College vs. Woodward. The greatest orator in the Senate, he attacked nullification and disunion in his great Second Reply to Hayne (1830).


John Winthrop (1588–1649). English lawyer and Puritan, first governor of Massachusetts Bay. Led the Puritan exodus to New England in 1630 and founded the town of Boston.

Essential Reading


Butler, Jon. *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990. Argues that religion established a comparatively feeble presence in early America, despite the presence of radical religious groups, such as the Puritans and Quakers, but eventually, through its own energies, succeeded in rising to cultural prominence in the early republic.


Morgan, Edmund S. *American Slavery-American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia.* New York: W.W. Norton, 1975. A meticulous history of the settlement of Virginia, from Jamestown through Bacon’s Rebellion, showing how the demand for labor shaped the movement toward slavery and how slavery, in turn, shaped the notions of freedom brought to the Revolution by the Virginia elite.


The Radicalism of the American Revolution. New York: Knopf, 1992. Argues that American republicanism was founded on aristocratic values that the Revolution undermined, leading to the swift development of a democratic, rather than a republican, political consciousness.

**Supplementary Reading**

Some of the following books may be out of print. Internet sites such as [www.abebooks.com](http://www.abebooks.com) and [www.amazon.com](http://www.amazon.com) may be helpful in locating copies.


detailed analysis of the 1692 panic in Salem, Massachusetts; the individuals who fostered it; and those who were its victims.


Gutman, Herbert. *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925*. New York: Pantheon, 1976. Pioneering study arguing that enslaved blacks successfully maintained family structures under the pressure of slavery and that the modern disintegration of the black family was a recent political phenomenon.

practical beliefs and non-beliefs of New England Puritans, as opposed to an intellectual history of the clergy, concluding that the gap between the two was not nearly as wide as might be supposed.


Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989. Argues that evangelical Protestants were influenced by democratization in church structure, leadership, and theology but also contributed tremendously to it, as well.


which not only failed to seize the fort and city, but helped produce the national anthem.


———. *John Quincy Adams*. New York: Times Books, 2002. A brief biography of one of the most gifted, but one of the most politically unfortunate, presidents.


Stampf, Kenneth M. *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South*. New York: Knopf, 1956. This book single-handedly rewrote the priorities for understanding slavery and ended a long era in which slavery was looked on as a benign institution.


**Document Collections**


Hyneman, Charles S., and Donald Lutz, eds. *American Political Writings during the Founding Era, 1760–1805*. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Press, 1983, two volumes. A broad collection of American political pamphlets, sermons, and treatises, with the first volume devoted to the revolutionary period and the second, to the Constitution and early republic.


Lence, Ross. *Union and Liberty: The Political Philosophy of John C. Calhoun*. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1992. Fourteen of Calhoun’s most important writings, including his protests against the “Tariff of Abomination” and the Compromise of 1850.


Gary W. Gallagher, Ph.D.
Professor of History of the American Civil War, University of Virginia

Gary W. Gallagher is the John L. Nau Professor in the History of the American Civil War at the University of Virginia. Before coming to UVA, he was Professor of History at Pennsylvania State University—University Park flagship campus. He graduated from Adams State College of Colorado and earned both his master’s degree and doctorate in history from the University of Texas at Austin. His research and teaching focus are on the era of the Civil War and Reconstruction.

Recognized as one of the top historians of the Civil War, Dr. Gallagher is a prolific author. His books include *The Confederate War*, *Lee and His Generals in War and Memory*, *Stephen Dodson Ramseur: Lee’s Gallant General*, and *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (co-edited with Alan T. Nolan). He has also co-authored and edited numerous works on individual battles and campaigns, including Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Wilderness, Spotsylvania, and the 1864 Shenandoah Valley campaign and published more than eight dozen articles in scholarly journals and popular historical magazines. Virtually all his books have been History Book Club selections.

He has received numerous awards for his research and writing, including the Lincoln Prize (1998—shared with three other authors), the Fletcher Pratt Award for the best nonfiction book on the Civil War (1999), the Laney Prize for the best book on the Civil War (1998), and the William Woods Hassler Award for contributions to Civil War studies (1998). Additionally, Professor Gallagher serves as editor of two book series for the University of North Carolina Press (“Civil War America” and “Military Campaigns of the Civil War”). He has appeared regularly on the Arts and Entertainment Network’s series *Civil War Journal* and has participated in other television projects. Active in historic preservation, Professor Gallagher was president of the Association for Preservation of Civil War Sites from 1987 through mid-1994, has served on the Board of Directors of the Civil War Trust, and on numerous occasions, has testified before Congress on battlefield preservation.
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The History of the United States

Scope (Lectures Thirty-Seven through Forty-Eight):

Lectures Thirty-Seven through Forty-Eight of this course focus on sectional conflict during the middle decades of the 19th century. They divide into three groups: the first three lectures dealing with escalating political tensions between slaveholders and non-slaveholders from the early 1850s through the election of Abraham Lincoln and the outbreak of war in 1860–1861; the next six, with the four years of the Civil War; and the final three, with the era of Reconstruction.

The lectures on the period 1852–1861 emphasize the failure of established institutions to cope with such volatile issues as the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and the extension of slavery into the federal territories, highlighting the process by which Americans in the North and the South increasingly came to expect the worst from each other. The sectional splits in major Protestant denominations, such as the Baptists and Methodists; the collapse of the second-party system of Whigs and Democrats; and the Supreme Court’s seeming championing of the southern position on slavery extension in the Dred Scott case of 1857 contributed to a situation in which sectionalism flourished. The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, the caning of Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner in the Senate chamber in 1856, John Brown’s raid on Harpers Ferry in 1859, and the Republican triumph in 1860, which gave an overtly sectional party control of the presidency, marked milestones on a path toward a breakup of the Union.

That breakup came in the winter and spring of 1860–1861 with the secession of 11 slave states and the creation of the Confederate States of America. The six lectures devoted to the war years, 1861–1865, assess the relative strengths and weaknesses of each side, trace the ebb and flow of military campaigning, discuss the quality of military leadership, examine the forces that brought emancipation to the fore, and describe the impact of the conflict on the respective home fronts. These lectures illuminate the many connections between the military and civilian spheres and emphasize that U.S. victory was far from a certainty until the last winter of the conflict. This group of lectures also underscores the immense scope of the war, its shattering human and material cost, what it resolved and did not resolve, and its implications for political and economic development in the postwar years.

The postwar era witnessed a seismic political struggle in the North over who would set the terms under which former Confederate states would be restored to full partnership in the Union. The lectures on Reconstruction explore the break between President Andrew Johnson and Republicans in Congress, the reasons behind Johnson’s impeachment, passage of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, and the establishment and functioning of congressional Reconstruction in the South. This portion of the course counters the still-popular idea, promulgated by the immensely successful film Gone with the Wind and other films and works of fiction, that the postwar years saw the white South subjected to unparalleled political corruption under Republican-led state
governments. It closes with an examination of the Compromise of 1877, which brought an end to Reconstruction, and a consideration of whether Reconstruction should be reckoned as a lost opportunity for black Americans.
Lecture Thirty-Seven
Sectional Tensions Escalate

Scope: Tensions between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding regions of the United States increased steadily in the wake of the Compromise of 1850. Although sectional conflicts did not dominate the daily lives of most Americans in the first six years of the 1850s, large numbers of white northerners and southerners, divided by a cluster of issues relating to the institution of slavery, increasingly saw themselves as pursuing different interests. Sectional rifts in mainstream religious denominations, the impact of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, and the presidential elections of 1852 and 1856, which respectively witnessed the demise of the Whig Party and the emergence of the Republican Party, were symptomatic of deepening sectional rifts. The Fugitive Slave Act, which stipulated that federal power be applied to return escaped slaves, prompted several northern states to adopt a states’ rights stance with personal liberty laws designed to shield runaways from pursuing owners and federal agents. The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 sent tremors through the nation and brought into sharp relief angry debates about the spread of slavery into the federal territories. This lecture surveys these manifestations of sectional animosity and gives attention to the brief history of the American, or Know-Nothing, Party. The lecture also stresses the idea that, whatever the real divisions between them, Americans in the North and South increasingly proved willing to believe the worst about the other section.

Outline

I. The fugitive slave law poisoned sectional relations in the wake of the Compromise of 1850.

   A. Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* to protest the law.
      1. The 1852 book became a bestseller on both sides of the Atlantic.
      2. Many in the North applauded Stowe’s critique of slavery.
      3. The South reacted angrily, banning the book in some places and offering a number of ineffective proslavery novels in response.

   B. The Anthony Burns case stirred northern opposition to the fugitive slave law.
      1. Burns escaped from Virginia to Boston in 1854 but was returned to slavery after Franklin Pierce’s Democratic administration employed federal power.
      2. Several northern states responded by passing new personal liberty laws designed to frustrate the return of fugitive slaves.
      3. The South deplored northern efforts to use state power to hinder enforcement of federal law.
4. The issue of fugitive slaves thus witnessed northern advocacy of states’ rights and southern demands for more central power.

II. The second American party system fractured between 1852 and 1856.
   A. The system had pitted national Democratic and Whig parties against one another since the 1830s.
   B. Internal party tensions regarding slavery weakened the Whigs in 1852.
      1. The Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce, a northern “Doughface” who strongly supported southern positions regarding slavery.
      2. The Whigs fought bitterly before nominating Winfield Scott after 53 ballots.
      3. Many southern Whigs supported the pro-southern Pierce, who won by a large margin and carried all but two southern states.
   C. Passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 influenced both parties and rescinded the Missouri Compromise.
      1. The act’s call for popular sovereignty in the territories alienated Whigs in the slaveholding South.
      2. Many antislavery northern Whigs also left the party.
      3. The Democratic Party became more pronounced in its southern leanings.
   D. The American, or Know-Nothing, Party briefly seemed destined to replace the dying Whigs.
      1. It attracted voters distressed by the flood of new Catholic immigrants.
      2. It won some national and local success in 1854–1855 before succumbing to internal stresses related to slavery by 1856.
   E. The Republican Party, founded on opposition to the extension of slavery, emerged as the principal rival to the Democrats by 1856.
      1. The party attracted some Know-Nothings.
      2. Many Free-Soil Democrats also joined the Republicans.
   F. Sectionalism dominated the election of 1856.
      1. The Democrats nominated James Buchanan, another northern Doughface.
      2. The Republicans nominated John C. Frémont, an antislavery man famous for leading army explorations in the West.
      3. The Know-Nothings nominated former president Millard Fillmore.
      4. Buchanan won with a strongly sectional vote.
         a. He carried all but one slave state (Fillmore carried Maryland) and did well in parts of the Lower North.
         b. Frémont carried New England and much of the Upper North.

III. Sectional strife over slavery already had taken a toll on some of the Protestant denominations.
   A. The Methodists divided in 1844.
1. Methodists originally had held a strong stance against slavery.
2. The church had accommodated its southern members for many years.
3. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was founded in 1845 with a strong defense of slavery as positive good.

B. The Baptists divided in 1845.
1. Southern churches organized the Southern Baptist Convention in Augusta, Georgia.
2. The national convention’s refusal to appoint slaveholding missionaries triggered the split.

C. The Presbyterians avoided a formal division in the 1840s but suffered from sectional divisions.
   a. New School membership was centered in the free states.
   b. Southern Baptists were predominantly Old School.
2. In May 1861, the Old School Presbyterians divided along sectional lines.

D. The Episcopal Church did not divide.
1. Church leaders stressed political realities rather than raising highly charged theological points.
2. For the most part, the Episcopal Church in the Confederacy closely resembled the national church.

E. The Catholic Church remained largely aloof from debates about slavery.

IV. “Bleeding Kansas” placed sectional animosities on grim display.
A. The Kansas-Nebraska Act had sought to finesse the question of extending slavery into the territories by allowing residents to decide for themselves whether to accept the institution.
1. Stephen A. Douglas had pushed for this doctrine of popular sovereignty.
2. The doctrine alienated anti-extensionists in the North and pro-extensionists in the South.

B. Violence erupted in Kansas between proslavery and antislavery elements.
1. President Pierce sided with proslavery forces in Kansas.
2. Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts was caned on the floor of the Senate in 1856 after delivering a speech critical of the proslavery forces in Kansas.

C. The question of slavery in Kansas was not resolved by the end of the decade.
1. President James Buchanan supported the proslavery Lecompton Constitution for Kansas in 1857.
2. Congress eventually voted against the Lecompton Constitution.
a. Stephen A. Douglas opposed it, thereby ending his chances of carrying the South as a presidential candidate in 1860.

b. Buchanan’s support for admission of Kansas as a slave state marked him as a thoroughly pro-southern Democrat.

Essential Reading:
Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848–1861*, chapters 5–10, 12.

Supplementary Reading:
Cooper, *The South and the Politics of Slavery, 1828–1856*.
Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War*.
Von Frank, *The Trials of Anthony Burns*.

Questions to Consider:
1. Did the North and South have good reasons to fear each other’s influence on the course of national affairs?
2. Would a serious crisis have been possible in the absence of slavery?
Lecture Thirty-Eight
Drifting toward Disaster

Scope: This lecture carries forward with the story of increasing sectional turbulence. It highlights the failure of various national institutions—particularly main-line political parties and the Supreme Court—to promote compromise regarding slavery and its extension into the territories. The lecture also emphasizes the importance of the Court’s decision in the Dred Scott case in 1857, the debates between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas during the 1858 Illinois senatorial campaign, and the impact in the North and South of John Brown’s raid on Harpers Ferry in October 1859. The lecture makes clear that, despite these troubling events, no one knew that secession and a great war would soon disrupt national life. But the controversies of the decade’s final three years did create an atmosphere of distrust that helped set the stage for the breakup of the Union in 1860–1861.

Outline

I. The Dred Scott case had enormous impact on sectional feelings in the North and South.
   A. The Court rendered a landmark decision in Dred Scott.
      1. The history of the case stretched back several years. It concerned a slave who had taken up residence in a free state and proceeded to sue for his freedom.
      2. The composition of the Court and President James Buchanan were important factors in the case.
      3. The Court’s ruling had two important elements.
         a. Dred Scott was not a citizen.
         b. Congress could not keep slavery out of the territories.
   B. The response to the decision was heated.
      1. Many in the North and especially in the Republican Party reacted angrily.
      2. Most of the South applauded the decision.
      3. The Court emerged from the case tarnished.
   C. The Supreme Court had joined the list of national institutions plagued by sectional strife.
      1. Political parties already had been compromised as institutions capable of muting sectional problems.

II. Some northerners considered an alliance between East and West.
   A. The eastern and western non-slave states had many economic ties.
   B. Many northerners saw the South as a block to national economic development.
C. The Republicans called for a Homestead Act, a tariff, and various internal improvements.

III. The Lincoln-Douglas debates in the 1858 Illinois senatorial election had national implications.
   A. The candidates and their issues presented a clear choice to voters.
   B. A series of famous debates featured disagreement over issues related to slavery.
      1. Douglas sought to finesse the issue of slavery’s expansion into the territories.
      2. Lincoln addressed the morality of slavery and expansion and advocated the ultimate extinction of slavery, although he rejected the label *abolitionist*.
   C. The election had enormous impact on Lincoln’s and Douglas’s careers.
      1. Douglas’s positions in the debates weakened him as a presidential candidate.
      2. Lincoln emerged onto the national stage.

IV. John Brown’s raid on Harpers Ferry sent shock waves through the nation.
   A. Brown had been a violent and controversial foe of slavery.
   B. Brown, a believer in immediate emancipation, hoped the raid would ignite a general slave uprising in the South.
   C. The raid had significant impact.
      1. Brown failed in his immediate goal of freeing slaves. He was tried and executed, along with six of his followers, in Virginia.
      2. News of the raid polarized the nation.
         a. Many people in the North cheered Brown’s actions.
         b. The raid spread fear of slave insurrection through the South.

V. The nation was not yet at the brink of war. Still, an atmosphere of distrust set the context for the campaign of 1860.

**Essential Reading:**

**Supplementary Reading:**

**Questions to Consider:**
1. What does reaction to John Brown’s raid in the North suggest about the depth of antislavery sentiment outside the slaveholding states?
2. What national institutions could have broken the cycle of increasing sectional antipathy?
Lecture Thirty-Nine
The Coming of War

Scope: The presidential election of 1860 unfolded against a backdrop of sectional suspicion fueled by such events as John Brown’s raid at Harpers Ferry. This lecture analyzes the process by which four candidates entered the political canvass—all but one of them strongly sectional in appeal—and discusses the impact of Lincoln’s election. The states of the Deep or Lower South (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas) seceded in response to the Republican victory, but only the crisis at Fort Sumter in April 1861 and Lincoln’s subsequent call for volunteers to suppress the rebellion convinced the states of the Upper South (Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia) to secede. This lecture emphasizes the fact that a range of opinion existed in most slaveholding states regarding secession (4 of the 15 slave states did not secede). It also describes the formation of the Confederate States of America and makes the point that able constitutional scholars at the time and later genuinely disagreed about whether the Constitution prohibited secession.

Outline

I. The 1860 presidential campaign was waged by four candidates on four different platforms.
   A. The Democratic Party fractured during the campaign.
      1. The regular Democrats nominated Stephen A. Douglas and affirmed their support for popular sovereignty.
      2. The southern minority nominated John C. Breckinridge.
   B. The Republican Party, meeting in Chicago, selected a moderate candidate.
      1. Several principal contenders failed in early ballots.
      2. Lincoln’s supporters crafted a winning strategy that united several regions outside the South.
      3. The platform accepted slavery where it existed but called for barring it from the federal territories.
   C. The Constitutional Union Party attempted to avoid the issue of slavery.
      1. John Bell of Tennessee won the nomination.
      2. The platform ignored slavery and called for support of the Constitution and the Union.

II. The campaign offered the spectacle of a nation in trauma.
   A. All four candidates professed devotion to the Union.
B. Lincoln won easily in the Electoral College, carrying every northern state except New Jersey.

C. Lincoln’s opponents polled roughly 60 percent of the popular vote.

D. The election prompted heated reactions.
   1. Many southerners considered the Republican triumph a threat to slavery.
   2. Those who voted for Lincoln insisted that the South must abide by the verdict of the ballot box.

III. The Lower South reacted decisively to Lincoln’s election.

A. Beginning with South Carolina, seven states left the Union between December 20, 1860, and February 1, 1861.
   1. Secessionist sentiment was not unanimous in the seven states.
   2. Secessionists mounted strong arguments in favor of the constitutionality of secession.

B. The secessionists established a new slaveholding republic called the Confederate States of America.
   1. The Montgomery convention produced essentially moderate work.
   2. The Confederate and United States Constitutions offer an interesting comparison. Though they are very similar, the former specifically called for state sovereignty and protected the institution of slavery.
   3. The convention selected Jefferson Davis as provisional president.

C. Was secession a revolution? The delegates insisted that they were returning to the principles of 1776.

IV. The nation reacted to news of secession in various ways.

A. Northern sentiment was initially divided.

B. President-elect Lincoln remained aloof.

C. Efforts at compromise failed.

V. The crisis at Fort Sumter precipitated the outbreak of war.

A. Lincoln faced a volatile situation when he took office in March 1861.
   1. Seven states had left the Union and other slave states might follow.
   2. Northern opinion was hardening against the Deep South and secessionists.

B. Lincoln’s first inaugural address set a stern tone.
   1. It upheld the Republican platform from the election of 1860 and promised to leave slavery alone in the South, while advocating its prohibition in the territories.
   2. It placed the onus of saving or dismantling the nation on the South.
   3. It placed Fort Sumter in the national spotlight.

C. Lincoln’s decision to resupply Fort Sumter triggered violence.
   1. Lincoln discussed the issue with his cabinet and other advisers.
2. Davis and his advisers also debated how best to deal with Fort Sumter before deciding to fire on the federal garrison.

D. The bombardment of Fort Sumter in April 1861 brought immediate action.
   1. On April 15, Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to suppress the rebellion.
   2. Four states of the Upper South seceded in the wake of Lincoln’s call for volunteers.

**Essential Reading:**

**Supplementary Reading:**
Stampp, *And the War Came: The North and the Secession Crisis, 1860–61*.

**Questions to Consider:**
1. What does the election of 1860 tell us about whether the American people believed there were true differences between the North and South?
2. Can you imagine a modern election in which the candidate of either the Democratic or Republican Party did not appear on the ballot in several states (as was the case with Republicans in 1860)?
3. Did the secessionists of the Lower South make a good case that they were the heirs of the American revolutionary generation?
4. Would secession have been likely in 1860–1861 without the presence of slavery?
Lecture Forty
The First Year of Fighting

Scope: Many Americans assume that the Confederacy was doomed to fail because of its disadvantages in the areas of manpower and industrial might. This lecture stresses that either side could have won the war and offers a careful analysis of the strengths and weaknesses each brought to the conflict. It also makes the point that the experience of the American Revolution, when the much weaker colonies prevailed over mighty Great Britain, reminded those on both sides that the greater power does not always triumph. The lecture discusses early strategic planning on both sides before moving on to some of the crucial battles of the first year’s fighting. It traces the process by which the conflict mushroomed from a fairly limited military contest at the time of First Bull Run in July 1861 into a massive struggle by the time of Shiloh and the Seven Days battles in the spring and early summer of 1862.

Outline

I. The United States and the Confederacy each had strengths and weaknesses as they prepared for war.
   A. The United States enjoyed several key advantages.
      1. It held approximately a five-to-two advantage in military-age manpower.
      2. Its manufacturing far outstripped that in the Confederacy.
      3. It began the war with a regular army and navy.
   B. The Confederacy also possessed important strengths.
      1. It did not have to conquer the United States to win.
      2. Its armies would defend home ground—three-quarters of a million square miles.
      3. Its geographic size would pose a daunting obstacle to U.S. forces.
   C. Several important factors favored neither side.
      1. The quality of military leadership was approximately equal.
      2. Lincoln and Davis both proved to be effective commanders-in-chief.
      3. The responses of England and France remained to be seen.

II. Both sides hoped to gain the support of the border slave states.
   A. Kentucky sought unsuccessfully to remain neutral before opting to remain in the Union.
   B. A divided Missouri declined to secede but witnessed bitter guerrilla warfare. It sent about three times as many soldiers to the North as it did to the South.
C. Maryland spurned secession but harbored significant pro-southern sentiment.
D. Delaware did not flirt seriously with secession.
E. A new border state was created when several dozen counties broke away from Virginia to form the new state of West Virginia.

III. Strategic planning and the battle of First Bull Run dominated the initial year of the war.
A. The two sides pursued very different national strategies.
   1. The Confederacy sought to defend its borders, knowing that a tie was as good as a win strategically.
   2. Winfield Scott’s Anaconda Plan, which proposed to split the Confederacy in two, provided a blueprint for U.S. victory.
B. First Bull Run, or Manassas (July 21, 1861), gave the Confederacy an initial victory.
   1. The campaign’s strategy and tactics anticipated later battles.
   2. The campaign chastened the United States and encouraged the Confederacy.

IV. The United States achieved mixed success with major offensives in the first half of 1862.
A. Union forces gained the upper hand in the western theater.
   1. U.S. Grant’s capture of Forts Henry and Donelson opened key river routes into the Confederacy.
   2. Grant’s success at Shiloh in early April solidified Union gains in Tennessee. In two days, more Americans were shot than in all previous American battles to that time.
B. Confederates blunted U.S. efforts in the eastern theater.
   1. Robert E. Lee’s victory in the Seven Days campaign in June and July turned back George B. McClellan’s offensive against Richmond. There were even more casualties than at Shiloh.
   2. Lee followed up his success at Richmond with a victory at Second Bull Run (Manassas) in August of 1862.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Catton, Terrible Swift Sword, chapters 1–7.
Freeman, Lee’s Lieutenants, vol. 1; vol. 2, chapters 1–7.
Questions to Consider:
1. Reviewing the factors covered in this lecture, how would you assess each side’s chances for victory?
2. Is it possible to gauge accurately the impact of such intangibles as fighting to defend home and hearth?
Lecture Forty-One
Shifting Tides of Battle

Scope: The year between the summer of 1862 and the summer of 1863 convinced Americans on both sides that the war would be long and bitter. This lecture traces some of the major military campaigns of this year, underscoring the enormous swings of morale behind the lines in the North and South as each side won victories and suffered defeats. The lecture stresses the idea that it is possible to understand military operations and their impact only if we view them in the context of the time, rather than with all we know about the outcome of events in mind. The lecture examines the Confederate invasions of Kentucky and Maryland in 1862, which resulted in the battles of Perryville and Antietam, respectively, and presented the Lincoln administration with a major crisis, as well as the Gettysburg and Vicksburg campaigns of 1863. It also explores the Conscription Acts of 1862 and 1863 as evidence that the war was moving beyond the level of mobilization that anyone could have foreseen in 1861.

Outline

I. The Confederacy mounted a broad strategic counteroffensive in the autumn of 1862.
   A. Lee invaded Maryland in September.
      1. He hoped to achieve a range of goals: to hold the military initiative, to provision his army in the North, to help Democrats in the impending election, and to impress the Europeans.
      2. The campaign crested in Lee’s defeat at the battle of Antietam on September 17, 1862, the bloodiest day in U.S. history.
   B. Braxton Bragg invaded Kentucky in September and, on October 8, fought what proved to be a tactical stalemate at Perryville.
      1. He hoped Kentucky would rally to the Confederacy.
      2. The Confederates retreated after the battle of Perryville.
   C. Were the autumn campaigns a turning point?
      1. The military effects slightly favored the United States—the Confederates retreated. But the United States failed to exploit its successes.
      2. Antietam assisted U.S. diplomatic efforts. Lee’s failure convinced the British to back away from supporting the Confederacy.
      3. Lincoln used Antietam as a springboard to issue his preliminary proclamation of emancipation on September 22, 1862. Now the United States was officially opposed to slavery.
II. The United States suffered a grim season of fighting in the winter of 1862 and the spring of 1863.
   A. The western theater yielded a mixed verdict.
      1. The battle of Stones River (Murfreesboro), December 31, 1862–January 2, 1863, brought stalemate in Tennessee.
      2. U. S. Grant’s initial movements against Vicksburg ended in failure.
   B. Lee won two major victories in the eastern theater.
      1. The battle of Fredericksburg in December 1862 presented Lincoln with a crisis.
      2. The battle of Chancellorsville in May 1863 aggravated drooping Union morale.
   C. These campaigns greatly affected the two home fronts.
      1. The United States suffered from internal turmoil.
         a. Many people opposed conscription and emancipation.
         b. Antiwar political activity reached a peak with the Copperheads.
      2. The Confederacy took heart from Lee’s victories.
         a. Lee and his army emerged as the great Confederate rallying point.
         b. Opposition to conscription and other government actions did not overbalance hope for Confederate independence.

III. The United States wove a tapestry of success in the summer and autumn of 1863.
   A. George G. Meade defeated Lee at Gettysburg on July 1–3.
      1. Lee’s invasion of Pennsylvania won initial success.
      2. The Union army turned back the Confederates in the largest battle of the war. More than 50,000 men were killed, wounded, and missing in battle.
   B. U. S. Grant captured Vicksburg on July 4.
      1. Grant showed determination after a string of early failures.
      2. The capture of Vicksburg gave the United States control of the Mississippi River.
   C. Grant defeated Bragg at Chattanooga on November 24–25.
      1. Bragg’s victory at Chickamauga in September had threatened Union control of Chattanooga.
      2. Grant’s victory severed a vital rail connection between the eastern and western Confederacy.

IV. Was the summer of 1863 the war’s decisive turning point?
   A. Lee’s string of victories was reversed.
   B. But Union victory that summer wasn’t assured. Gettysburg seems much more conclusive from our perspective than it did at the time.

Essential Reading:


**Supplementary Reading:**


———, *Never Call Retreat*, chapters 1–5.


**Questions to Consider:**

1. Should the Confederacy have avoided invasions of the United States?
2. How broad a chronological context is necessary to gauge the impact of individual military campaigns?
Lecture Forty-Two
Diplomatic Clashes and Sustaining the War

Scope: This lecture shifts the focus from the battlefield to the home front. We look first at diplomacy, an arena dominated by Confederate efforts to secure formal recognition from Great Britain and France, and the Lincoln administration’s countermoves. The blockade, the seizure in 1861 of southern diplomats traveling on the British ship *Trent*, and British construction of ships used by the Confederate navy generated tense moments for the United States, but the Confederacy’s failure to win enough military victories in a row and the Emancipation Proclamation eventually rendered recognition impossible. The lecture also examines the enormous difficulty and cost of fielding and maintaining large armies. We discuss the workings of, and reactions to, Union and Confederate conscription; the ways in which each side raised money; and the production and delivery of military supplies. The lecture closes with a consideration of whether advantages in the area of supply proved decisive in bringing U.S. victory.

Outline

I. Both sides devoted considerable attention to diplomacy with the European powers.
   A. Cotton dominated early Confederate diplomatic planning.
      1. Confederates expected British dependence on cotton to be decisive.
      2. British development of other sources of cotton, in Egypt and India, defeated Confederate expectations.
   B. The U.S. naval blockade complicated diplomatic affairs.
      1. The blockade did not meet the letter of international law.
      2. Britain honored the blockade for reasons of self-interest.
   C. The *Trent* affair threatened U.S.-British relations in late 1861.
   D. The United States weathered its worst diplomatic crisis in the autumn of 1862.
      1. Lee’s victories in the summer of 1862 impressed Britain and France.
      2. Antietam caused the British to back away from mediation.
      3. Lincoln’s preliminary Emancipation Proclamation dealt a major blow to Confederate hopes for European recognition.
   E. U.S. diplomacy triumphed in 1863–1865.

II. The two nations labored diligently to fill the ranks of their armies.
   A. The Confederacy struggled with a shallow pool of white manpower.
1. Slavery allowed the Confederacy to mobilize most of its white military-age males.
2. Confederate conscription legislation in 1862–1864 yielded men and controversy by arbitrarily extending enlistment periods and the draft age.

B. The United States worked with a much larger pool of possible recruits.
   1. The United States also resorted to a controversial draft, in March of 1863.

C. Was it a rich man’s war and a poor man’s fight? Both armies, in fact, were composed of a good cross-section of the population.

III. The two sides financed their war efforts through various means.
   A. The Confederacy never achieved a sound fiscal footing.
      1. It used taxes, bonds, and paper money to fund the war.
      2. Various factors led to a severe spiral of inflation.
   B. The United States proved far more successful in financing its war.
      1. It also used taxes, bonds, and paper money but in far different proportions.
      2. The United States avoided terrible inflation.

IV. Both sides proved quite effective in supplying their armies.
   A. The U.S. economy easily produced adequate war-related material.
   B. The Confederacy used innovative means to produce necessary goods.
   C. U.S. armies were often somewhat better supplied.
      1. The Union example anticipated how the United States would supply its armies in later wars.
      2. The Confederates usually operated at a material disadvantage but not a decisive one.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Crook, *The North, the South, and the Powers, 1861–1865*.
Jones, *Union in Peril: The Crisis over British Intervention in the Civil War*.
Paludan, “A People’s Contest”: *The Union and the Civil War, 1861–1865*, part 2.
Questions to Consider:

1. Can you imagine any circumstances under which Britain or France would have sent the type of aid to the Confederacy that France had given to the colonies during the American Revolution?

2. Do you believe a smaller pool of manpower or the disparity in resources was more damaging to the Confederacy?
Lecture Forty-Three
Behind the Lines: Politics and Economies

Scope: Continuing the examination of the home fronts, this lecture offers a comparative look at politics and economics in the United States and the Confederacy. The United States maintained a vigorous two-party system, even waging the heated 1864 presidential contest in the midst of war, while the Confederacy self-consciously shunned formal party structures. This lecture discusses the importance of these different approaches to politics and considers the dilemma of northern Democrats who sought to oppose the Republicans without appearing to undermine the war against the Confederacy. The lecture also explores the relative degree to which the war disrupted the two economies. Almost all of the military campaigning occurred in the Confederacy, dealing severe blows to industrial and agricultural production and to the transportation network. That disruption, in turn, brought far harsher material hardships to the Confederacy’s population. The North proved able to produce guns and butter, and the Republican-dominated Congress passed legislation designed to make the nation a great industrial and commercial power.

Outline

I. The war brought enormous dislocation to the Confederate home front.
   A. Political divisions appeared early and persisted throughout the war.
      1. The Founders sought to avoid party politics.
      2. There were various sources of political division.
         a. Pockets of strong unionism remained in most states.
         b. Supporters of states’ rights aligned against those who supported stronger central authority. Ironically, the southern government was the most intrusive central government in U.S. history until the middle of the 20th century.
      3. Pro- and anti-Jefferson Davis factions grew inside and outside Congress. The vice president, Alexander Stephens, was a bitter enemy of Davis.
   B. The Confederate economy weakened as the war progressed.
      1. The transportation infrastructure suffered enormous damage. The problem wasn’t so much lack of production but lack of transportation.
         a. U.S. armies proved disruptive.
         b. The inability to manufacture rolling stock and replacement rails further weakened the railroads.
      2. Shortages caused economic hardship for much of the Confederate population.
3. Inflation created a barter economy in many places. By war’s end, a barrel of flour cost $1,000 (soldiers were paid $18 a month).

C. Confederates reacted in different ways.
   1. Conscription, economic hardship, and the presence of U.S. armies caused many people to give up on the war effort. At least 105,000 deserted from the army during the war.
   2. Thousands of refugees struggled to rebuild their lives.
   3. Most people did their best and continued to support the Confederate cause. If not for this support, the Confederacy would have collapsed much sooner.

II. The northern home front experienced a far different type of war.
   A. The Republicans and Democrats maintained a robust two-party system.
      1. The Republicans displaced the Democrats as the dominant party.
         a. Factions within the party contended for supremacy.
         b. Most Republicans agreed on broad policies to win the war.
         c. The radical wing pushed harder for emancipation. Abraham Lincoln (a moderate) moved closer to their position over time.
      2. The Democrats sought a proper wartime role.
         a. War Democrats supported the Lincoln administration on key issues.
         b. Peace Democrats questioned most of the Republican policies.
         c. Virtually all Democrats adamantly opposed emancipation, saying that the war was a struggle to restore the Union.
      3. The election of 1864 served as a referendum on the war and emancipation. A series of critical Union victories propelled Lincoln to an election victory over George B. McClellan. Nearly 80 percent of soldiers cast their ballots for the Republicans.
   B. The northern economy proved able to provide guns and butter in ample quantities.
      1. The agricultural sector outperformed the prewar economy in many ways—production of wheat, corn, and beef all increased.
      2. Some parts of the manufacturing sector suffered, while many others proved highly successful.
      3. The transportation network expanded and improved. While the infrastructure in the South was failing, it was being extended in the North.
      4. The war brought a radical shift of wealth from the South to the North.
   C. The war allowed Republicans to enact legislation that pointed toward a modern capitalist colossus.
      1. Congress created a more modern national banking system by issuing national bank notes.
      2. The Homestead Act (1862) opened western lands to many small farmers. Eighty million acres would be given out under the act.
3. The Land-Grant College Act (1862) laid the foundation for universities that would offer practical training for engineers, farmers, and others.

4. The Pacific Railroad Act, supported by federal loans, set the stage for transcontinental transportation links.

III. The impact of the war North and South—a comparative summary.

A. Some experiences—grief felt for lost friends and family, for example—were shared by both sides.

B. But the differences between the two were still enormous.

Essential Reading:
Paludan, “*A People’s Contest,*” chapters 4–7, 10.

Supplementary Reading:
Beringer, Hattaway, Jones, and Still, *Why the South Lost the Civil War*.
Richardson, *The Greatest Nation of the Earth: Republican Economic Policies during the Civil War*.
Curry, *Blueprint for Modern America: Nonmilitary Legislation of the First Civil War Congress*.
Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War*.
Neely, Jr., *The Union Divided: Party Conflict in the Civil War North*.

Questions to Consider:
1. What might the United States have looked like in the late 19th century if the Republicans had lost the election of 1864?

2. Was military defeat or disaffection behind the lines more important in bringing ultimate Confederate failure?
Lecture Forty-Four
African Americans in Wartime

Scope: The war brought seismic changes for African Americans. Most obviously, it killed the institution of slavery, under which more than 4 million black people lived and suffered when the war erupted. This lecture examines the experiences of African Americans in the North and the Confederacy, addressing, among other topics, black soldiers in U.S. military forces, the experience of hundreds of thousands of black refugees in the South, the weakening of the bonds of slavery in much of the Confederacy, and Confederate debates over emancipation late in the conflict. The lecture traces, in some detail, the progress of emancipation, evaluating the roles played by Congress, military commanders, Abraham Lincoln, and thousands of African Americans in the Confederacy. It emphasizes the idea that the war resulted in freedom for enslaved black Americans, a noble and long-deferred achievement made final by the 13th Amendment, but failed to answer a number of questions regarding the social and political status of the freed people.

Outline

I. Was it a war for union or freedom in 1861–1862?
   A. Most northerners considered it a war for union. There was a strong belief in the mission of America as a beacon of freedom.
   B. Democrats supported fighting for union but strongly opposed fighting for black freedom.
   C. The Republican Party as a whole also saw the war as a struggle to restore the Union.
   D. Black and white abolitionists and some radical Republicans argued that it was preeminently a war for emancipation and only in such a war could America be a model for the world.
   E. Abraham Lincoln occupied a unique position.
      1. He had to do everything possible to keep the majority of northerners behind the war effort.
      2. The heavily Democratic and anti-emancipation border states loomed large in 1861–1862.
      3. Lincoln personally supported gradual, compensated, state-controlled emancipation.

II. The United States took halting steps toward emancipation early in the war.
   A. Congress ended slavery in the territories and the District of Columbia and struck at slavery in the Confederate states with the Confiscation Acts (1862).
B. Several generals attacked slavery.
   1. Benjamin Butler refused to return “contrabands” in 1861.
   2. John Charles Frémont declared slaves held by rebels in Missouri free in 1861.
   3. David Hunter declared slaves along the south Atlantic coast free in 1862.
   4. Lincoln ordered Frémont and Hunter to rescind their orders.
C. Slaves pushed the process forward by fleeing to Union lines and forcing the U.S. government to clarify their status. About half a million African Americans so fled during the war.

III. The Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, placed freedom at center stage.
   A. Lincoln took into account several factors in deciding to issue his proclamation.
      1. The border states had proved utterly intransigent.
      2. Northern Democrats gave no evidence of embracing emancipation.
      3. The proclamation would weaken the Confederate war effort.
      4. Many northerners stood ready to embrace a harder type of war.
   B. The proclamation, justified by Lincoln as a war measure, had enormous impact. But it freed slaves only in the Confederacy and only in those areas not under U.S. military control.
      1. It divided northern white opinion in the short term.
      2. Some foreign observers described Lincoln’s action as meaningless, but England and France backed away from the Confederacy.
      3. The Confederacy reacted angrily.
      4. Over the long term, the proclamation helped place black men in U.S. uniforms, deny black labor to the Confederacy, and swing European opinion to the Union side.
      5. In January 1865, the 13th Amendment, which banned slavery, narrowly passed in Congress and affirmed Lincoln’s position. It was ratified after the war.

IV. Nearly 200,000 black men served in U.S. military forces.
   A. Northern opinion gradually supported the idea of black soldiers.
      1. Black soldiers, most of them former slaves, would hurt the Confederacy.
      2. Fewer white soldiers might die if black soldiers served in large numbers.
   B. Black soldiers faced a struggle for equal treatment in the army.
      1. They initially earned less pay.
      2. They often were relegated to noncombatant duty.
      3. Their performance in combat in such battles as Port Hudson, Milliken’s Bend, and New Market Heights helped overcome prejudice.
C. Military service established black men’s claims to citizenship.

V. The war had a major impact on African Americans in the Confederacy.
   A. Slave labor freed a high proportion of white men to fight.
      1. Slaves kept the economy running.
      2. They also filled noncombatant roles in the Confederate army.
   B. The war weakened the institution of slavery in the Confederacy.
      1. The absence of white men loosened control on farms and plantations.
      2. White refugees often could not maintain close control over slaves.
      3. Thousands of southern slaves fled and joined the U.S. army.
   C. Confederates debated whether to arm slaves in 1864–1865.
      1. Supporters said it was better to do so and win the war than not to do so and face Union victory.
      2. Opponents said that arming slaves called into question everything the Confederacy had been founded to safeguard.
      3. Congress approved arming some slaves with no promise of freedom.

VI. The war was a watershed for African Americans.
   A. The 13th Amendment killed slavery. Three and a half million slaves were freed in the Confederacy and another half million were liberated in the border states.
   B. The question of equality was left for later debate.

Essential Reading:
Berlin et al., eds., Free at Last: A Documentary History of Slavery, Freedom, and the Civil War.

Supplementary Reading:
Glatthaar, Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers.
Mohr, On the Threshold of Freedom: Masters and Slaves in Civil War Georgia.
Questions to Consider:
1. Some historians have commented that slaves gained “nothing but freedom” from the war. How would you judge the importance of emancipation in the lives of African Americans of the mid-19th century?
2. What does the Confederate debate over arming slaves suggest about the impact of the war on slavery in the South?
Lecture Forty-Five
The Union Drive to Victory

Scope: The outcome of the war remained uncertain as late as the summer of 1864. Union morale reached its nadir during July and August, prompting Abraham Lincoln to doubt that he and the Republicans would be victorious in the November elections. Successes at Atlanta and in the Shenandoah Valley in September and October turned the tide decisively in favor of the Union, and Lincoln’s reelection guaranteed that the war would be prosecuted vigorously to the end. This lecture examines the final year of military action, highlighting the role of Ulysses S. Grant as the North’s indispensable commander and covering the siege of Petersburg, William Tecumseh Sherman’s campaigns in Georgia and the Carolinas, and the final confrontation between Grant and Robert E. Lee that ended at Appomattox. The lecture also describes Lincoln’s assassination and gives a reckoning of the war’s cost. It closes with a discussion of why the conflict should be viewed as a great watershed in U.S. history.

Outline

I. The winter of 1863–1864 witnessed considerable optimism on both sides.
   A. Grant was promoted to general-in-chief in March 1864.
      1. The northern people believed they finally had a champion who could defeat Lee.
      2. Grant put together a grand blueprint for strategic victory, moving with his men to fight Lee while sending Sherman to capture Atlanta.
   B. Confederates retained high expectations about Lee’s ability to win victories despite the hardships of a difficult winter.

II. U.S. morale plummeted between May and early August of 1864.
   A. William T. Sherman failed to capture Atlanta immediately.
   B. The first phase of the confrontation in Virginia between Lee and Grant yielded no striking northern success.
      1. Casualties reached unprecedented levels. The two sides lost 100,000 men in the campaign before they got to Petersburg in June.
      2. Richmond seemed as safe as ever.
   C. Secondary northern operations also failed.
   D. Civilians watched the campaigns closely.
      1. Confederates believed the Republicans would lose in the fall 1864 elections if southern armies avoided major defeats.
      2. Many in the North doubted that the Confederacy could be subdued.
III. The tide turned decisively between late August and early November.
   A. Admiral Farragut won the battle of Mobile Bay in August.
   B. Sherman captured Atlanta in early September.
   C. Philip H. Sheridan defeated Confederates in the Shenandoah Valley in September and October.
   D. Republicans won a smashing victory in the November elections.

IV. A final round of military campaigns ended the war.
   A. Sherman marched through Georgia and the Carolinas in 1864–1865, moving in a 60-mile swath and leaving destruction in his wake.
   B. Grant laid siege to Lee at Petersburg, June 1864–March 1865. Petersburg fell on April 3, and Richmond was captured.
   C. Lee retreated from Petersburg to Appomattox in April 1865, where he surrendered on April 12. Grant, at Lincoln’s behest, offered very generous terms.
   D. Lincoln’s assassination on April 14 dampened northern enthusiasm for victory. Assassin John Wilkes Booth was tracked down and killed, and four alleged co-conspirators were hanged.

V. The war extracted an enormous human and material cost.
   A. More than 620,000 soldiers died: 360,000 in the North; 260,000 in the South. In all, 1.1 million were killed and wounded.
   B. The Confederate economy lay in ruins. The total cost to the South was about $4 billion.
   C. The southern landscape bore deep scars. Two-thirds of assessed wealth was destroyed.
   D. The two governments had expended unprecedented sums of money.

VI. What did the war settle?
   A. Several questions were answered permanently.
      1. The inviolability of the Union had been guaranteed.
      2. Slavery was dead with the adoption of the 13th Amendment in 1865.
      3. The superiority of central power over local and state government had been demonstrated.
   B. Other important issues remained unresolved.
      1. What would the former Confederate states have to do to regain full partnership in the Union?
      2. Would black Americans achieve full equality in the restored nation?

Essential Reading:
Hattaway and Jones, How the North Won, chapters 15–20.

**Supplementary Reading:**
Paludan, “A People’s Contest,” conclusion.

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Can you think of another bitter civil war that ended without executions or other severe punishments for the losers? How do you account for the North’s leniency?
2. Would you call the Civil War a “total” war? A “modern” war?
Lecture Forty-Six
Presidential Reconstruction

Scope: Debates in the North over how best to bring the Confederate states back into the Union began while the war still raged. Lincoln and Congress each sought to control the process, a struggle between the executive and legislative branches that continued when Andrew Johnson assumed the presidency following Lincoln’s assassination. This lecture examines the wartime context, highlighting Lincoln’s 10 Percent Plan and Congress’s Wade-Davis Bill, and continues the story through Johnson’s early presidency. It accords considerable attention to Johnson’s alienation of radical Republicans, the southern response to Johnson’s lenient terms for readmission with “Black Codes” and other controversial measures, and congressional passage in 1866 of the Civil Rights Bill and the 14th Amendment. Johnson attempted to build a national conservative party to contest the autumn 1866 elections, an effort that failed miserably and greatly strengthened his political opponents. By the end of 1866, the stage was set for a final showdown between the president and Congress in the fight over Reconstruction in the South.

Outline

I. Debates about reconstruction began during the war.
   A. Several questions dominated much of the debate.
      1. How drastic would be the required changes in southern society?
      2. What place would black people have in the reconstructed South?
      3. Would the president or Congress have the greater influence in setting policy?
      4. Would the moderate or radical Republicans gain the upper hand?
   B. Lincoln offered his 10 Percent Plan in December 1863.
      1. It included a lenient offer of amnesty to Confederates who would take the oath of allegiance and accept slavery’s abolition, exempting some Confederate officials from its generous terms.
      2. It set a low bar for establishing state governments that Lincoln would recognize. When 10 percent of the voting population pledged its loyalty, a new government could be established.
      3. Louisiana, Tennessee, and Arkansas eventually took advantage of Lincoln’s plan.
   C. Congress called for a harsher peace with the Wade-Davis Bill of July 1864.
      1. It set more stringent requirements for loyalty—50 percent rather than 10 percent—and required an oath pledging that one had always supported the United States.
2. It outlined a far more difficult process to set up new governments in Confederate states.
3. Lincoln killed the bill with a pocket veto, prompting a stern rebuke in the form of Congress’s Wade-Davis “Manifesto.”

II. Andrew Johnson continued presidential reconstruction following Lincoln’s assassination.
   A. He initially spoke harshly about how he would treat southern traitors.
   B. He then offered a lenient plan in May 1865.
      1. He did so without calling Congress into a special session or talking with Republican leaders.
      2. He offered amnesty to almost all former Confederates.
      3. He envisioned setting up new governments in southern states without the participation of black men.
      4. He pardoned thousands of ex-Confederates exempted from his general offer of amnesty.
   C. Southern states responded defiantly.
      1. Many ex-Confederates won election to state governments.
      2. Some states enacted “Black Codes” that denied African Americans basic rights and legal protections.
      3. Some states hesitated to ratify the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery.

III. Congress and Johnson faced a crisis in 1866.
   A. Republicans in Congress tried to assert their power.
      1. They set up a Joint Committee on Reconstruction that was dominated by moderates.
      2. They passed a civil rights bill and extended the life of the Freedmen’s Bureau.
      3. They passed and sent to the states for ratification the 14th Amendment, which gave citizenship, but not the vote, to African Americans and guaranteed them equal protection under the laws.
   B. Johnson fought back unsuccessfully.
      1. He vetoed the Civil Rights Bill and the Freedmen’s Bureau extension (both were overridden).
      2. He opposed the 14th Amendment as unconstitutional.
      3. He attempted to put together a national conservative party (the National Union Party).
   C. Republicans dealt Johnson a heavy blow by sweeping the 1866 off-year elections.

Essential Reading:
Foner, Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877, parts 1–6.
Supplementary Reading:
Belz, *Reconstructing the Union: Theory and Practice during the Civil War.*
Harris, *With Charity for All: Lincoln and the Restoration of the Union.*
Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment.*

Questions to Consider:
1. What role would the radical Republicans likely have played in the absence of intransigence on the part of the former Confederate states?
2. Did much of the wrangling between Johnson and Congress have more to do with traditional tensions between rival branches of government rather than with the merits of Reconstruction policy?
Lecture Forty-Seven
Congress Takes Command

Scope: Congress took control of Reconstruction policy in early 1867. Johnson waged a rearguard action, working against the 14th Amendment and seeking allies in the white South. In the end, he so alienated much of the Republican Party that he was impeached and placed on trial, narrowly avoiding conviction in the spring of 1868. Congress implemented its own plan of Reconstruction beginning in 1867, imposing far more stringent guidelines for readmission to the Union and eventually passing the 15th Amendment, which guaranteed the franchise to African American men. Ulysses S. Grant, who supported Congress, won the presidency as the Republican candidate in 1868. This lecture examines the struggle between Johnson and Congress, analyzes congressional Reconstruction legislation, describes the state governments set up under that legislation in former Confederate states, and assesses the meaning of the election of 1868.

Outline

I. Radical Republicans assumed greater power after the elections of 1866.
   A. Johnson acted stubbornly following the elections.
      1. He urged southern states to oppose the 14th Amendment. Only Tennessee ratified it.
      2. Moderate Republicans responded by moving closer to the radical position.
   B. Congress engaged in a flurry of action in 1867.
      1. It passed the first and second Reconstruction Acts (over Johnson’s vetoes).
         a. These acts divided the old Confederacy (except Tennessee, which had rejoined the Union) into five military districts.
         b. They mandated new constitutions in the southern states.
         c. They required states to ratify the 14th Amendment before readmission.
      2. Congress also passed the Tenure of Office Act (over Johnson’s veto) limiting presidential authority over removal of some appointed officials.

II. The confrontation between Congress and the president culminated in the impeachment of Johnson in February 1868.
   A. Johnson’s vetoes and continued resistance alienated most Republicans.
   B. Radical Republicans called for impeachment when Johnson removed Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton without senatorial approval (under the Tenure of Office Act).
1. Moderate Republicans at first hesitated but fell in line when radicals made their case.
2. The 126–47 vote for impeachment in the House followed strict party lines.
C. Johnson’s lawyers mounted an able defense.
   1. They questioned whether Johnson was guilty of any crimes for which the Constitution allows impeachment.
   2. They questioned whether he had violated the Tenure of Office Act.
D. The Senate, needing a two-thirds majority, failed to convict by a single vote, 35–19. Some moderates and conservatives did not want to set the precedent of a conviction.

III. Reconstruction proceeded in the South while Johnson and Congress dueled.
A. Voters were registered: 735,000 blacks and 635,000 whites were enrolled. There were black majorities in 5 of the 10 southern states.
B. New state constitutions were written.
C. Seven states ratified the constitutions and set up governments that ratified the 14th Amendment in 1868.
D. By 1869–1870, all former Confederate states had been readmitted.

IV. The election of 1868 and ratification of the 15th Amendment seemed to signal the end of Reconstruction.
A. The election of 1868 served as a referendum on Republican Reconstruction policies.
   1. Republicans nominated Ulysses S. Grant.
   3. The parties waged a vicious, sometimes violent campaign. The newly created Ku Klux Klan intimidated voters, black and white, across the South.
   4. Grant won the presidency and Republicans retained control of Congress.
B. The Republicans turned to black suffrage after the election.
   1. They drafted the 15th Amendment, prohibiting states from denying the franchise to black men. Eleven of 21 northern states still denied the vote to blacks.
   2. The final three unreconstructed states ratified the 15th Amendment as a condition of readmission to the Union, and the amendment became law in 1870.
   3. Many Republicans and others in the North considered Reconstruction ended.

Essential Reading:
Foner, Reconstruction, parts 7–9.

**Supplementary Reading:**
Trefousse, *Impeachment of a President: Andrew Johnson, the Blacks, and Reconstruction*.

**Questions to Consider:**
1. How did Andrew Johnson’s intransigent opposition to expanding black civil and political rights eventually work to the advantage of African Americans?
2. Did radical Reconstruction mark a logical expansion of, or a departure from, the principal Union goals set during the Civil War?
Lecture Forty-Eight
Reconstruction Ends

Scope: For many decades, Republican Reconstruction evoked images of corrupt state governments dominated by carpetbaggers, scalawags, and their African American allies running roughshod over the white South. This lecture counters that deeply flawed interpretation, examining the workings of the Reconstruction governments and highlighting the often-violent means by which former Confederates sought to regain control over most of the southern states during the 1870s. The lecture also discusses the presidential elections of 1872 and 1876 and the “Compromise of 1877,” evaluating the degree to which the white North embraced reconciliationist sentiment and believed that the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments represented a sufficient national commitment to African American rights. Reconstruction improved many aspects of black southerners’ lives, at least for a number of years, and left deep scars on a white South that labored diligently to project an image of northern oppression. The lecture closes with an assessment of whether Reconstruction should be judged a significant success or a moment of lost opportunity for African Americans in the United States.

Outline

I. There is a tenacious myth about Republican rule in the South.
   A. It portrays a white South subjugated by a Republican coalition of carpetbaggers (white northerners who settled in the South), scalawags (white southerners who turned against their neighbors and friends), and recently enfranchised black southerners.
   B. It ascribes venality and corruption to the Republicans.
   C. It applauds the efforts of the Ku Klux Klan and other similar groups to “liberate” the South from Republican rule.
   D. Books and films, such as Gone with the Wind, have perpetuated this myth.

II. The reality of Republican rule offers a far different picture.
   A. Black politicians never dominated southern politics.
      1. Although black voters constituted 80 percent of the Republican voters in the South, white politicians dominated the party. Only 16 African Americans were elected to Congress; none was ever elected governor of a state.
      2. Only in South Carolina did black politicians hold a significant number of governmental positions.
   B. Carpetbaggers and scalawags were not especially venal or corrupt.
C. Two factors hindered Republican efforts to build a strong base in the South.
   1. The party had no roots among white voters.
   2. The party attempted to unite groups with no history of common effort.

D. Democrats exploited these Republican weaknesses to recapture, or “redeem,” southern state governments.

III. Republican state governments in the South compiled a creditable record.
   A. They enacted social, judicial, and governmental reforms.
   B. Their level of corruption was roughly comparable to that of northern state and municipal governments.
   C. They faced terrorist opposition from such groups as the Ku Klux Klan, but convictions of Klan members were rare.

IV. The election of 1872 witnessed a realignment of the parties.
   A. The Republican Party split.
      1. The party regulars re-nominated Grant.
      2. Liberal Republicans broke with Grant and nominated Horace Greeley.
   B. The Democrats also nominated Greeley in an effort to unseat Grant.
   C. Grant won a clear victory, with 56 percent of the popular vote.
      1. This result showed that the North was not ready to forgive the South.
      2. Black men voted in large numbers in the South.

V. Republicans lost ground in the years following Grant’s reelection.
   A. The Panic of 1873 hurt them as the ruling party.
   B. Growing numbers of northern voters decided that Reconstruction had lasted long enough.
   C. Democrats won control of the House of Representatives in 1874.
   D. By 1875, Republicans controlled only four southern state governments (South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana).
   E. The “Mississippi Plan” of 1875 ushered in a new wave of anti-Republican violence during elections.

VI. The election of 1876 and the Compromise of 1877 signal the end of Reconstruction.
   A. The election of 1876 resulted in a contested verdict.
      1. Charges of corruption in the Grant administration dogged the Republicans.
      3. Disputed voting returns in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida cast the electoral verdict in doubt.
         a. Republican Rutherford B. Hayes needed all three states to win.
b. Tilden would win with any one of the three.

4. An electoral commission voting along straight party lines gave all three states and the election to Hayes.

B. The Compromise of 1877 brought an end to the dispute.
   1. Hayes made promises to the South, including withdrawal of the last federal troops.
   2. Democrats agreed to Hayes’s election.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Richardson, *The Death of Reconstruction: Race, Labor, and Politics in the Post-Civil War North, 1865–1901*.
Gillette, *Retreat from Reconstruction: A Political History 1867–1878*.
Rable, *But There Was No Peace: The Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction*.

Questions to Consider:
1. Is it possible to detect legacies of the Reconstruction era in contemporary American society?
2. Should we view Reconstruction as an overall success or as a lost opportunity?
Timeline

March 1852 .................................................. Publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* makes many previously unengaged northerners sensitive to the issue of slavery.

Nov. 1852 .................................................. Whig party fields its last serious presidential candidate, signaling breakdown of the second-party system; Franklin Pierce elected as Democratic president.

May 30, 1854 .............................................. Kansas-Nebraska Act becomes law; doctrine of popular sovereignty as applied to the territory inflames sectional tensions.

May–June 1854 ........................................... Anthony Burns case intensifies northern opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law.

May–July 1854 ........................................... Political groups in various states adopt the name Republican Party, launching what would become the Democratic Party’s rival in the third-party system.

1854–1855 .................................................. Rise and decline of the Know-Nothing Party.

May 22, 1856 ............................................. Abolitionist Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts caned by Preston Brooks of South Carolina on the floor of the Senate after delivering his “Crime against Kansas” speech.

Nov. 1856 .................................................. Democrat James Buchanan elected president.

March 6, 1857 ............................................. The Supreme Court’s Dred Scott decision opens federal territories to slavery and outrages many people in the North.

Aug.–Sept. 1857 ........................................... Beginning of economic “panic” that causes widespread hardship.

Jan. 1858 ................................................... Kansas voters reject proslavery Lecompton Constitution; although President Buchanan urges Congress to admit Kansas to the Union under the Constitution, his efforts eventually fail.

senatorial election; Douglas wins the election but damages his reputation in the South, while Lincoln attains national stature.

Oct. 16–18, 1859............................. John Brown’s raid on Harpers Ferry intensifies sectional tensions; state of Virginia hangs Brown on December 2.

Summer 1860............................. A series of fires in Texas spreads rumors of slave insurrection across the South.

Nov. 1860 .................................... Abraham Lincoln elected as the first Republican president.

Dec. 20, 1860............................... South Carolina secedes from the Union.

Jan. 9–Feb. 1, 1861 ....................... The remaining six states of the lower South secede (Mississippi, Jan. 9; Florida, Jan. 10; Alabama, Jan. 11; Georgia, Jan. 19; Louisiana, Jan. 26; Texas, Feb. 1).

Feb. 4–March 11, 1861 ................. A convention of delegates from the seven seceded states meeting in Montgomery, Alabama, writes a constitution and selects Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens as provisional president and vice president of a new slaveholding republic called the Confederate States of America.

March 4, 1861............................. Lincoln’s first inaugural address declares that the “momentous issue of civil war” lay in the hands of secessionists.

April 12–13, 1861.......................... Confederate bombardment results in the surrender of Fort Sumter.

April 15, 1861............................. Lincoln calls for 75,000 volunteers to suppress the rebellion.

April 17–June 8, 1861 ................... Four states of the upper South secede in response to Lincoln’s call for volunteers (Virginia, April 17; Arkansas, May 6; North Carolina, May 20; Tennessee, June 8).

May 24, 1861............................... Benjamin F. Butler declares fugitive slaves at Fort Monroe, Virginia, “contraband of war” and refuses to return them to their Confederate owners.

July 21, 1861............................... Battle of First Manassas, or Bull Run, yields a flashy Confederate victory that builds confidence in the South and convinces many
northerners that the war will be long and hard to win.

Aug. 6, 1861.................................Congress passes the First Confiscation Act, freeing slaves who had been employed in the Confederate war effort.

Nov. 8, 1861.................................Confederate diplomats James M. Mason and John Slidell are removed from the British vessel *Trent*, precipitating a diplomatic crisis between the United States and Great Britain.

Feb. 6–16, 1862.............................U. S. Grant captures Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River.

Feb. 25, 1862.................................President Lincoln signs the Legal Tender Act, which creates national treasury notes soon dubbed “greenbacks.”

March 16, 1862..............................U.S. Congress abolishes slavery in the District of Columbia, with compensation to loyal owners.

April 6–7, 1862..............................U. S. Grant wins the battle of Shiloh, completing a series of Union triumphs that deny the Confederacy control of major sections of Tennessee.

April 16, 1862..............................C.S. Congress passes the first national Conscription Act in American history; acts passed on September 27, 1862, and February 17, 1864, supplement the original legislation.

April 25, 1862..............................New Orleans falls to Union forces under David G. Farragut, giving the United States control of the lower Mississippi River.

May 15, 1862.................................U.S. Congress passes the Homestead Bill.

June 17, 1862...............................U.S. Congress passes the Land Grant College Bill (Morrill Act).

June 19, 1862...............................U.S. Congress prohibits slavery in the territories.

June 25–July 1, 1862......................The Seven Days battles reverse a tide of Union military success as Robert E. Lee drives George B. McClellan away from Richmond.
July 17, 1862..............................U.S. Congress passes the Second
Confiscation Act, which frees all slaves of
owners who support the Confederacy.

July 22, 1862..............................Lincoln tells his cabinet that he intends to
issue an emancipation proclamation.

Aug. 28–30, 1862.........................Robert E. Lee wins a victory over John
Pope’s Army of Virginia at the battle of
Second Manassas, or Bull Run.

Sept. 17, 1862 .............................Union victory at the battle of Antietam, or
Sharpsburg, ends Robert E. Lee’s first
invasion of the North.

Sept. 22, 1862 .............................Lincoln issues his preliminary Emancipation
Proclamation.

Oct. 8, 1862 ...............................Battle of Perryville marks the climax of a
Confederate invasion into Kentucky by
armies under Braxton Bragg and E. Kirby
Smith; the Confederates withdraw from the
state after the battle.

Nov. 4, 1862 ...............................Democrats score gains in the northern off-
year elections.

Dec. 13, 1862 .............................Robert E. Lee defeats Ambrose E. Burnside
at the battle of Fredericksburg.

Dec. 31, 1862–Jan. 2, 1863 ............Battle of Stones River, or Murfreesboro,
fought in middle Tennessee, resulting in the
retreat of Braxton Bragg’s Confederate army
and the beginning of six months of inactivity
on this front.

Jan. 1, 1863 ...............................Lincoln issues his Emancipation
Proclamation.

Feb. 25, 1863 .............................U.S. Congress passes the National Banking
Act.

March 3, 1863 ............................U.S. Congress passes the Enrollment Act,
which institutes a national draft; the Union
will issue four calls under this legislation, in
July 1863 and March, July, and December
1864.

May 1–4, 1863.............................Robert E. Lee defeats Joseph Hooker (who
had replaced Ambrose E. Burnside as
commander of the Army of the Potomac in
late January 1863) in the battle of Chancellorsville.

June 20, 1863 .................................. West Virginia joins the Union as a new state.

July 1–3, 1863 .................................. George G. Meade’s victory in the battle of Gettysburg ends Robert E. Lee’s second invasion of the North.

July 4, 1863 ..................................... Confederate army at Vicksburg surrenders to U. S. Grant.

July 13, 1863 ................................... Anti-draft riots begin in New York City and rage for several days.

Nov. 23–25, 1863 ................................ Union victory at the battle of Chattanooga lifts Confederate siege and opens the way for a campaign against Atlanta.

Dec. 8, 1863 ..................................... Lincoln issues his Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction as a blueprint for restoring the Union; this first presented the president’s “10 Percent Plan” for Reconstruction.

March 12, 1864 .................................. U. S. Grant named general-in-chief of Union forces; plans simultaneous offensives designed to pressure Confederate military forces on a broad front.

May 5–6, 1864 .................................. Battle of the Wilderness opens the Overland campaign between U. S. Grant and Robert E. Lee.

May 7, 1864 ..................................... William Tecumseh Sherman begins his Atlanta campaign against Joseph E. Johnston’s Army of Tennessee.

June 15, 1864 .................................. U.S. Congress makes pay for black and white soldiers equal.

July 2, 1864 ..................................... The Wade-Davis Bill passes the U.S. Senate, presenting an alternative to President Lincoln’s 10 Percent Plan for Reconstruction; Lincoln kills it with a pocket veto on July 4, and supporters of the bill answer with the Wade-Davis Manifesto criticizing the president’s actions.
Aug. 5, 1864..................................David G. Farragut’s Union fleet wins the battle of Mobile Bay, closing the last major Confederate port on the Gulf of Mexico.

Sept. 2, 1864...............................Sherman’s Union forces enter Atlanta, providing a critical Union victory that virtually guaranteed President Lincoln’s reelection in November.


Nov. 1, 1864..............................New Maryland state constitution abolishing slavery takes effect.

Nov. 7, 1864..............................Jefferson Davis proposes enrolling slaves in the Confederate military and freeing all who served faithfully; this touches off an acrimonious debate that continues for several months.

Nov. 8, 1864..............................Abraham Lincoln reelected and Republicans gain large majorities in both Houses of Congress and do well in northern state races.

Nov. 16–Dec. 21, 1864.................Sherman’s army makes its famous “March to the Sea” from Atlanta to Savannah, leaving a wide path of destruction in its wake.

Jan. 11, 1865..............................Missouri state constitutional convention abolishes slavery.


Feb. 22, 1865..............................Amendment to Tennessee’s state constitution abolishes slavery.

March 3, 1865...........................Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (Freedmen’s Bureau) established in the U.S. War Department.

March 13, 1865..........................C.S. Congress authorizes President Davis to recruit slaves as soldiers (but not to offer them freedom if they serve).
April 2, 1865.........................Confederate government abandons Richmond; Robert E. Lee’s army begins retreat westward.

April 9, 1865.........................Lee surrenders to U. S. Grant at Appomattox Courthouse.

April 14, 1865.........................Lincoln shot in Ford’s Theater; he dies the next morning.

May 10, 1865.........................Jefferson Davis is captured near Irwinville, Georgia.

May 29, 1865.........................Andrew Johnson issues proclamations offering amnesty to most former Confederates and naming a provisional governor in North Carolina charged with beginning the process of Reconstruction; many Republicans in Congress react negatively to Johnson’s actions.

Summer–autumn 1865..............Former Confederate states take advantage of Johnson’s leniency, including several states that enact “Black Codes” discriminating against African Americans.

Dec. 18, 1865.........................The 13th Amendment is ratified, abolishing slavery throughout the United States.

April 9, 1866.........................Congress passes the Civil Rights Bill over President Johnson’s veto.

May–July 1866.......................Riots against African Americans and white Republicans in Memphis and New Orleans result in scores of deaths and underscore the willingness of former Confederates to resort to violence.

June 13, 1866.......................Congress passes 14th Amendment and sends it to the states for ratification; defined all native-born or naturalized persons (white or black) as citizens; prohibited states from denying any person’s “life, liberty or property without the due process of law”; and guaranteed all persons the “equal protection of the laws.”

July 16, 1866.......................Congress extends the life of the Freedmen’s Bureau over President Johnson’s veto.
Autumn elections 1866 .................Republicans win handily, ensuring a three-to-one majority in the next Congress; President Johnson’s effort to create a National Union Party ends in abject failure.

March 2, 1867 ......................... Congress passes first Military Reconstruction Act over President Johnson’s veto; 10 states of the former Confederacy are divided into 5 military districts.

March 2, 1867 ......................... Congress passes Tenure of Office Act over President Johnson’s veto; Johnson prohibited from removing appointees without Senate approval.

March 23, 1867 ....................... Congress passes second Military Reconstruction Act over President Johnson’s veto; federal military commanders will take the lead in implementing the process of forming new state governments.

Feb. 24, 1868 ......................... House of Representatives impeaches President Johnson by a vote of 126 to 47; action precipitated by Johnson’s attempt to remove Secretary of War Stanton in defiance of the Tenure of Office Act, but the underlying cause is Republican weariness with Johnson’s vetoes and other efforts to undermine congressional Reconstruction.

March 30–May 26, 1868 ............. President Johnson’s trial in the Senate; final vote to acquit 35 to 19, a single vote short of the two-thirds majority required for conviction.

June–July 1868 ....................... Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina readmitted to the Union; each has ratified the 14th Amendment and otherwise met congressional criteria for readmission, and their members of Congress are soon seated.

July 21, 1868 ............................ Congress passes concurrent resolution declaring the 14th Amendment ratified.

Nov. 1868 ............................... Republican candidate U. S. Grant elected president in race against Democrat Horatio Seymour of New York.
May 10, 1869.................................Final spike driven connecting the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroads at Promontory Point, Utah Territory; the United States has its first transcontinental rail line.

Jan.—March 1870............................Mississippi, Virginia, and Texas rejoin the Union, having ratified the 15th Amendment as one of the conditions for readmission.

March 23, 1870..............................15th Amendment achieves final ratification.

Feb. 24, 1871.................................Georgia rejoins the Union, the last of the former Confederate states to do so.

April 20, 1871...............................Ku Klux Klan Act gives President Grant the power to suspend writ of habeas corpus and employ federal troops to suppress armed resistance to federal law; reaction to increasing violence directed against white and black Republicans by the Klan and other terrorist groups.

Nov. 1872.................................U. S. Grant reelected to a second term in race against Horace Greeley, who had run as the candidate of the liberal Republicans and the Democrats.

Sept. 1873.................................Economic panic begins when Jay Cooke’s banking firm declares bankruptcy; within two years, 18,000 businesses fail and unemployment soars to almost 15 percent.

Nov. 1874.................................Democrats gain control of the House of Representatives in off-year elections.

Election campaign 1875.................Mississippi comes under white conservative rule via the “Mississippi Plan,” a program of planned violence and intimidation designed to prevent black and white Republican voters from casting ballots; seven other former Confederate states already have been “redeemed,” that is, returned to white conservative control: Tennessee (1869), Virginia and North Carolina (1870), Georgia (1871), and Arkansas, Alabama, and Texas (1874).

Nov. 1876.................................Results from presidential canvass disputed in three unredeemed southern states.
(Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina) and
in Oregon; Democrat Samuel J. Tilden
carries the popular vote over Republican
Rutherford B. Hayes and needs electoral
votes from just one of the three disputed
states to win the election.

Jan. 26, 1877.......................... Congress creates a commission to examine
the disputed returns; the 15-member
commission has 8 Republicans and 7
Democrats.

March 2, 1877.......................... The commission announces votes of 8 to 7
in favor of awarding the electoral votes from
all four disputed states to Hayes, thus
electing him by a vote of 185 to 184.

March 5, 1877.......................... Hayes inaugurated president, having agreed
to the “Compromise of 1877” that gives
certain concessions to the Democrats and the
South in return for their accepting a
Republican victory in the presidential race;
Hayes soon withdraws the last federal troops
from the South.
Glossary

Blockade: A force of naval vessels placed to intercept shipping into or out of an enemy’s ports.

Bounty: A cash payment by the national, state, or local government designed to attract volunteers to the armed forces.

Contraband: Material belonging to an enemy subject to seizure by a belligerent power in time of war. During the Civil War, the term most often applied to slaves in the Confederacy who made their way to Union lines.

Earthworks: Fortifications constructed of dirt, sand, and other materials (a term often used interchangeably with breastworks or field works).

Entrenchments: Defensive works prepared either in the field or as part of more permanent fortifications around cities or other crucial positions (also often called, simply, trenches).

Fire-eaters: Outspoken advocates of southern rights who took extreme positions regarding the protection of slavery. Many of them, such as Edmund Ruffin, played a prominent role in the secession movement.

Flank: The end of a line of troops on the field of battle or in a fortified position. To flank an enemy’s position involves placing troops on its side or rear. A flanking march is a maneuver designed to give the troops in motion either a tactical or a strategic advantage.

Fleet: A group of naval warships and support vessels operating as a unified force.

Flotilla: Similar to a fleet but usually consisting of a smaller number of vessels.

Guerrilla: A combatant who operates in small units or bands beyond the control of major organized military forces. These men often carried out raids and small attacks behind enemy lines.

Logistics: Military activity dealing with the physical support, maintenance, and supply of an army.

Martial law: Temporary government of civilians by military authorities, typically involving the suspension of some civil liberties.

Muzzleloader: A shoulder weapon that is loaded at the muzzle, or front of the barrel.

Noncommissioned officers: Those who hold the ranks of sergeant and corporal.

Partisan: A combatant operating in small groups beyond the control of major military forces. Sometimes used interchangeably with guerrilla, but during the Civil War, partisans often were viewed as better disciplined and less likely to commit outrages against civilians or enemy soldiers.
Popular sovereignty: The doctrine that provided for the voters in a federal territory to decide whether they would accept slavery (rather than having Congress decide for them). An attempt to find a middle ground between those who wanted to exclude slavery from all territories and those who wanted it protected by Congress, the doctrine figured prominently in the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

Quartermaster: The military department responsible for the supply of clothing, shoes, and other equipment.

Specie: Coined money, usually gold or silver. Specie payments are payments in coin, or the redemption of paper money on demand with coin equivalent.

Strategy: The branch of warfare involving the movement of armies to (1) bring about combat with an enemy under favorable circumstances or (2) force the retreat of an enemy.

Tactics: The branch of warfare involving actual combat between attackers and defenders.

Trains: The wagons accompanying armies that carried food, forage, ammunition, and other supplies (not to be confused with railroad rolling stock).

Transport: An unarmed vessel carrying troops or supplies.

Volley: The simultaneous firing of their weapons by a number of soldiers in one unit.

Works: A generic term applied to defensive fortifications of all types.
Biographical Notes

Banks, Nathaniel Prentice (1816–1894). One of the most prominent Union political generals, he served throughout the Civil War without achieving any distinction on the battlefield. No match for Stonewall Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley in 1862, he similarly came to grief during the 1864 Red River campaign.

Barton, Clara (1821–1912). The most famous northern nurse, her excellent work at Antietam and elsewhere earned her the nickname “Angel of the Battlefield.” Appointed head nurse of Benjamin F. Butler’s Army of the James in 1864, she is most famous as the founder of the American Red Cross.

Beauregard, Pierre Gustave Toutant (1818–1893). One of the ranking officers in the Confederacy, he presided over the bombardment of Fort Sumter in April 1861; led the southern army at the opening of the battle of First Bull Run, or Manassas; and later held various commands in the western and eastern theaters.

Bell, John (1797–1869). Tennessean who ran as the presidential candidate of the Constitutional Union Party in 1860. A former Whig with moderate views, he gave lukewarm support to the Confederacy after Lincoln’s call for 75,000 volunteers to suppress the rebellion.

Booth, John Wilkes (1838–1865). Member of the most celebrated family of actors in the United States and a staunch southern sympathizer. He first planned to kidnap Abraham Lincoln, subsequently deciding to assassinate him. He mortally wounded the president on April 14, 1865, and was himself killed shortly thereafter by pursuing Union cavalry.

Bragg, Braxton (1817–1876). A controversial military figure who led the Confederate Army of Tennessee at Stones River, Chickamauga, and Chattanooga. Intensely unpopular with many of his soldiers and subordinates, he finished the war as an adviser to Jefferson Davis in Richmond.

Breckinridge, John Cabell (1821–1875). Vice president of the United States under James Buchanan and the southern Democratic candidate for president in 1860, he served the Confederacy as a general and secretary of war. He fought in the eastern and western theaters, winning the battle of New Market in May 1864.

Brown, John (1800–1859). Abolitionist whose violent activities during the mid-1850s in Kansas Territory and raid on Harpers Ferry in October 1859 gained him wide notoriety. He was hanged after his capture at Harpers Ferry, becoming a martyr to many in the North.

Buchanan, James (1791–1868). Long-time Democratic politician who was elected president in 1856 and watched helplessly as the nation broke up during the winter of 1860–1861. During the last months of his presidency, he sought without success to find a way to entice the seceded states back into the Union.
Buell, Don Carlos (1818–1898). Union army commander in the western theater in 1861–1862 who fought at Shiloh and led the northern forces at Perryville. Reluctant to conduct vigorous campaigns against the Confederates, he was relieved of command in the autumn of 1862.

Burns, Anthony (1834–1862). Born a slave in Virginia, Burns escaped to Boston in 1854 and soon stood at the center of a famous fugitive slave case. Arrested and held for return to Virginia under the Fugitive Slave Law, he inspired an outpouring of antislavery sentiment in Boston and elsewhere in the North. Re-enslaved for a time, he eventually was freed, attended Oberlin College, and spent the last part of his life as a Baptist minister in Canada.

Burnside, Ambrose Everett (1824–1881). Union general best known for commanding the Army of the Potomac at the battle of Fredericksburg in December 1862. His wartime career also included early service along the North Carolina coast and later action with Grant’s army in 1864.

Butler, Benjamin Franklin (1818–1893). Union general who coined the term “contraband” for runaway slaves in 1861 and commanded the army that approached Richmond by moving up the James River during U. S. Grant’s grand offensive of May 1864. A prewar Democrat who supported John C. Breckinridge in 1860, he became a radical Republican during the war.

Cooke, Jay (1821–1905). A brilliant financier who raised hundreds of millions of dollars for the Union war effort through the sale of government bonds. Sometimes accused of receiving special treatment from the Lincoln administration, he had powerful defenders who insisted that his actions helped keep northern armies in the field.

Crittenden, John Jordan (1787–1863). Politician from Kentucky who worked hard to avoid the breakup of the Union in 1860–1861. He proposed reinstating the Missouri Compromise line, called for a national convention to discuss the secession crisis, and later, worked hard to keep Kentucky in the Union.

Davis, Henry Winter (1817–1865). Maryland politician who won election at various times under the banners of the Whig; American, or Know-Nothing; and Republican parties. As a member of the House of Representatives from Maryland in 1864, he opposed Lincoln’s lenient plans for Reconstruction and cosponsored, with Senator Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, the Wade-Davis Bill and the Wade-Davis Manifesto.

Davis, Jefferson (1808–1889). Colonel during the war with Mexico, secretary of war under Franklin Pierce, and prominent senator from Mississippi in the 1840s and 1850s, he served as the Confederacy’s only president. His nationalist policies triggered great political debate among Confederates.

Dix, Dorothea Lynde (1802–1887). An antebellum advocate of improved care for the mentally ill, she served as superintendent of Union army nurses during the war. She rendered solid service, despite a personality that often placed her at odds with both subordinates and superiors.
Douglas, Stephen Arnold (1812–1861). Prominent senator from Illinois in the 1850s who favored the doctrine of popular sovereignty and ran unsuccessfully as the regular Democratic candidate for president in 1860.

Douglass, Frederick (1817 or 1818–1895). Born a slave, he escaped to freedom in 1838, became an abolitionist and newspaper editor, and by 1860, was the most prominent African American leader in the United States. He pressed tirelessly to add freedom as a northern war aim.

Early, Jubal Anderson (1816–1894). Confederate general who compiled a solid record as an officer in the Army of Northern Virginia. He ended the war a disgraced figure in the Confederacy because of his defeats in the 1864 Shenandoah Valley campaign.

Farragut, David Glasgow (1801–1870). The most famous Union naval figure of the war, he was promoted to rear admiral in 1862 (the first officer to hold that rank). He led naval forces in successful operations against New Orleans in 1862 and Mobile Bay in 1864.

Frémont, John Charles (1813–1890). Famous as an antebellum western explorer, he ran as the first Republican candidate for president in 1856 and served as a Union general in Missouri and Virginia during the war. While commanding in Missouri in 1861, he attempted to free the state’s slaves by issuing a proclamation that abolitionists applauded but Lincoln ordered him to rescind.

Grant, Ulysses S. (1822–1885). The most successful Union military commander, serving as general-in-chief for the last fourteen months of the war and twice winning election as president during the postwar years.

Halleck, Henry W. (1815–1872). An important Union military figure who presided over striking successes in the western theater in 1862, served as general-in-chief of the Union army in 1862–1864, and was demoted to chief of staff when Grant assumed the top military position in March 1864.

Hood, John Bell (1831–1879). Confederate commander best known for his unsuccessful defense of Atlanta against William Tecumseh Sherman’s army and the disastrous campaign in Tennessee that culminated in the battle of Nashville in mid-December 1864.

Hooker, Joseph (1814–1879). Union general nicknamed “Fighting Joe” who commanded the Army of the Potomac at the battle of Chancellorsville. Replaced by George G. Meade during the Gettysburg campaign, he later fought at Chattanooga and in the opening phase of the 1864 Atlanta campaign.

Hunter, David (1802–1886). A Union general who, as commander along the South Atlantic coast, tried to free all slaves in his department in May 1862, only to see Lincoln revoke his order. He later led an army in the Shenandoah Valley in 1864.
Jackson, Thomas Jonathan (1824–1863). Nicknamed “Stonewall” and second only to Lee as a popular Confederate hero, he was celebrated for his 1862 Shenandoah Valley campaign and his achievements as Lee’s trusted subordinate. He died at the peak of his fame, succumbing to pneumonia after being wounded at the battle of Chancellorsville.

Johnson, Andrew (1808–1875). A Democratic politician from Tennessee, he was the only U.S. senator from a seceding state who kept his seat after the firing on Fort Sumter. Elected Lincoln’s vice president in 1864, he pursued a lenient Reconstruction program after Lincoln’s death, fought bitterly with radical Republicans in Congress, and narrowly avoided removal from office after being impeached in 1868.

Johnston, Albert Sidney (1803–1862). A prominent antebellum military figure from whom much was expected as a Confederate general. He compiled a mixed record in the western theater before being mortally wounded on April 6, 1862, at the battle of Shiloh.

Johnston, Joseph Eggleston (1807–1891). A Confederate army commander who served in both Virginia and the western theater. Notoriously prickly about rank and privileges, he feuded with Jefferson Davis and compiled a record demonstrating his preference for defensive over offensive operations.

Lee, Robert Edward (1807–1870). Southern military officer who commanded the Army of Northern Virginia for most of the war and became the most admired figure in the Confederacy.

Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865). Elected in 1860 as the first Republican to hold the presidency, he provided superior leadership for the northern war effort and was reelected in 1864 before being assassinated at Ford’s Theater on the eve of complete Union victory.

McClellan, George Brinton (1826–1885). One of the most important military figures of the war, he built the Army of the Potomac into a formidable force and led it during the Peninsula campaign, the Seven Days battles, and at Antietam. Often at odds with Lincoln because of his unwillingness to press the enemy, he was relieved of command in November 1862 and later ran as the Democratic candidate for president in 1864.

McDowell, Irvin (1818–1885). Military officer who commanded the Union army at the battle of First Bull Run, or Manassas. The remainder of his wartime career was anticlimactic.

Meade, George Gordon (1815–1872). Union general who fought in the eastern theater, commanding the Army of the Potomac at Gettysburg and throughout the rest of the war. U. S. Grant’s presence with the army after April 1864 placed Meade in a difficult position.

Pierce, Franklin (1804–1869). Democratic politician elected to the presidency in 1852. A “northern man of southern principles,” he favored the proslavery side
in the heated political debates regarding the extension of slavery into the Kansas Territory in 1854–1856.

**Pope, John** (1822–1892). Union general who won several small successes in the western theater before being transferred to the eastern theater to command the Army of Virginia. His defeat at the battle of Second Bull Run, or Manassas, in August 1862 ended his important service during the war.

**Scott, Dred** (1795[? ]–1858). Slave who stood at the center of legal proceedings that culminated in 1857 in the Supreme Court’s landmark *Dred Scott v. Sanford* decision. The Court declared that as an African American, Scott was not a citizen and, therefore, could not institute a suit. The Court held the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional and seemingly opened all federal territories to slavery.

**Scott, Winfield** (1786–1866). One of the great soldiers in U.S. history, he performed brilliantly in the war with Mexico and remained the ranking officer in the army at the outbreak of the Civil War. He devised the Anaconda Plan in the spring of 1861, a strategy that anticipated the way the North would win the conflict.

**Sheridan, Philip Henry** (1831–1888). Ranked behind only Grant and Sherman as a Union war hero, Sheridan fought in both the western and eastern theaters. His most famous victories came in the 1864 Shenandoah Valley campaign; at the battle of Five Forks on April 1, 1865; and during the Appomattox campaign.

**Sherman, William Tecumseh** (1820–1891). Union military officer who overcame early-war difficulties to become Grant’s primary subordinate. An advocate of “hard” war, he is best known for his capture of Atlanta and “March to the Sea” in 1864.

**Stanton, Edwin McMasters** (1814–1869). Politician from Ohio who served as secretary of war under Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson. Johnson’s demand for Stanton’s resignation helped trigger impeachment proceedings against the president in early 1868.

**Stephens, Alexander Hamilton** (1812–1883). A moderate Democrat from Georgia who supported Stephen A. Douglas in the 1860 presidential campaign and embraced secession reluctantly, he served throughout the war as vice president of the Confederacy. Increasingly at odds with Jefferson Davis over issues related to growing central power, he became an embittered public critic of the president and his policies.

**Stevens, Thaddeus** (1792–1868). Radical Republican congressman from Pennsylvania who chaired the House Ways and Means Committee. He favored harsh penalties for slaveholding Confederates and pushed to make emancipation a major focus of the Union war effort.

**Stowe, Harriett Beecher** (1811–1896). Author and reformer from Connecticut whose revulsion at the Fugitive Slave Act prompted her to publish *Uncle Tom’s*
Cabin, a bestselling novel that proved immensely influential in promoting antislavery sentiment in the United States.

Sumner, Charles (1811–1874). Radical Republican senator from Massachusetts who was caned on the floor of the Senate by Congressman Preston Brooks of South Carolina after delivering his famous “Crime against Kansas” speech in 1856. During the war, he chaired the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and consistently pressed for emancipation.

Taney, Roger Brooke (1777–1864). Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (1835–1864), he antagonized abolitionists with the Dred Scott decision in 1857. During the war, he sought to curb Abraham Lincoln’s power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, opposed northern conscription, and argued that governmental assaults on civil liberties posed a greater threat to the nation than secession of the southern states.

Vallandigham, Clement Laird (1820–1871). Congressman from Ohio and a leading Copperhead who staunchly opposed emancipation and most of the rest of the Republican legislative agenda. Exiled to the Confederacy by Lincoln in 1863, he returned to the United States and helped draft the peace platform at the 1864 Democratic national convention.

Wade, Benjamin Franklin (1800–1878). Radical Republican senator from Ohio who chaired the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, urged Abraham Lincoln to dismiss George B. McClellan, and called for the emancipation of all slaves. In 1864, he co-authored the Wade-Davis Bill and the Wade-Davis Manifesto that attacked Lincoln’s actions relating to Reconstruction.
Essential Reading


Supplementary Reading

Some of the following books may be out of print. Internet sites such as www.abebooks.com and www.amazon.com may be helpful in locating copies.


Faust, Drew Gilpin. Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996. Reprinted in paperback. A well-written, prize-winning examination of the ways in which upper-class southern women were influenced by, and reacted to, a conflict that severely disrupted their lives and society.

Freeman, Douglas Southall. Lee’s Lieutenants: A Study in Command. 3 vols. New York: Scribner’s, 1942–1945. Reprinted in paperback. These compellingly written volumes are the classic treatment of the Army of Northern Virginia’s high command. Few studies have exerted as much influence on the military history of the Civil War.


Harris, William C. With Charity for All: Lincoln and the Restoration of the Union. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998. The fullest modern treatment of wartime reconstruction, this study argues that Lincoln would have allowed southern states a large voice in the process even after the end of the war.


argues against the prevailing idea that the North’s two-party system helped the Union war effort.


The History of the United States
Part V
Professor Patrick Allitt

THE TEACHING COMPANY ®
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Patrick Allitt is Professor of History at Emory University. He was born and raised in central England and attended schools near his home in Mickleover, Derbyshire. An undergraduate at Hertford College, Oxford, he graduated (1977) with honors in British and European history. After a year of travel, he studied for the history doctorate at the University of California, Berkeley. He was a postdoctoral fellow at Harvard in the mid-1980s and, since 1988, has been on the faculty of Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia. Professor Allitt is the author of three books, including Catholic Converts: British and American Intellectuals Turn to Rome (1997). He also writes frequent articles and reviews. In 1999, he won Emory’s Excellence in Teaching Award and, in 2000, was appointed to the N.E.H./Arthur Blank Professorship of Teaching in the Humanities. Professor Allitt keeps in touch with his homeland by spending about two months every year on a working holiday in Britain, teaching the history of Victorian England with Emory’s summer school, which is held at University College, Oxford. His wife, Toni, is American, a Michigan native, and they have a daughter, Frances, born in 1988.
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The History of the United States

Scope (Lectures Forty-Nine through Eighty-Four):

America industrialized rapidly in the late 19th century, and was one of the world’s three leading industrial powers (along with Germany and Britain) by 1900. Its citizens already had the adventurous outlook, the tradition of hard work, and the entrepreneurial initiative that are vital to successful industrialization. A legal situation amenable to maximum economic growth and widespread faith in capitalism further aided the Industrial Revolution. The Americans were lucky in having plentiful natural resources at their disposal. Immense forests provided wood for cheap construction everywhere east of the Mississippi. Coal fields in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and West Virginia fueled industry’s steam-powered machinery, while ore from the great Minnesota ranges provided the raw material for the iron and steel industry. Oil fields in western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and later, Oklahoma, Texas, and California fed another rapidly growing industry.

Railroads, built in the East from 1830, were extended across the Mississippi after the Civil War. The first transcontinental road was completed in 1869, reducing the coast-to-coast journey from a matter of months, as it had been in the 1840s, to just three days by 1900. Completion of a dense nationwide railroad network between 1869 and 1900 facilitated companies’ national marketing campaigns. It also permitted improvements in diet, because fresh foods grown in southern California and Florida could be brought quickly to market in the northern cities, even during the winter.

The scale of American businesses grew rapidly, too, enabling the oil, coal, iron and steel, railroad, food, and meat-packing industries to enjoy economies of scale. The downside of this growth was that businesses became anonymous. Workers trapped in low-paying, dangerous, and monotonous jobs became resentful and organized trade unions. The late 19th century witnessed a rapid growth in unions, especially among skilled workers who could not easily be replaced with strikebreakers, and a succession of strikes. Ferocious retaliation by employers, who used armed detectives and, when possible, state militiamen, made industrial disputes ugly and bloody. Employers also tried to “divide and conquer” by hiring workers from many different ethnic groups, recent immigrants who would be less likely to make common cause against them and whose many languages would make organization difficult.

Railroads were vital not only to industry but also to settlers on the Great Plains in the 1870s and 1880s. Trains brought in wood, coal, and other necessities that settlers lacked locally, while carrying away from the area its massive annual grain harvests. The cumulative effect of Plains settlement was to create a great yearly food surplus (one of the constants of 20th-century life) and to end the danger of famine. For each particular farmer, the steady fall in grain prices caused hardship, which was accentuated by the railroads’ local monopoly as sole available carrier and by a steady deflation through the late 19th century. Plains
farmers attempted to join southern tenant and sharecropping farmers in the Populist Party, whose mushroom growth in the 1880s and 1890s was never successfully rewarded with electoral successes.

The rapid growth of America’s industrial and agricultural productivity made the nation wealthy and created the possibility of a more aggressive foreign policy. Some politicians, notably Theodore Roosevelt, favored the creation of an American colonial empire to rival those of Britain, France, Portugal, Germany, and Belgium. The disintegration of Spain’s Caribbean and Pacific empire presented an opportunity. America went to war against Spain in 1898 and became the dominant power in Cuba and the Philippines. It also influenced the Panamanian revolution and the building of an ocean-to-ocean canal there between 1903 and 1914. The debate over foreign policy acquired a new urgency when the First World War began in 1914. At first, President Woodrow Wilson argued that America must remain neutral “in thought and deed” so that it could broker a reasonable peace. Before long, however, American businesses were trading heavily with the British and French, while the Royal Navy prevented them from trading with Germany. Germany retaliated with unrestricted submarine warfare against American shipping, which in turn, prompted an American declaration of war. That decision, along with the Russian Revolution, made 1917 one of the most momentous years of the 20th century. The weaknesses of the Versailles Treaty by which World War I ended, and the American decision not to participate in the League of Nations, laid the foundations of an even more disastrous war 20 years later.

Whatever its international role, America continued to generate new technology and to grow wealthier than any nation in world history. The 1920s witnessed the perfection of modern mass-production techniques and the development of “welfare capitalism,” by which employers attended to their workers’ social needs, as well as to their productive powers, as a way of forestalling workers’ radicalism. By 1929, however, productivity had outstripped America’s capacity to consume, because incomes were still unequally distributed. The Wall Street Crash of that year was followed by a devastating economic depression, worse than any earlier fluctuation in the American economy. By 1933, banks were failing and factories lay silent, even though surrounded by men who desperately needed work. A handful of Americans, struck by this incongruity and convinced that capitalism was no longer a viable economic system, turned to Communism. Millions more, however, supported the New Deal, a series of policies by which a new president, Franklin Roosevelt, attempted to rescue the American system. The New Deal’s many agencies gave the federal government a more intrusive and powerful role than ever before in the regulation of the economy. It was not successful in ending the Great Depression, but it restored confidence in the business system, introduced such innovative programs as Social Security, and ensured that trade unions would enjoy the same legal protections as business.

The onset of the Second World War brought the Depression to an end, which it did by escalating demand for exports and prompting rapid American mobilization. Roosevelt, like Wilson, tried at first to stay out of the conflict—he
faced an influential isolationist faction at home. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, however, made American participation in the war, against both Japan and its German partner, inevitable. America, allied with Winston Churchill’s Britain and Josef Stalin’s Soviet Union, had defeated Hitler’s Germany by May of 1945, after the D-Day invasion of France and heavy aerial bombardment of German cities. The invention of a secret weapon, the atomic bomb, also enabled American forces to defeat Japan in August 1945.

No sooner had the war ended in the complete defeat of their enemies than the allies, America and Russia, fell out. The contrast in their political and economic systems, and the American fear that Soviet Communism would spread remorselessly until it dominated the world unless stopped forcibly, fueled the antagonism. The Soviets’ refusal to let the newly liberated nations of Eastern Europe elect democratic governments seemed to the new American leader, President Truman, characteristic of their aggressive designs. In consequence, America decided not to withdraw from international affairs after the Second World War as it had after the First. Instead, it became the leader of the Western democracies in a new bipolar world.

The Cold War standoff between America and the Soviet Union persisted until 1989, bringing them to the brink of war in 1962 (during the Cuban missile crisis) but restraining them with the knowledge that each had nuclear weapons sufficient to annihilate the other. The demands of a big military establishment contributed to economic buoyancy throughout most of the era. Fears that the Great Depression would return with the end of war proved groundless. The United States in the 1950s and 1960s became, in the words of economist John Kenneth Galbraith, the “affluent society,” in which an opulent consumer lifestyle came within reach of nearly everyone, even factory workers’ families.

The great exception to the spread of American prosperity was the large African American community. Ever since the end of Reconstruction, it had endured the most precarious economic and political condition. To be black in the South was to suffer under government-supported policies of racial segregation. Black Americans throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries had moved from the rural South to the urban North as industrialization spread. There, too, however, they had faced severe racial discrimination. The Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s was, therefore, vitally important in transforming their civic status. It led to the laws of 1964 and 1965 by which all forms of government-approved racial discrimination were abolished. The movement was not able to end the economic disadvantages against which many African Americans continued to struggle, however, and the intractability of that problem persisted up to and beyond the millennium.

Not only the Civil Rights movement but many other social movements contributed to the turbulence of the 1960s in America. In pursuit of its Cold War policy of preventing the spread of Communism, the nation went to war in Vietnam but found itself unable to prevail against tenacious low-tech foes in jungle warfare. The long, costly war became bitterly unpopular at home and the
antiar movement contributed to an unprecedented “generation gap” in millions of families. Numerous groups, meanwhile, imitated the Civil Rights movement by claiming that they, too, were minorities and that they suffered discrimination unjustly; first women in the new feminist movement, then Native Americans, Hispanic Americans, and homosexuals. America was socially fractured by these experiences, while its government lost prestige, a loss greatly exacerbated by the Watergate scandal that forced President Nixon to resign in disgrace in 1974.

President Carter spoke of a “national malaise” in 1978 to a nation mired in disillusionment, inflation, and economic stagnation. His successor, the former film star Ronald Reagan, was eager to restore national vitality and determined to escalate the Cold War confrontation with an immense peacetime military buildup. This controversial policy may have contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union and its empire of Eastern European satellites in 1989, another of the crucial years of the century. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the peaceful triumph of democracy in the former Soviet sphere laid to rest the 20th-century menace of Communism and left America as the world’s sole superpower.

War against Iraq and ethnic genocide in the former Yugoslavia showed that the New World Order was anything but a utopia of peace and good will. America had to decide whether to maintain its worldwide commitments or retreat to its historic isolationist posture. Cautiously, and with care to prevent another Vietnam morass, it maintained its commitments. Richer than ever in the 1990s but still suffering from the chronic exclusion of its urban, minority, and Native American “underclass” from the general prosperity, America remained vulnerable. A domestic terrorist destroyed the federal government’s building in Oklahoma City in 1995, while foreign terrorists destroyed the New York World Trade Center in 2001. The future of the nation, like earlier futures, continued to hold out great promise but also present great challenges.
Lecture Forty-Nine

Industrialization

Scope: In the late 19th century, the scale of American industry increased dramatically. John D. Rockefeller in the oil industry and Andrew Carnegie in iron and steel built massive corporations, integrating vertically and horizontally until they dominated entire sectors of the economy. They and their fellow entrepreneurs were daring, intensely focused on business opportunities, and ruthless, yet idealistic about transforming the world for the better. They were lucky in being able to exploit immense American reserves of crude oil, iron ore, and coal—another aspect of American exceptionalism—and talented in building nationwide marketing networks. With the help of a generation of brilliant inventors, including Thomas Edison and Alexander Graham Bell, and a succession of improvements in manufacturing, the United States had established itself as one of the three world leaders in industry by 1890, rivaling Britain and Germany.

Outline

I. Iron and steel were essential to American industrialization.
   A. Small-scale iron production had provided weapons and tools for centuries.
   B. British entrepreneurs industrialized production.
   C. America was well supplied with the basic raw materials: iron ore, limestone, and coal.
   D. American entrepreneurs enhanced the scale and efficiency of production, as the career of Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919) demonstrates.
      1. He began life as a poor immigrant.
      2. His attention to detail, coupled with a vision of great possibilities, contributed to his success.
      3. He modernized steel production and greatly expanded U.S. exports.

II. Oil was a second vital commodity of industrialization.
   A. Whales were the principal source of oil before 1860.
      1. Whaling was dangerous and unpredictable.
      2. Oil prices rose as ocean stocks were depleted.
   B. The discovery of “rock oil” in 1859 displaced reliance on whale oil.
      1. George Bissell and Edwin Drake discovered that oil could be procured by drilling (with a salt drill) at Titusville, Pennsylvania, in 1859.
      2. The oil rush was comparable to the California gold rush.
C. John D. Rockefeller (1839–1937) built his empire on oil refining.
   1. The scale of his operations enabled him to buy out competitors. He controlled 85–90 percent of the market.
   2. Like Carnegie, he was an expert organizer. He was a pioneer of vertical integration, or controlling the entire production process from exploration to marketing.
   3. He was a sober, God-fearing workaholic and Baptist Sunday-school teacher.
   4. He feared that supplies might run out at any time. Only in 1901 did discoveries in Texas allay his fears.

D. Rockefeller’s company, Standard Oil, pioneered universal marketing and distribution.
   1. Red “Standard” wagons were synonymous with quality.
   2. The origins of the auto industry (in the 1890s) created still more demand for Rockefeller’s product.

III. As industrialization accelerated, society became accustomed to the idea of successive improvements and inventions.

A. Thomas Alva Edison (1847–1931) was among the inventor-geniuses of the era.
   1. Painstaking and meticulous, he made a science of developing and testing new possibilities in his laboratory at Menlo Park, New Jersey.
   2. Electric light bulbs (1879) would revolutionize the use of time.
   3. His gramophones (1877) and moving pictures (1896) laid the foundations for the 20th-century entertainment industry. He held 1,328 patents at the time of his death.

B. Alexander Graham Bell rivaled Edison’s ingenuity. The telephone (1876) began to overcome previously insuperable boundaries of space.

C. Congress and the Supreme Court created a highly favorable environment for rapid economic growth.

D. Industrial strikes became common as a severe class division developed, but they rarely succeeded.

IV. The great entrepreneurs lived ostentatious lives in the spotlight of publicity.

A. Some contemporaries nicknamed them “robber-barons” and criticized their dishonest practices.

B. Many lived in Manhattan mansions or in the millionaires’ colony of Newport, Rhode Island.

C. They became philanthropists.
   1. Carnegie’s Gospel of Wealth (1889) argued for the social responsibilities of the rich.
   2. He founded a network of more than 2,000 free libraries in Britain and America.
3. The Rockefeller Foundation and other bequests endowed education and cultural projects.
4. Such people established the principle that philanthropy is an important part of American life.

V. By 1890, America had caught up with Britain in industrial productivity despite a much later start. By 1900, many of its big industries were dominated by “immortal” corporations rather than individual owners.

Essential Reading:
Andrew Carnegie, Autobiography.
Martin Melosi, Thomas A. Edison and the Modernization of America.

Supplementary Reading:
Daniel Yergin, The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power.

Questions to Consider:
1. What factors favored the rapid growth of American industry?
2. Which was more important in the industrial giants’ success: luck or skill?
Lecture Fifty
Transcontinental Railroads

Scope: The first transcontinental railroad, planned in the 1850s but delayed by the Civil War, was built between 1866 and 1869, by the Central Pacific Railroad, moving east from Sacramento, California, and by the Union Pacific Railroad, moving west from Omaha, both heavily subsidized with land grants and direct cash payments from the federal government. The Central Pacific builders in particular, many of them Chinese immigrants, had to overcome horrific obstacles in crossing the Sierra Nevada Mountains; tunneling near the summit took three years. Both companies faced daunting technical and supply challenges because distances were so great. Completion of the road, however, cut travel time from the Mississippi to the West Coast from three months to about one week. The line was joined by four other transcontinentals in the following decades; spur lines between them gradually created a comprehensive national network and facilitated settlement in areas of the Plains and Mountain states that had previously been too remote.

Outline

I. Railways had been pioneered in Britain but caught on quickly in America in the 1830s.
   A. Railways’ low-friction environment enables one locomotive to pull many times its own weight in cars.
      1. The track has to be well engineered; curves must be gentle; and gradients, slight.
      2. Initial costs are immense.
   B. Railroads accelerated industrialization and personal mobility. They also gave the Union a crucial advantage in the Civil War.

II. Congress authorized the Union Pacific to build westward from the Missouri and the Central Pacific to build eastward from Sacramento. Construction began in earnest in 1866.
   A. The Union Pacific made rapid progress over the level Great Plains.
      1. Work gangs were composed of Irish immigrants and Union army veterans.
      2. The first locomotive crossed the ice of the frozen Missouri River before there was even a bridge.
      3. Buffalo hunters provided meat for the crews and guarded them against Indian attack.
      4. “End of the Track” was a moving tent city.
   B. The Central Pacific confronted horrific technical difficulties in the Sierra Nevada Mountains.
1. Chinese work gangs provided the manual labor. Before the age of
dynamite, nitroglycerine and blasting powder were used to clear rock.
2. Minimizing grades on the Donner Pass route required years of
blasting and tunneling. Some days, crews progressed no more than
a single foot.
3. The Nevada and Utah deserts beyond the mountains created water-
supply problems.

C. The two lines met at Promontory Point, Utah, on May 10, 1869.
1. Transcontinental travel times diminished drastically, from three
months to a week.
2. The telegraph contributed to railroad safety.
3. Later improvements included Westinghouse air brakes (1869),
rotary snow plows (1884), and all-steel carriages (1904). Railroads
were the first American industry that ran in spite of the weather,
pushing seasonal concerns to the background.
4. Luxurious rail travel thrived between 1870 and 1950.
5. The railroads were a major boost for tourism, especially in the West.

III. Railroads facilitated commercial farmers’ settlement of the Great Plains and
the creation of nationwide marketing networks.

A. They were the lifeline of isolated Plains communities.
1. They brought wood, coal, and manufacturers to farmers.
2. They shipped bulk farm produce back East.
3. Railroad companies subsidized farmers’ settlements, advertising as
far away as Europe.

B. Corporations designed national advertising and marketing plans.
1. By 1890, all but the most perishable goods could be sold anywhere
in America within a week of being manufactured.
2. The development of refrigerated trains in the 1890s began to
overcome the perishability problem, too.

IV. Railroads transformed nearly every aspect of American life between 1830
and 1890, while binding together the two coasts and bringing all citizens
into closer proximity.

Essential Reading:
Stephen Ambrose, Nothing Like It in the World: The Men Who Built the
Transcontinental Railroad.
John Stilgoe, Metropolitan Corridor.

Supplementary Reading:
Robert Atearn, Union Pacific Country.

**Questions to Consider:**
1. How were railroads and other elements of the Industrial Revolution linked?
2. Were the greatest challenges to the railroads technical or political?
Lecture Fifty-One
The Last Indian Wars

Scope: The technological disparity between the Plains Indians and the whites was so immense that the coming of settlers with the railroads made continuation of the Indians’ independent life impossible. In the 1870s, whites hunted almost to extinction the buffalo herds on which the Indians lived, partly for food and hides and partly as a way of undermining the Indians’ livelihood. White settlers’ eagerness for land made treaties hard to enforce, especially when news of gold discoveries in such treaty lands as the Black Hills of South Dakota set off new gold rushes. The Sioux, Cheyenne, and other Plains tribes were warrior societies who lived to fight and ought not to be romanticized. They were able to settle their differences briefly and win a signal victory against George Custer at the Little Bighorn in 1876. In reaction, however, the U.S. Army intensified its campaign against them and broke all resistance within a year. After that, the settlement and development of the West were only briefly threatened by isolated campaigns, such as that against the Apache Geronimo in 1886. Indian reservation policy, intended as a temporary expedient until the Indians were assimilated into society, became a permanent feature of the American West.

Outline

I. Plains Indians, Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and others, were hunters and gatherers, whose way of life depended on the great buffalo herds but was already deeply affected by the whites.

A. Their way of life had changed when they domesticated feral horses.
   1. Horses increased their mobility and hunting options.
   2. Francis Parkman’s *The Oregon Trail* describes their nomadic hunting life before 1850.

B. The Indians’ participation in the fur trade brought them weapons that could give them decisive advantages over their enemies. They could use guns but could not make or repair them. Neither could they make powder and ammunition.

C. Many Plains tribes, including the Mandan, had been almost annihilated by smallpox and other European-American diseases. George Catlin recorded their way of life before it died out.

D. They had encountered whites on the Oregon Trail from the early 1840s. The passage of settlers, en route to the Willamette Valley of Oregon, led to friction between Indians and whites.
II. U.S. government policy alternated between trying to destroy Native American peoples and trying to make treaties with them.
   A. Influential figures, including General William T. Sherman, favored destroying the Plains Indians.
   B. Large-scale buffalo hunting by the whites undermined the Indians’ independent existence.
   C. Each side, whites and Indians, attacked the other, usually over land disputes. White settlers’ greed and fear sometimes led to unprovoked attacks, such as the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864.
   D. Benevolent feelings toward the Indians were common back East but rare on the frontier. The Carlisle School and the Lake Mohonk (New York) conferences were philanthropic attempts to safeguard Indians’ rights and adapt them to American civilization.

III. Treaties proved difficult to enforce, because the army was prejudiced in favor of the whites. Whites’ violation of treaties led to war.
   A. The Black Hills of South Dakota was established as a reservation by a treaty of 1868.
   B. George Armstrong Custer led an expedition into the Black Hills in 1874 and reported gold discoveries.
      1. Gold hunters flooded the area, in violation of the treaty.
      2. The army’s efforts to evict them were halfhearted.
   C. Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull concentrated their forces against the army in the summer of 1876.
      1. Sitting Bull had a powerful vision of victory.
      2. Custer underestimated the size of the force arrayed against his troop of the 7th Cavalry.
      3. His command was annihilated at the Little Bighorn in eastern Montana.
      4. Black Elk’s reminiscences give us a glimpse of the battle.
   D. The army responded with intensified efforts to destroy armed resistance. By campaigning through the winter, it overpowered the remaining Indian bands.

IV. Scattered conflicts with other groups persisted in the late 1870s and late 1880s, but Indians won no further significant victories against the Americans.
   A. Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce, stripped of his lands in the Wallowa Valley, Idaho, led a 1,500-mile retreat in 1879.
   B. Geronimo, chief of the Chiracahua Apaches, was captured in 1886 after years of raiding on the Arizona-Mexico border.
   C. The Ghost Dance cult (1888–1890) convinced Paiutes, Sioux, and other groups that the ghost-dance shirt made them immune to bullets.
Nervous soldiers shot into their assembly at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in December 1890, killing 200.

D. Reservations were intended to be temporary. The Dawes Severalty Act (1887) was designed to hasten Indians’ transformation into American-style small-scale farmers.

**Essential Reading:**
Francis Parkman, *The Oregon Trail.*

**Supplementary Reading:**
Dee Brown, *The American West.*
Larry McMurtry, *Crazy Horse.*

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Why were the whites so unscrupulous in their treatment of the Indians through most of American history?
2. What factors gave the American army decisive advantages when it went to war against the Indians?
Lecture Fifty-Two
Farming the Great Plains

Scope: The railroads made large-scale settlement and farming of the Plains possible. Without them, distances were too great and the area lacked wood, which was needed for fuel and building materials. Trains could now bring in massive quantities of wood from Michigan and Wisconsin, while shipping out the surplus grain that farmers were soon able to produce. The lack of trees to fell and stumps to pull made rapid development of Plains farms easier than back East, while such inventions as the John Deere plow enabled pioneers to plow up the dense prairie sod. The Homestead Act, passed during the Civil War, encouraged ordinary farmers to acquire land at almost no cost, and those who could overcome the loneliness, prairie fires, insect infestations, extremes of climate, and incessant winds were able to build prosperous lives. They were so successful that, by 1890, they were growing massive annual surpluses, driving down the cost of food throughout the Western world and eliminating the danger of famine in America once and for all. Throughout this period, the Homestead Act was abused by land speculators. It never worked effectively beyond the 100th meridian, where drought conditions prevailed. John Wesley Powell’s ambitious alternative based on rational allocation of scarce water resources was never fully adopted.

Outline

I. Railroads and other industrial technologies made the settlement of the Great Plains possible.
   A. The Homestead Act (1862) granted a 160-acre quarter section to any family that occupied and improved the land for five years.
   B. Many families began with subsistence farming but switched to commercial farming as soon as possible, sending bulk shipments of grain back East by rail and importing wood, coal, and other necessities. Towns developed along the railroads, dominated by great grain elevators.
   C. Rapid improvements in farm machinery made Plains farming possible.
      1. The hard steel blade of the John Deere plow enabled farmers to cut through the dense prairie sod.
      2. The McCormick reaper reduced the number of men needed for the harvest.
   D. Farmers and cattle ranchers often competed for land.
      1. The great cattle trails from Texas to the early railheads, such as Abilene, Kansas, preceded the farmers.
2. Another technological development, barbed wire (1874), had important consequences for the transformation of the Plains, spelling the end of the open range.

II. Settlers, from back East and from abroad, had to overcome the formidable hardships of Plains farming.
   A. Lack of wood forced newcomers to build sod houses.
      1. Their thickness contributed to moderating temperature extremes.
      2. Windows and doors were often ordered from Sears, Roebuck.
   B. Buffalo chips were an acceptable fuel alternative to wood.
   C. Winters were extremely harsh.
   D. Ecological upheavals threatened farmers’ security.
      1. Grasshoppers thrived on settlers’ crops and sometimes destroyed entire districts.
      2. Prairie fires regularly swept the Plains, as they had done for generations.
      3. Variations in rainfall destroyed farms in marginal areas, especially beyond the 100th meridian.
      4. Settlers’ hopes that “rain follows the plow” were ill-founded, and attempts at “rainmaking” (*pluviculture*) were unreliable.
   E. Isolation and loneliness defeated some settlers.
      1. Ole Rolvaag’s *Giants in the Earth* (1927) depicts a Norwegian farmer’s wife descending into madness from loneliness.
      2. Western historian Wallace Stegner’s *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian* (1954) evokes the material and psychological hardships of the life.

III. The success of Plains farming permanently transformed the conditions of food production in America.
   A. Abundance of cattle, wheat, and corn drove down prices for American consumers, while improving the quality of their diet.
      1. Refrigerated railroad cars after 1880 also increased working-class people’s access to fresh meat and vegetables.
      2. Low prices for their produce tempted individual farmers to expand their production further but worsened the problem of overproduction.
   B. The system of a rectangular land survey had always had drawbacks. West of the 100th meridian, these drawbacks were disabling.
      1. Nature itself does not think in squares.
      2. Low rainfall made 160 acres insufficient land for a subsistence farm in the High Plains.
      1. The key commodity was water, access to which should be the principal consideration.
2. He proposed farms of 2,560 acres, 20 of which should be intensively irrigated.

**Essential Reading:**
Willa Cather, *My Antonia*.
Wallace Stegner, *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian*.
Dee Brown, *The American West*.

**Supplementary Reading:**
Ole Rolvaag, *Giants in the Earth*.
Hamlin Garland, *Main Traveled Roads*.

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Why were settlers willing to face the severe hardships of the Great Plains as homestead farmers?
2. Were farming and cattle ranching compatible with each other?
Lecture Fifty-Three
African Americans after Reconstruction

Scope: When Reconstruction ended in 1876, southern “Redeemers,” often ex-Confederates, took over political control of the South. They promoted the idea of the New South, modern and industrialized, with limited success, but it was a South based on racial discrimination. They disfranchised freedmen in much of the South, then passed legislation to enforce racial segregation. Black subordination was underlined by periodic lynchings. The federal government’s decision to withdraw from the area and the decline of radical Republicanism meant that the white elite was able to rule unchallenged for much of the next 80 years. Most African Americans lived by sharecropping, but the cotton they grew was no longer a boom crop and tended to bring in less money from year to year, condemning many of them to a cycle of debt and dependency. A former slave, Booker T. Washington, became the first great black leader of the post-slavery era, preaching self-help, sobriety, religion, and education in the hope that the creation of an industrious population would mitigate the rigors of segregation. At the dawn of the 20th century, W. E. B. DuBois proposed a more militant alternative strategy of racial improvement.

Outline

I. The southern states’ “Redeemer” governments after 1877 sought economic diversification and eventually stripped most African Americans of their political rights.

A. Leaders realized that agriculture alone was no longer adequate as an economic base.
   1. Henry Grady’s famous “New South” speech of 1886 argued for industrial and commercial progress.
   2. New industries included textile mills, industrial tobacco manufacturing, large-scale lumbering, coal mining, and steel making.

B. Jim Crow legislation denied African Americans the vote.
   1. Grandfather clauses (Louisiana, 1898) excluded from the franchise men whose grandfathers had not voted in 1867. The black vote fell from 130,000 after Reconstruction to 5,300 in 1900.
   2. Poll tax qualification for the vote excluded many other poor blacks.
   3. Literacy tests had the same effect. “Understanding clauses” permitted many illiterate whites to vote.

C. State governments established systematic racial segregation (Jim Crow) in most southern states in the 1880s and 1890s.
1. The Supreme Court upheld this legislation in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896).
2. Only one Supreme Court Justice, John Marshall Harlan, a former slaveowner, dissented from the majority verdict.
3. Redeemer governments economized on education, especially that of African Americans. In 1900, about half of African Americans in the South were illiterate.

D. State governments rarely intervened to prevent lynchings, which enforced segregation by terror. About 200 lynchings per year occurred during the 1890s; about 100 per year during the next decade.

II. The majority of African Americans became sharecropping farmers.

A. They rented land from estate owners in return for a share of the crop.
   1. The local store advanced them credit for seeds, tools, and food during the year, but at inflated prices.
   2. At the time of settling up, the sharecropper often found that his debt was greater than his profit from the sale of cotton.

B. Cotton prices were going down on the world market from year to year, making it ever more difficult for sharecroppers to get out of debt.
   1. During the Civil War, Britain, one of the best customers, had begun growing cotton in India, part of its empire, instead of relying on American supplies.
   2. Deflation also drove prices down.

III. Black leaders debated the most suitable reaction to these appalling circumstances.

A. Booker T. Washington (1856–1915) favored accommodation to segregation.
   1. Born a slave, he became a famous educator as president of Tuskegee Institute.
   2. His speech at the Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta (1895) accepted the reality of segregation.
   3. He believed that black industry and sobriety would alleviate the worst aspects of segregation. His autobiography, *Up from Slavery* (1901), recounts his own personal struggles.

B. Massachusetts-born W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963) disagreed and helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909.
   1. His book *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) is a classic study of the segregated South. He stresses the double consciousness of African Americans. They are possessed of two selves: the Negro and the American.
   2. He favored the intensive education of the “talented tenth” and a policy of “ceaseless agitation” against segregation.
   3. He was a founding member of the NAACP and editor of its journal, *The Crisis*, for 25 years.
Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Otto Olsen, *Reconstruction and Redemption in the South.*

Questions to Consider:
1. Which was the more serious problem for African Americans after Reconstruction: racial discrimination or economic hardship?
Lecture Fifty-Four
Men and Women

Scope: Middle-class Americans, men and women alike, emphasized the differences between the two sexes and believed that each had its proper sphere of activity. Men—muscular, rational, and intellectual—should work hard in the outside world, building an agricultural, industrial, and commercial civilization. Women—delicate, intuitive, and religious—should create the home as a haven of peace, love, and security, in which to bring up their children in a good and godly atmosphere. Despite these theories, the majority of women were too poor not to work, but those who labored in farms and factories aspired to live according to the ideal. Doctors believed that rigorous education for women would lead to hysteria and that granting them political rights would make them mannish, threatening differences embedded in nature itself. Even the early advocates of votes for women, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, argued from the assumption of women’s difference from men—that they could bring their nurturing virtues into the political world and, thus, purify and ennoble it.

Outline

I. American Victorians emphasized the differences between men and women rather than the similarities.
   A. Women were supposed to be more religious and emotional than men but less intellectual. Ideally, they were morally superior.
   B. They were supposed to be nurturers and moral guardians of each new generation.
      1. Advice literature emphasized the importance of this job.
      2. Doctors feared that women, especially when pregnant, ought not to be exposed to too much excitement—it would make them hysterical and even insane.
   C. Economic realities compelled most women to work, but they aspired to the middle-class ideal of enriching the home.
      1. Non-working women were also becoming consumers.
      2. The single biggest source of employment for those who had to work was domestic service.
      3. Others became teachers, nurses, and department store clerks.
   D. Men, according to the theory, were tough, competitive, intellectual, and less endowed with natural morality.
      1. Social Darwinism was never more influential than in the late 19th century.
2. Men went out to do combat in the world, so the idea ran, and returned at day’s end to an ideal home environment tended by a woman.

E. Because middle-class men did office work rather than farming or heavy labor, they were in danger of becoming “soft.”
   1. The YMCA, founded in Britain in the 1840s, pioneered “muscular Christianity.”
   2. Its foremost proponent was Theodore Roosevelt.

II. Female reformers had to overcome strongly held ideas of gender difference or use them on behalf of their plans.
   A. Frances Willard, long-time leader of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, emphasized making the world more “homelike” by ridding it of the alcohol menace.
      1. Her lecturing style and setting emphasized the home virtues.
      2. She was dismayed by such militant women as Carry Nation, known for attacking saloons with an axe.
   B. Early advocates of female suffrage, among them, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, argued that the political system would benefit from the feminine virtues. They pointed out the inconsistency that permitted illiterate black men to vote (Fifteenth Amendment), while denying suffrage to well-educated white women.
   C. Pioneers of women’s higher education were careful to stress their colleges’ roles as moral chaperones and guardians and the wholesomeness of their curricula.
      1. Vassar monitored its students’ movements carefully.
      2. Ellen Richards, the first woman to graduate from MIT, pioneered scientific education for women but tried to make it conform to prevailing notions of propriety.
   D. Occasionally, ideas about gender differences came to women’s aid in unexpected ways.
      1. Lizzie Borden’s defense is a notorious example.
      2. Accused of murder (1892) and with no real alibi, she was trained to act during the trial as a frail, delicate female—and was acquitted.

III. A younger generation of women challenged the limits of “women’s sphere” in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.
   A. Settlement House pioneer Jane Addams argued that gender-role separation had directed middle-class women down an evolutionary blind alley. Her work at Hull House enabled her to overcome years of ill health.
   B. Margaret Sanger argued for a new frankness about sex and the need to educate women about contraception. She had to overcome a tradition of
reticence and the effects of the Comstock laws, anti-obscenity legislation passed in 1872.

**Essential Reading:**
Ellen DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage.*

**Supplementary Reading:**

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Why were so many middle-class women content to accept ideals of emphatic gender difference?
2. Why were more women involved in the temperance movement than in appealing for the right to vote?
Lecture Fifty-Five
Religion in Victorian America

Scope: Victorian religion in America was less doctrinal and more sentimental than its Puritan antecedents. The idea of Jesus as a friend and companion, rather than God as an angry judge, dominated popular religion, while traveling revivalists, such as Dwight Moody, emphasized a simple promise of divine love for all who turned away from sin. Preachers in the social gospel tradition, such as Washington Gladden, urged Christians to think about the salvation of society, not just individual souls. They also tried to help the poor and reform grim urban conditions and worked in the temperance movement to outlaw alcohol. The majority of Americans were Protestants, but a swelling tide of immigration from Ireland, Italy, and Poland was bringing large numbers of Catholics into America, while Jewish populations arrived from Germany (Reformed) and Russia (Orthodox). America’s principle of religious freedom and church-state separation allowed other religions to flourish and soon showed doubters (especially numerous anti-Catholics) that the nation could accommodate religious pluralism.

Outline

I. Victorian Protestantism was more sentimental, decorative, and “feminized” than its predecessors.
   A. Women’s religious literature about a middle-class heaven and about Jesus as a sensitive friend and helper flourished.
      1. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps’s The Gates Ajar (1868) and The Story of Jesus Christ (1897) are classics of the genre.
      2. Other invocations of Jesus include Charles Sheldon’s In His Steps (1896) and Lew Wallace’s Ben Hur (1880).
   B. Protestants, who had earlier favored plain building, began to create decorative churches, with more stained glass and Gothic architecture, and to include choral music in their services.
   C. Popular preachers emphasized a free-will conversion rather than the old predestinarian theology.
   D. Dwight Moody, who worked in the Chicago slums, was the era’s most popular evangelist.

II. Protestantism began to divide into liberal and evangelical branches.
   A. Protestants confronted intellectual problems in different ways.
      1. Darwinian biology contradicted the Genesis creation story in the important matter of the age of the Earth.
2. Historical-critical methods shone new light on the Bible, suggesting that perhaps the book was a compilation of writings composed in different times and places.

B. Liberal Protestants, who tried to adapt Christianity to modern intellectual trends, also divided over the social gospel question.
   1. Henry Ward Beecher was content with economic orthodoxy and Social Darwinism.
   2. Walter Rauschenbusch and Washington Gladden argued for the social gospel, the collective improvement of society.
   3. George Herron argued for Christian Socialism and accused America of being a fallen nation.

III. The American Catholic Church was predominantly Irish but became more ethnically diverse in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.
   A. Irish famine victims had swelled the population in the 1840s and 1850s.
      1. Archbishop John Hughes of New York and other leaders feuded with the city over religion and public education.
      2. The third plenary synod of Baltimore decided in 1884 to create an independent Catholic school system.
   B. Italian, Slavic, and Polish immigrants diversified the Catholic population after 1870. Bishops fought to prevent Cahensley-ism, the creation of ethnically distinct parishes.
   C. Catholic intellectual life was dominated by ex-Protestant converts.
      1. Isaac Hecker founded the Paulist Fathers.
      2. Orestes Brownson’s journals helped shape Catholic opinion on a wide range of religious, social, and political issues.

IV. Jewish immigration contributed to American religious diversity.
   A. German Jewish immigrants usually joined Reform synagogues.
      1. Isaac Meyer Wise’s reforms created controversy, and he argued that many of the old rituals should be abandoned.
      2. The Conservative movement tried to preserve more of the Jewish heritage than Wise had.
   B. Eastern European Jewish immigrants brought an unchanged Orthodoxy from Poland, Russia, and Austria-Hungary.
   C. Intra-Jewish tensions were offset by charitable impulses.

V. America’s homegrown religions continued to thrive.
   A. Mormons began to adapt to Victorian values.
      1. Legislation against polygamy culminated in the Reynolds case (1879).
      2. A new revelation to Wilford Woodruff brought the practice to an end.
   B. Charles Taze Russell foresaw the end of the world and created the Jehovah’s Witnesses in 1880 to prepare for it.
C. Mary Baker Eddy’s Christian Scientists denied the reality of the material world.

**Essential Reading:**

**Supplementary Reading:**
Lew Wallace, *Ben Hur.*
Charles Sheldon, *In His Steps.*

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Why did the Protestant churches begin to split into liberal and evangelical sections?
2. Why was adaptation to America difficult for Catholic immigrants?
Lecture Fifty-Six

The Populists

Scope: Southern cotton sharecroppers, black and white alike, were becoming chronic debtors by the late 1880s as prices continued to fall. Midwestern farmers also found conditions turning steadily against them. Railroad shipping rates were too high, buying vital new farm machinery was forcing them into debt, and prices for their crops were falling, preventing them from repaying their creditors. They tried an array of cooperative marketing schemes to bypass predatory banks and elevator owners but decided by the early 1890s that they should turn to politics to legislate for better conditions. The Populist Party was built on an unlikely alliance between these two constituencies; unlikely in the South because it crossed the color line and unlikely between the two areas because it linked Union veterans from midwestern farms with Confederate veterans from the South. Their political zeal took on religious overtones for a while, and they enjoyed local and state-level successes in the early 1890s, but they were never able to build a stable party structure nationwide and, thus, were unable to win national elections. Their failure to attract William Jennings Bryan as their candidate in 1896 annihilated the Populists’ plan to displace permanently one of the two major parties.

Outline

I. Western and southern farmers faced severe economic difficulties in the late 19th century.
   A. They were victims of their own success as producers.
      1. Enormous western grain harvests drove down the price of food.
      2. Individual farmers were tempted to plant more corn and wheat as unit costs fell, but that worsened the overall situation.
      3. Southern cotton farmers, mostly sharecroppers, produced big annual harvests that had to compete with Indian and Egyptian cotton on the world market. Their prices too were low.
   B. Farmers were vulnerable to economic trends.
      1. The amount of money in circulation did not keep pace with the rise in population and productivity, which caused deflation.
      2. Many farmers were heavily in debt for land and machinery purchases. Repayment was particularly difficult in deflationary conditions.
      3. Farmers usually had to sell immediately after harvest, when prices tended to be lowest.
   C. Because they were local monopolies, railroads and grain elevator companies were indispensable but began to seem predatory.
II. Farmers reacted to these difficulties by creating organizations, first social and economic, later political, to reform conditions.
   A. The Granger movement (founded in 1867) brought together prosperous farmers for mutual social and educational assistance.
   B. The Independent National or “Greenback” Party campaigned for inflationary currency legislation in the 1870s and early 1880s.
   C. Farmers’ alliances in the 1880s organized poor farmers.
      1. They tried to set up cooperative marketing arrangements to bypass grain elevator companies.
      3. Meetings took on the character of religious revivals.
   D. Black farmers’ alliances, segregated at first, faced the same economic conditions and tried to make common cause with the whites.

III. Outwitted by their opponents’ economic and legal stratagems, farmers turned to direct political action in the early 1890s.
   A. The People’s Party was created in 1892 and held its convention in Omaha.
      1. Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota wrote the party’s platform, which tried, unsuccessfully, to woo urban working-class voters. Among other things, the party supported direct election of senators, free coinage of silver, a graduated income tax, an eight-hour workday for industrial workers, and a ban on immigration.
      2. Many members theorized that a conspiracy of British, Jewish, and Yankee bankers had deliberately created the depression of the 1890s, worsening the farmers’ plight.
   B. The Populists’ 1892 presidential candidate was James Weaver, a former Union army general. He won one million votes and carried four states, Nevada, Colorado, Idaho, and Kansas.
   C. The American two-party system is sensitive to emerging social and political forces and incorporates their issues. As the Populists began to focus on “free silver,” the Democratic Party took up the issue, too.
   D. In 1896, the Populists tried to secure the services of William Jennings Bryan, the “Boy Orator of the Platte.”
      1. Bryan was the Democratic Party candidate, whose “Cross of Gold” speech electrified his party’s Chicago convention.
      2. Populists met two weeks later in St. Louis and disputed over whom to choose as their presidential candidate. They also chose Bryan, meaning that he ran on two tickets.
      3. The compromise decision for a Bryan-Watson ticket doomed their electoral prospects.
      4. The Republican candidate, William McKinley, won the election over the Democrats and Populists, on behalf of a “sound money” policy.
5. Populism failed because it was never able to overcome the gulf between the farmers and the industrial workers.

IV. Many Populist proposals later found their way into the law or the Constitution, but not at Populists’ urging.
   A. Federal income tax and the direct election of senators were accomplished by Constitutional amendments (the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Amendments) of 1913.
   B. The federal government acquired much closer control over railroads by the Hepburn Act of 1906.
   C. Many of the issues confronting Populist farmers continued to plague their successors.
      1. Tenancy and sharecropping became more common; farmer ownership, less so.
      2. American farming was beset by overproduction throughout most of the 20th century.
      3. Southern sharecropping remained widespread, and segregation continued.
   D. Farming became less central to national life.
      1. The percentage of the population working as farmers shrank steadily and is now barely three percent.
      2. Farmers became one of many special-interest lobbies (very successfully), rather than the backbone of the entire population.
      3. By 1920, more than half of all Americans lived in cities.

Essential Reading:
Lawrence Goodwyn, *The Populist Moment*.

Supplementary Reading:
Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, sections I–III.
Frank Baum, *The Wizard of Oz*.

Questions to Consider:
1. Were currency reforms and inflation adequate solutions to the farmers’ troubles?
2. Why were the Populists unable to build an electoral majority?
Lecture Fifty-Seven
The New Immigration

Scope: Late-19th-century Europe was full of stories about America, most of them exaggerating its wealth and opportunities to anyone brave enough to risk the Atlantic crossing. Worsening conditions for European farmers prompted many of them to emigrate to the American frontier, especially from Scandinavia, Britain, and Germany. Persecution by Cossacks forced Russian Jews to emigrate, usually to New York and other East Coast cities. Millions of Poles, Slavs, Italians, Irish, and Greeks traveled to America, too, bringing an array of religions, cultures, foods, and customs with them. In multi-ethnic districts, such as the Lower East Side of Manhattan, these families found a grimmer reality than they had anticipated, but proved that, with hard work, they, or at least their children, could begin the climb to American prosperity and respectability. Public schooling transformed polyglot populations into united groups of English speakers, while intensive “Americanization” lessons encouraged them to give up old habits and forgo old loyalties. An early confidence that the “melting pot” could transform people from anywhere in the world into good Americans gave way to fears of “race suicide” and, in the 1920s, to an immigration restriction policy.

Outline

I. Some people came to America in search of better opportunities; others, because of persecution or economic crisis at home. By 1900, more than a million people a year were emigrating to America.
   A. Immigrants from Britain came in search of better opportunities and adapted relatively easily.
      1. They had no language barrier to overcome.
      2. Many already possessed industrial skills relevant to American conditions.
      3. Many were subsidized by railroad companies, as settlers to northern and western states.
   B. Immigrants from Russia, Italy, and China faced many more serious problems.
      1. Some were forced to flee persecution.
      2. Others migrated in response to changes in the world economy, as with Italian citrus growers.
   C. Throughout most of the 19th century, America welcomed immigrants, a sentiment embodied in the poem by Emma Lazarus (1883) engraved on the Statue of Liberty. The cost of transportation prevented the poorest people from making the journey.

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D. Steamships made the voyage, and even return migration, feasible. Custom-built ships and “steerage” fares reduced costs and increased safety.

E. Migrants to New York arrived at Castle Garden (built in 1855) and, later, Ellis Island (1892).
   1. New arrivals were subject to health checks for trachoma, mental illness, and lameness and could be turned back.
   2. Nine of every 10 were admitted, however, and could often join family and friends who had arrived earlier.

II. Immigrants tended to cluster together on first arrival, creating ethnic enclaves in the cities and, sometimes, in rural communities.
   A. In New York and other cities, ethnic groups jostled side by side as they adapted to American life.
      1. Intense localism gradually gave way to the idea of a common national origin.
      2. All had to struggle with the English language.
      3. American customs and industrial work rhythms were alien. Rural residents found clock time disturbingly different from the usual cycle of natural time.
      4. Immigrants often had to compromise or modify their religious traditions.
   B. Immigrants invented and adapted old traditions in the New World.
      1. The St. Patrick’s Day parade is an invention of Irish immigrants in America, not an import from Ireland.
      2. Chop suey and pizza were unknown in China and Italy.

III. Assimilation and success led to dispersal in the second and third generations.
   A. Economic opportunity was not as golden as naive immigrants had anticipated, but it was nonetheless real.
   B. Public schooling and “Americanization” programs intensified rates of assimilation.
      1. World War I marked a crescendo of Americanization.
      2. Public schools taught in English only and sometimes found highly responsive student groups.
   C. Inter-group prejudice and discrimination were real but less intense than in most of the Old World.
      1. Asian immigrants in California suffered the most acute discrimination in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.
      2. Black migrants from the rural South experienced comparable problems of adjustment and adaptation.

IV. American confidence in the “melting pot” began to falter in the 1910s and 1920s.
   A. Anti-immigrant nativists feared the newcomers.
1. They were alleged to bring in dangerous political ideas. American anarchists were nearly all foreign born; Socialists often came from abroad.
2. Foreigners brought in Catholicism, too.
3. The idea that immigrants really were the “wretched refuse” of Europe frightened advocates of eugenics, those who hoped to encourage reproduction of the “fittest.”

B. Laws of 1921 and 1924 dramatically cut immigration quotas, except for northwestern Europe. The ethnic enclaves in the cities began to break up as the stream of young immigrants was cut off.

C. America’s success at assimilating people from all over the world is an astonishing achievement. Most multi-ethnic nations were far less successful.

Essential Reading:
Maldwyn Jones, *Destination America*.

Supplementary Reading:
Thomas Sowell, *Ethnic America*.

Questions to Consider:
1. What obstacles did immigrants have to surmount in adapting to American life?
2. What were the advantages and disadvantages to America itself of an open-immigration policy before 1920?
Lecture Fifty-Eight

City Life

Scope: American cities grew rapidly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, concentrating and intensifying industrial life. They were often badly planned and became overcrowded as immigrants and rural migrants poured in to work in their factories, dockyards, and slaughterhouses. Patchworks of ethnic and linguistic neighborhoods, such as New York’s Lower East Side, eased immigrants’ transition to America. Dependent on coal fires for industry and domestic heating, cities were severely polluted with smoke and ash. Contaminated water supplies, poor sanitation, and large numbers of horses worsened public health conditions and shortened life expectancy. Makeshift urban machines, such as New York’s corrupt Tweed Ring, provided rough-and-ready government to city dwellers in return for their votes but retarded reform efforts. WASP reformers, including Jane Addams, founder of Hull House settlement in Chicago, tried to Americanize urban immigrants, while Lincoln Steffens and other Progressive reformers campaigned for city government reform.

Outline

I. Late-19th-century industrial cities grew rapidly, were overcrowded, and were unhealthy.
   A. Overcrowding was common, especially in urban tenements.
      1. Land values and rents were high in city districts. Jacob Riis’s *How the Other Half Lives* (1890) documented deplorable living conditions.
      2. Workers needed to live close to the factories.
      3. Adequate water supplies and sanitation were rare. In 1885, such cities as Baltimore and New Orleans still had open sewers.
   B. Epidemic disease and fire were common.
      1. Open fires, for cooking and heat, along with gas or kerosene flames for light, made fire universal.
      2. Large numbers of animals in cities, especially horses, worsened the risk of disease.
      3. Impure food was on sale throughout the later 19th century, until Upton Sinclair’s *The Jungle* (1906) prompted the first federal pure food legislation.
   C. Domestic and industrial sources created high levels of smoke and other pollution. In addition, rivers were used for waste disposal.
II. City government was dominated by ethnic machines, which traded basic services for immigrant voters’ loyalty, while enriching their leaders.

A. The Irish-American Tweed Ring and its Tammany Hall successors dominated New York.

B. City bosses did provide services that poor immigrants needed. Wardheelers got to know every inhabitant of a locality and served their immediate needs.

C. Anglo-Saxon civic reformers periodically tried to stop the corrupt machines.
   1. Persuading voters not to accept favors proved difficult.
   2. The introduction of civil service examinations as a condition of employment contributed to reform.
   3. “Muckraking” journalists, such as Lincoln Steffens, exposed the nationwide extent of the problem.

III. New inventions and new ideas combined to improve urban life between 1870 and 1910.

A. Streetcars enabled cities to spread out.
   1. Electrification from about 1890 increased the efficiency and cleanliness of cities and contributed to suburbanization.
   2. Streetcars began to be complemented by bicycles and cars after 1900.

B. Skyscrapers framed with steel girders enabled cities to grow upward.
   1. They depended on lightweight materials and Elisha Otis’s safety elevator (demonstrated in 1853).
   2. Plate-glass windows revolutionized the amount of light that could be admitted into buildings.

C. The settlement-house movement brought urbanites the help of privileged, yet concerned, citizens.
   1. Chicago’s Hull House, founded by Jane Addams (1889), was the model.
   2. Settlements offered child care and help for immigrants in adapting to American life.
   3. They challenged machine rule.

D. Urban identity and loyalty developed through sports and the media.
   1. The railroad network facilitated the rise of major league sports.
   2. Newspapers helped create a sense of urban unity.
   3. City boosters understood the importance of good public relations and civic amenities to attract businesses.

Essential Reading:
Upton Sinclair, The Jungle.
Lincoln Steffens, The Shame of the Cities.
Supplementary Reading:
Sam Bass Warner, Streetcar Suburbs.
Jacob Riis, How the Other Half Lives.

Questions to Consider:
1. Why did urban reform prove slow and difficult in the late 19th and early 20th centuries?
2. How did technology change the characteristics of urban life between 1870 and 1910?
Lecture Fifty-Nine
Labor and Capital

Scope: As the scale and cost of businesses increased, working-class men’s chances of becoming employers in their own right decreased. Many turned to trade unionism, hoping to improve their wages, job security, and working conditions. An early nationwide union, the Knights of Labor, was unsuccessful, but skilled workmen in particular industries began to create viable unions and banded together in the American Federation of Labor in 1886 under the leadership of Samuel Gompers. The great railroad strike of 1877 showed that strikes could succeed if they enjoyed community support but would fail if business owners used their political influence and court injunctions against the unions. Middle-class Americans feared that unions were influenced by dangerous foreign radicals, especially after an explosion at the Chicago Haymarket in 1886 during a union demonstration, which led to the condemnation of several anarchists. Bitter union-management confrontations punctuated the 1890s, especially in the Pennsylvania and Colorado coal fields, at the Homestead Steel plant near Pittsburgh, and on the railroads. They prompted railroad leader Eugene Debs and others to create the American Socialist Party in 1900.

Outline

I. As the scale of industry increased and became impersonal, labor and management often came into conflict.
   A. Employers, regarding labor as a cost, wanted to keep wages as low as possible.
      1. They sheltered behind the laissez-faire doctrine and sanctity of contract.
      2. Most were reluctant to ensure safe working conditions.
      3. States that passed safe-work laws suffered the out-migration of employers. Massachusetts lost the textile industry to North Carolina and Georgia, where the abuse of child labor was common.
   B. Humanitarian reformers tried to prevent child labor.
      1. Factory children became prematurely aged by overwork.
      2. They had little or no opportunity for schooling.

II. Trade unions developed slowly, overcoming a variety of obstacles, and played a major role in economic life by 1900.
   A. Early unions’ members lacked a common binding interest.
      1. The Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor (founded in 1869) welcomed workers, farmers, and small businessmen.
2. The Haymarket Affair (1886), in which anarchists battled with police, provoked a crisis in the Knights and turned middle-class opinion against organized labor.

B. Geographical dispersal and work rivalries challenged railroad workers’ unity.

C. Strikes could succeed if they enjoyed community support.

D. Conversely, strike-related violence, as with the Great Railroad Strike (1877), alienated middle-class support.

E. Unionization was most effective in highly skilled trades, because skilled laborers were more difficult to replace.

F. Samuel Gompers led the American Federation of Labor (founded in 1886).

III. The economic depression of the early 1890s witnessed a climax of violent encounters between employers and unions.

A. Employers tried to prevent unionization.
   1. They hired an ethnically diverse workforce, exploiting linguistic barriers and ethnic tensions.
   2. Strike leaders were blacklisted, and strikers were replaced by strikebreakers who were often African Americans or immigrants who didn’t plan to stay permanently in the country.
   3. Employers used private detectives, court injunctions, and state militiamen against strikes.

B. A steelworkers’ union was defeated in the Homestead Strike (1892).
   1. Workers and strikebreaking detectives fought a pitched gun battle.
   2. The strikers were starved out, and their union was broken. They wouldn’t have an effective union for another 40 years.

C. Court injunctions and federal troops defeated a nationwide railroad strike in 1894.
   1. It began with a labor dispute in the model town of Pullman, Illinois.
   2. The Supreme Court upheld (1895) the use of an injunction against union leader Eugene Debs of the American Railroad Union.
   3. Debs founded the American Socialist Party and became its perennial presidential candidate.

Essential Reading:
Nick Salvatore, *Eugene Debs: Citizen and Socialist.*

Supplementary Reading:
Harold Livesay, *Samuel Gompers and Organized Labor in America*.

**Questions to Consider:**

1. Why was it difficult for workingmen to organize trade unions?
2. How did manufacturers justify their anti-union tactics?
Lecture Sixty
Theodore Roosevelt and Progressivism

Scope: Progressivism is the general name for a group of reform movements of the early 20th century. Progressive reformers tried to increase honesty and efficiency in business and government, to forestall monopolies, to Americanize immigrants, and to substitute rational planning and scientific methods for dependence on tradition and ad hoc methods. Theodore Roosevelt was the first president (1901–1908) to embrace the Progressive outlook. An advocate of the “strenuous life” and a former New York City reformer, Dakota Territory rancher, and Spanish-American War hero, he established the principle of presidential initiative in progressive legislative programs. Among his contributions to the movement were the National Forest Service and a vigorous “trust-busting” campaign against abusive monopolists. He created a template for his successors in the White House, notably Woodrow Wilson (1913–1920), who continued to increase federal government power over the states.

Outline
I. Progressivism was America’s first urban-based reform movement.
   A. Its adherents were businessmen, managers, and professionals. Some Progressives (most were Anglo-Saxon Protestants) believed their social status was declining.
   B. They believed in honesty, efficiency, and expertise. Common sense and hands-on practicality were no longer adequate in the complex industrial world.
   C. They believed in democratic solutions to the threat of plutocracy. Among Progressive campaigns were those for the direct election of senators and for the recall of elected officials.
   D. Many were racial supremacists and eugenicists.
      1. Building a superior race appeared to them consonant with building a better society.
      2. Southern racial segregation intensified under Progressive auspices (including the administration of Woodrow Wilson).
II. Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) embodied early Progressivism.
   A. He transformed himself from a weakling into an advocate of hearty manliness.
   B. He thought it his duty as a gentleman to get involved in state politics and contest corrupt political machines.
   C. A personal crisis in 1884 led to his temporary abandonment of New York and politics in favor of High Plains farming.
D. Roosevelt believed in purification through violence and was excited by the chance to go to war.
   1. He believed America should join the great imperial powers.
   2. He led the Rough Riders, a cavalry unit, in the Spanish-American War of 1898.

E. Military success led him to the governor’s mansion, the vice presidency, and the presidency of the United States in quick succession.

F. Roosevelt reinvigorated the role of president.
   1. He supervised a new policy toward the environment.
   2. He conducted an energetic foreign policy. He became the first American to win the Nobel Peace Prize and supervised the building of the Panama Canal.
   3. He made a distinction between good and bad trusts in his anti-monopoly policy.
   4. He accepted the need for closer regulation of corporations whose conduct had public consequences.
   5. He sometimes took the union side in industrial disputes.

III. His successor, William Howard Taft, disappointed Roosevelt. He tried to reenter the White House in 1912, by which time every candidate claimed to be “Progressive.”

A. Roosevelt came to regret his announcement, in 1904, that he would leave office after the next election.

B. Taft lacked Roosevelt’s flair for good public relations and came into increasing conflict with corporations.

C. Roosevelt tried to regain the Republican presidential nomination in 1912.
   1. The regular party organization was too strong for him.
   2. He created the Progressive (“Bull Moose”) Party instead.

D. The Bull Moose Party split Republican votes, enabling Woodrow Wilson to win the election of 1912.
   1. Wilson was only the second Democrat to be president since the Civil War.
   2. He had been a professor, then president, of Princeton University and a reform governor of New Jersey.

E. Progressivism reached its high water mark in Wilson’s first administration. Wilson’s policies were reminiscent of Roosevelt’s planned “New Nationalism.”

**Essential Reading:**
Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform.*
Supplementary Reading:
Nathan Miller, Theodore Roosevelt: A Life.

Questions to Consider:
1. How did the circumstances of Roosevelt’s life make him a successful national leader?
2. Why did Progressivism become popular among so many strata of American society?
Timeline

1869 ................................................Completion of the first transcontinental railroad.
1869 ................................................Completion of the Suez Canal.
1873 ................................................Invention of barbed wire (which made fencing of the Great Plains possible).
1876 ................................................Battle of the Little Bighorn; death of General Custer.
1876 ................................................Invention of the telephone by Alexander Graham Bell.
1877 ................................................Great Railroad Strike.
1879 ................................................Invention of the light bulb by Edison.
1880 ................................................Election of President James Garfield (Rep.).
1881 ................................................Assassination of President Garfield by a disappointed job-seeker, Guiteau; Vice President Chester Arthur becomes president.
1884 ................................................Election of President Grover Cleveland (Dem.).
1886 ................................................Founding of the American Federation of Labor.
1886 ................................................Haymarket (Chicago) anarchist bombing.
1888 ................................................Election of President Benjamin Harrison (Rep.).
1889 ................................................Jane Addams founds Hull House.
1890 ................................................U.S. Census announces the closing of the frontier.
1892 ................................................Election of President Grover Cleveland (Dem.).
1892 ................................................Homestead Strike, Pennsylvania.
1894 ................................................Pullman Strike, Illinois.
1896 ................................................Supreme Court decision in Plessy v. Ferguson upholds racial segregation laws.
1896 ................................................Election of President William McKinley (R.) over William Jennings Bryan (D. and Populist).
1898 ................................................U.S. war against Spain in Cuba and the Philippines; Theodore Roosevelt victorious on San Juan Hill.

1900 ................................................Reelection of President McKinley, with Theodore Roosevelt as vice president.

1901 ................................................Assassination of President McKinley by anarchist Czolgosz. Vice President Roosevelt becomes president.

1903 ................................................Wright Brothers’ first flight.

1904 ................................................Reelection of President Theodore Roosevelt.

1906 ................................................San Francisco earthquake.

1906 ................................................Publication of Upton Sinclair’s The Jungle.

1908 ................................................Election of President William Howard Taft (R.).

1908 ................................................Henry Ford builds the prototype Model T.

1912 ................................................Election of President Woodrow Wilson (D.) over Taft and Roosevelt (Progressive).

1914 ................................................Completion (by American companies) and opening of the Panama Canal.

1914 ................................................World War I begins in Europe.

1915 ................................................German submarine sinks the Lusitania; Wilson protests to Germany and W. J. Bryan resigns as secretary of state.

1916 ................................................Wilson reelected under the slogan “He kept us out of war.”

1917 ................................................German declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare prompts American entry into the war.

1917 ................................................Russian Revolution; Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, seize power.

1918 ................................................American forces on the Western Front contribute to Allied victory in World War I.

1919 ................................................President Wilson at the Treaty of Versailles is unable to prevent a vengeful, anti-German settlement. U.S. Senate refuses to participate in League of Nations.
1919 ................................................Constitutional Amendments give votes to women and prohibit alcohol.
1920 ................................................Election of President Warren G. Harding (R.).
1921 ................................................Commercial radio broadcasting begins.
1921 (and 1924) ................................Congress passes restrictive legislation against immigration.
1923 ................................................President Harding dies in office. Vice President Calvin Coolidge becomes president.
1924 ................................................Reelection of President Coolidge.
1925 ................................................Scopes “Monkey Trial” upholds Tennessee law against teaching evolution in schools.
1925 ................................................Supreme Court decision in Pierce v. Society of Sisters upholds constitutional right to private education.
1927 ................................................Charles Lindbergh makes first solo transatlantic flight in the Spirit of St. Louis.
1928 ................................................Election of President Herbert Hoover (R.) over Al Smith (D.), America’s first Catholic presidential candidate.
1929 ................................................Wall Street Crash.
1932 ................................................Election of President Franklin Roosevelt (D.) over Hoover.
1933 ................................................First 100 days of the New Deal creates powerful new federal agencies.
1933 ................................................Adolf Hitler elected to German leadership.
1935 ................................................Supreme Court decision in Schechter v. United States overturns crucial New Deal legislation.
1936 ................................................President Roosevelt reelected over Alf Landon (R.).
1937 ................................................Failure of Roosevelt’s “court-packing” plan.
1939 ................................................Hitler’s Germany invades Poland: World War II begins.
1940 ................................................President Roosevelt reelected over Wendell Willkie (R.).

1941 (summer) ................................Hitler’s invasion of the Soviet Union.

1941 (December) ............................Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor brings United States into the war against Germany and Japan.

1942 ................................................Battle of Midway, first significant American military success of World War II.

1943 ................................................American forces participate in Allied invasion of Sicily and Italy.

1944 ................................................Allied invasion of France (D-Day), led by General Dwight Eisenhower.

1944 (November) ............................Reelection of President Roosevelt over Thomas Dewey (R.).

1945 (April) ....................................Death of President Roosevelt. Vice President Harry Truman becomes president.

1945 (May) .....................................Unconditional German surrender ends war in Europe.

1945 (August) ...............................Atomic bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki end war in Asia.

1946 ................................................Allied deadlock over the future of Eastern Europe begins Cold War.

1948 ................................................Reelection of President Truman over Dewey (R.), Henry Wallace (Progressive), and Strom Thurmond (Dixiecrat).

1950 ................................................Korean War begins.

1950 ................................................Senator Joseph McCarthy’s accusations intensify American anti-Communism.

1952 ................................................President Dwight Eisenhower (R.) elected over Adlai Stevenson (D.).

1953 ................................................Truce ends fighting in Korea.

1954 ................................................Supreme Court’s decision in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas condemns racial segregation in education.

1955 ................................................Martin Luther King, Jr., leads Montgomery bus boycott against segregated city transportation.
1956 ................................................Reelection of President Eisenhower over Stevenson.
1957 ................................................Soviet launch of Sputnik inaugurates the “space race.”
1960 ................................................Election of President John F. Kennedy (D.), America’s first Catholic president, over Richard Nixon (R.).
1962 ................................................Cuban missile crisis.
1963 ................................................Assassination of President Kennedy by Lee Harvey Oswald. Vice President Lyndon Johnson becomes president.
1964 ................................................Gulf of Tonkin incident escalates American role in Vietnam.
1964 ................................................Reelection of President Johnson over Barry Goldwater (R.).
1964 and 1965..................................Legislation on civil rights, voting rights, and immigration abolishes all forms of government-sponsored racial discrimination.
1967 ................................................Hippie “summer of love” in San Francisco Haight-Ashbury district.
1968 ................................................Tet offensive further undermines American credibility in Vietnam.
1968 ................................................Assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr., and Robert Kennedy; urban rioting.
1968 ................................................Election of President Richard Nixon (R.) over Hubert Humphrey (D.).
1969 ................................................Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin, the first men on the moon.
1972 ................................................President Nixon visits China and opens diplomatic contacts.
1972 ................................................Reelection of President Nixon over George McGovern (D.).
1973 .................................................. American military withdrawal from Vietnam completed.

1974 .................................................. President Nixon forced to resign over Watergate scandal. Vice President Gerald Ford becomes president.

1976 .................................................. Election of President Jimmy Carter (D.) over Ford.

1977 .................................................. Opening of trans-Alaska pipeline.

1978 .................................................. President Carter brokers Camp David Peace Accords between Israel and Egypt.

1979 .................................................. Accident at Three Mile Island nuclear power station.

1979 .................................................. American embassy staff in Teheran, Iran, imprisoned by revolutionary students.


1980 .................................................. Election of President Ronald Reagan (R.) over Carter.

1981 .................................................. Reagan military escalation intensifies Cold War.

1984 .................................................. President Reagan reelected over Walter Mondale (D.), whose running mate, Geraldine Ferraro, was the first major-party female candidate in U.S. history.

1986 .................................................. Soviet Premier Gorbachev attempts radical internal reforms, glasnost and perestroika.

1987 .................................................. Congressional investigation of the Iran-Contra scandal.

1988 .................................................. Election of President George Bush, Sr., over Michael Dukakis (D.).


1990 .................................................. Iraq invades Kuwait and creates an emergency for the “New World Order.”

1991 .................................................. U.N. forces led by the United States eject Iraqi forces from Kuwait in the Gulf War.
1991 ................................................Soviet Union collapses. Democracy established in Russia.

1992 ................................................Election of President Bill Clinton (D.) over George Bush, Sr.

1995 ................................................Attack on federal building in Oklahoma City.

1996 ................................................Reelection of President Clinton over Bob Dole (R.)

2000 ................................................Election of President George W. Bush, Jr., (R.) over Al Gore (D.) by narrowest possible margin.

2001 ................................................Al Qaeda attack on World Trade Center and Pentagon.


2003 ................................................U.S. and coalition forces fight in Iraq.
**Glossary**

**Affirmative action**: Government policies designed after the civil rights laws of 1965 to achieve actual racial integration by setting aside places in schools and workplaces for racial minorities and women.

**Agrarianism**: The belief that farmers are the most important element in the nation and that government policy should be more attentive to their interests than those of any other element.

**Anarchism**: The belief that government and capitalism are always oppressive and should be abolished. Some American anarchists in the 1880–1920 era, notably Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, believed that violence in pursuit of these ends was justifiable.

**Anti-Communism**: The belief that Communism poses a mortal threat to America and that legal measures at home and military measures abroad are necessary to thwart it. Anti-Communism was the central informing idea of American policy from 1946–1990.

**Black Power**: Advocacy of black political assertion and rejection of Martin Luther King’s pacifist and integrationist ideals by a second generation of civil rights activists after about 1965. Malcolm X was its most well-known advocate.

**Bull Moose**: Nickname for Theodore Roosevelt’s Progressive Party in the election of 1912.

**Busing**: Moving public school children from one district to another to achieve actual racial integration in education (the policy prevailed between the 1970s and 1990s but had been abandoned by 2000).

**Conservative**: A politician, intellectual, or citizen who believes in conserving society’s main institutions and principles. American conservatism has always been paradoxical, because the nation’s commercial dynamism has made it change more rapidly than virtually all others in the world. American conservatives in the 20th century supported capitalism and opposed liberalism and Communism.

**Containment**: The theoretical basis of America’s Cold War-era defense policy; deterring and preventing Soviet aggression wherever it appeared, diplomatically if possible but with the threat of nuclear strikes if necessary.

**Ecumenism**: The belief—widespread in 20th-century America—that different religious groups can coexist and that they should cooperate.

**Evil Empire**: President Reagan’s name for the Soviet Union and its satellites in the early 1980s. Advocates of peaceful coexistence criticized such provocative language.

**Feminism**: The belief that society ought not to make invidious distinctions between men and women and ought not to deny education, work, or other
opportunities to women because of their gender. Early 20th-century feminism was dedicated chiefly to women’s suffrage; late-20th-century feminism, to jobs and educational equality.

**Free silver**: The belief, common among farmers in the late 19th century, that silver, as well as gold, should be the basis of American currency, a policy that would have been inflationary and would have tended to increase farm incomes. Free silver was the central economic issue of the 1896 election.

**Fundamentalism**: The religion of conservative American Protestants who opposed the intellectual developments in science and comparative religion of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Fundamentalists continued to assert the inerrancy (perfect accuracy) of all the Bible, which led them to reject evolutionary theory and ecumenism.

**Germany First**: American policy in World War II, based on the recognition that Germany, the greater military and industrial threat, should be attacked and defeated before Japan.

**Imperialism**: The policy, common among Western European powers in the late 19th century, of conquering African and Asian nations. Influential turn-of-the-century politicians in America, including Theodore Roosevelt, favored a comparable policy after the Spanish-American War, and the idea influenced America’s role in the Philippines, Cuba, and Latin America.

**Integrationist**: A black or white advocate of racial integration.

**Interchangeability**: Manufacture of identical parts, first fully achieved in the bicycle industry, which was essential to mass production.

**Isolationism**: The belief that American 20th-century foreign policy should carry on the 19th-century tradition of disengagement from European affairs. Americans who opposed participation in World War II between 1939 and Pearl Harbor (1941), including aviation hero Charles Lindbergh and ex-president Herbert Hoover, were labeled isolationists.

**Liberal**: In the 19th century, a politician, intellectual, or citizen who believed in human equality, free institutions, and a free-market economy, while opposing inherited privilege and hierarchy. The word’s American meaning shifted in the 1930s to signify a supporter of the New Deal and a stronger government role in combating poverty and social vulnerability.

**Libertarian**: Advocate of an extreme form of 19th-century “classical” liberalism, taking the view that the entire economy should be privatized and that government’s role should be minimal.

**Massive resistance**: The declared policy of white southern congressmen and senators after the *Brown* case (1954), who threatened absolute non-cooperation with the federal government and judiciary in their policy of racial integration.
Massive retaliation: The Eisenhower-era defense policy, which economized on conventional forces by relying on the threat of nuclear retaliation against Soviet aggression.

New Freedom and New Nationalism: The economic policy proposals of Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, respectively, in the 1912 election campaign. Wilson’s New Freedom sought to restore free competition in each industry by breaking up monopolies and oligopolies. Roosevelt’s New Nationalism accepted the existence of economic giants but advocated their close regulation by government.

Overkill: The ability of the world’s nuclear weapons stockpiles to kill the world’s entire population more than once; a situation already in existence by the mid-1960s.

Political correctness: The social orthodoxy of late-20th-century America. The term meant to favor feminism, affirmative action, gay rights, and abortion rights and to condemn humor that satirized any social, ethnic, or racial group, especially if it was disadvantaged. Influential, especially on college campuses; opponents saw it as antithetical to freedom of thought, expression, and speech.

Populist: A supporter of the People’s Party in the 1890s, advocating agrarian and free silver policies. More generally, populism is support for “the people” against “the experts” or “the intellectuals.” Politicians with a populist image included Huey Long, Joe McCarthy, and George Wallace.

Progressive: An early 20th-century advocate of political and social reforms, emphasizing democratic accountability, efficiency, and the application of rationality and expertise to all problems. By 1912, nearly all politicians claimed to be Progressives.

Spin: Techniques for manipulating and interpreting the news so that, whatever its content, it can be made to reflect favorably on one’s own group. “Spin-doctors” became a central feature of political life in the late 20th century.

Temperance: Originally the word meant moderation in drinking, but it had come to mean complete abstinence from alcohol by the late 19th century. National temperance was the objective of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union and other lobbies for a prohibition amendment to the Constitution.

Trust: Early 20th-century name for a monopoly or a price-fixing agreement between the biggest companies in an industry. Antitrust legislation from 1890 was designed to prevent trusts from forming or to prosecute those that did form, if they acted in restraint of competition and free trade.
Biographical Notes

**Jane Addams** (1860–1935). Progressive reformer and founder of Hull House social settlement. Addams suffered from psychosomatic illnesses in her youth and sought an outlet in philanthropic, socially useful work. Reluctant to marry and live the parasitic life of an upper-middle-class woman, she was impressed by the British settlement house movement, which brought privileged young men and women into the slums of London. She bought Hull House in the midst of a poor, working-class Chicago district in 1889 and turned it into a shelter, daycare center, and educational resource, living and working there for the rest of her life. Hull House helped generations of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe to adapt to American city life, and it lobbied the city government on their behalf, attempting to rid it of corrupt machine politicians. It also served as a high-pressure training school for middle-class women in the temperance, suffrage, and social work movements, with many of its alumnae becoming nationally important figures in their own right. Addams helped incipient trade unions in the area and created a Labor Museum, as well. She respected and tried to preserve the folkways, languages, and cultures of immigrant groups, and she was among the founders of the American Civil Liberties Union. She became a nationally famous peace advocate during World War I and won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931.

**Louis Brandeis** (1856–1941). First Jewish member of the Supreme Court. Born to Czech immigrant parents in Louisville, Kentucky, Brandeis excelled as a student, graduating at the head of his Harvard Law School class at age 21. He created a successful practice in Boston and became interested in public interest questions, as well as profitable cases. His “Brandeis Brief,” first tried in *Muller v. Oregon* (1908), used not only legal information but also sociological and medical evidence in support of a law restricting women to an eight-hour work day. A friend of trade unions and women’s rights and a tenacious courtroom critic of monopoly businesses, he became an economic policy advisor to Woodrow Wilson. Wilson appointed him to the Supreme Court in 1916, where he served with distinction until his retirement in 1939. He opposed the repressive Espionage Act during World War I and maintained a distinguished record on civil liberties through the 1920s. He was, however, one of the justices who enraged President Franklin Roosevelt by concluding that such New Deal initiatives as the National Recovery Administration exceeded the limits of the Constitution.

**Andrew Carnegie** (1835–1919). Poor Scottish immigrant who became a steel manufacturer and philanthropist. Son of a poor handloom weaver, Carnegie came to America at age 13 and became a cotton factory worker, then a railroad messenger boy. Self-educated and an avid reader, he soon learned how to seize business opportunities and invest his savings, making small amounts increase dramatically. By the end of the Civil War, he was a senior railroad employee but left to start his own company in the metal bridge business. As the American railroad network continued to spread nationwide, Carnegie’s steel factories in
the Pittsburgh area provided the raw iron and steel, eventually making him one of the richest men in America. The bitter Homestead Strike of 1892 took place at his factories; he was doggedly opposed to trade unions. He sold out at the end of the century to J. P. Morgan, who used Carnegie’s factories as the basis of the U.S. Steel Corporation. Carnegie wrote in *The Gospel of Wealth* (1889) that rich men should use their wealth for the public good, and he gave away more than $350 million in his lifetime. The most famous of his charities was the building of public libraries in Britain and America, giving access to books to the thousands of working people for whom they were otherwise out of reach.

**Hillary Clinton** (b. 1947). The first First Lady to piggyback on her husband’s political career and create one of her own. Raised in Park Ridge, Illinois, Hillary Rodham became an outstanding student at Wellesley College (Massachusetts) and Yale Law School in the late 1960s. She served on the staff of the Watergate-era Judiciary Committee in Congress; then, after President Nixon’s resignation, she went to Arkansas to marry Bill Clinton, whom she had met in law school. He became governor of the state in 1978, and she became a practicing lawyer, law school professor, and the state’s First Lady, involving herself in educational and children’s affairs. Clinton’s election to the presidency in 1992 brought her into the national spotlight where, more than any previous First Lady, she sought a substantive policy-making role. She chaired a task force on national health care reform but was unable to bring to fruition her plans for an American national health service. During her husband’s second administration, she had to endure the humiliating evidence of his infidelity with White House intern Monica Lewinsky. She stuck by him during his own impeachment crisis, but they separated when his term in office ended, by which time she had been elected New York’s junior senator in the election of 2000.

**Thomas Edison** (1847–1931). America’s most prolific inventor, who eventually held more than a thousand patents. The Ohio-born son of a carpenter, Edison became a railroad messenger at age 12, learned how to operate the telegraph, and began inventing devices to improve the quality and speed of telegraphy. After six years on the railroads, traveling the Midwest and Canada, Edison became an independent inventor, moving in 1876 to Menlo Park, New Jersey, where he spent the next 10 years, working systematically on new inventions. He moved again to a bigger lab in West Orange, New Jersey, in 1886, where he employed a staff of 60 assistants. Among his most important inventions were the incandescent electric light bulb, the phonograph (earliest device for recording music), and several elements of moving photography, including the world’s first “talkie” in 1913. Recognizing the transforming possibilities of electricity, he established a generating company for Manhattan in 1882, with the backing of several major financiers who had learned to trust, and invest heavily in, his innovations. He also improved telephones, batteries, and duplication machines, becoming, in his later years, a living legend of inventiveness and ingenuity.

**Dwight Eisenhower** (1890–1969). Victorious World War II general and 34th president. A career army officer from Abilene, Kansas, Eisenhower graduated from West Point in 1916 but did not see action in World War I. He was an
outstanding staff officer, however, and drew the favorable attention of Douglas MacArthur and other senior officers. He worked with MacArthur in the Philippines in the 1930s but was recalled to America after Pearl Harbor. Eisenhower led the American invasion of North Africa in 1942 and was supreme Allied Commander for the D-Day invasion of Normandy in 1944, showing great political skill, as well as logistical and strategic brilliance. His success made him one of the great heroes of the war and an attractive candidate to both political parties in the early Cold War years. With no prior political record, he could have accepted either bid but chose the Republicans and ran successfully in the election of 1952 against Adlai Stevenson. As president, Eisenhower cultivated the impression of being less intelligent than he really was, delegated effectively to a powerful staff, and found time for almost daily golf. He presided over many of the tensest years of the Cold War but had a realistic sense, from his military years, of what the nation could and could not do in the face of a nuclear-armed enemy. He helped create a truce in Korea and resisted the temptation to escalate in Vietnam, meanwhile presiding over boom conditions at home. Reelected in 1956 despite a serious heart attack, he acted cautiously to aid the Civil Rights movement and, on his retirement from office after the 1960 election, warned Americans about the potential hazards of an over-mighty “military-industrial complex.”

Henry Ford (1863–1947). First manufacturer of cheap, mass-produced cars. Ford, the son of Irish immigrant parents in Michigan, was among the earliest Americans to study internal combustion engines and automobiles. He built his own first car in 1896, founded his company in 1903, and introduced the immortal Model T in 1908. He continued to build the same model between then and 1927, switching to the moving assembly line method in 1913, first, at Highland Park and, later, at an even larger factory in River Rouge, Michigan. To ensure workers’ loyalty despite the job’s boredom, he paid them $5 per day, far higher than industrial wages elsewhere. When General Motors and Chrysler began to challenge his dominance of the business, he shut down for five months in 1927, retooling to produce the Model A. Dictatorial and intolerant, he spied on workers who attempted to unionize in the 1930s and never really relinquished power to his son Edsel, who was nominal chief from 1919. Among his many interests and obsessions were industrial history (he founded a museum and named it after Edison, whom he had known as a teenager) and an exaggerated fear of Jewish power.

Betty Friedan (b. 1921). Author of The Feminine Mystique and founder of the National Organization of Women (NOW). Betty Goldstein (her maiden name) was an enthusiastic leftist during the 1930s and 1940s but, after college at Smith, she attempted to settle down with her new husband to suburban middle-class life. Finding it stifling and discovering that many of her former college friends felt the same way, she published The Feminine Mystique in 1963. Vigorous and scathing, it denounced the values and assumptions that directed American women into motherhood and home building. It became an immense bestseller. Friedan cofounded NOW in 1966 to lobby against gender
discrimination in legislation, pay, and work; under her powerful guidance, it became an effective lobby. Her stormy, violent marriage ended in 1969, and she feuded with other central figures in the new feminism, notably Bella Abzug and Gloria Steinem. Her later work included campaigning for the Equal Rights Amendment, contradicting some radical feminists’ claim that lesbianism was superior to heterosexuality, and advocacy (in *The Fountain of Age* [1993]) on behalf of elderly people.

**Bill Gates** (b. 1955). High-tech business wizard, head of Microsoft, and multi-billionaire. Gates, son of a Seattle attorney and a schoolteacher, became a computer enthusiast in his early teens and was already building innovative software systems as a Harvard freshman in the early 1970s. He dropped out of Harvard as a junior and founded Microsoft in 1975, building software that shrewdly anticipated the coming of personal computers. Constant dedication to company growth and to innovative research and development enabled him to dominate the field by the late 1980s and to pioneer the Internet boom. In the 1990s, government regulators who regarded him as a monopolist prosecuted Gates for violation of the antitrust statutes. He generated popular good will, however, with philanthropy on a massive scale, donating $800 million to education, libraries, public health, and the arts, establishing a foundation that at once became one of the world’s most munificent. His book on his experiences and the computer industry, *The Road Ahead* (1995), became a bestseller and, by 2000, he was almost certainly the richest man in the world.

**Emma Goldman** (1869–1940). Russian immigrant who advocated anarchism, feminism, and free love. Born and raised in Russia, Goldman migrated to America as a teenager and worked in clothing-trade sweatshops in Rochester and New York. After the 1886 Haymarket bombing, she joined the anarchists and made passionate public speeches urging the overthrow of capitalism. She was deeply attached to Alexander Berkman, another anarchist immigrant, and supported his decision to attempt the assassination of Henry Clay Frick for his anti-union tactics at Homestead during the bitter steelworkers’ strike of 1892. She even tried to raise money to buy him a gun and train fare by becoming a prostitute, but her first potential customer told her that she was unsuited to the business. Berkmann wounded but did not kill Frick and went to prison for 14 years. Goldman became an advocate of birth control for working-class women, made speeches on behalf of the idea, and was also imprisoned for it, because it violated the Comstock Acts against public indecency. When America joined the First World War in 1917, she and Berkmann spoke against American involvement in a capitalist war. Arrested again, they were deported and spent the years from 1917 to 1921 in Russia, where they witnessed (and were disillusioned by) the early years of the Russian Revolution. As anarchists, they were opposed to all forms of government and soon found that Lenin and Trotsky’s Bolsheviks favored a strong and repressive state. Goldman spent her later years partly in Britain, partly touring and speaking—she even went to Spain at the outbreak of its civil war in 1936 to speak on behalf of the anarchist forces there.
Samuel Gompers (1850–1924). Immigrant cigar maker and trade unionist who became the president of the American Federation of Labor. Born in London to Dutch parents, he emigrated to America at the age of 13. Gompers worked in the cigar-making trade, which flourished in thousands of New York sweatshops. Becoming a trade unionist, he represented the Cigar Makers’ Union at early efforts to create an association of trade unions and, in 1886, played a leading role in founding the American Federation of Labor, remaining its president from then until his death except for one “sabbatical” year, 1895. A pragmatic, down-to-earth workingman, he avoided radical politics and concentrated on his member unions’ efforts to bargain for better pay, shorter hours, and safe, sanitary working conditions. His leadership skills enabled the AFL to gain a membership of over a million by 1890 and to continue its growth through the early 20th century. He concentrated on skilled workers who could not easily be replaced by strikebreakers and, therefore, had greater bargaining leverage against their employers. Admired on both sides of the negotiating table, Gompers often gave testimony in Congress, joined civic groups, and became a member of President Wilson’s Council of National Defense during World War I. He attended the Versailles Peace Treaty negotiations as a member of the Commission on International Labor Legislation.

Billy Graham (b. 1918). Evangelical revival preacher. Raised on a farm in North Carolina, Billy Graham attended a series of Bible colleges and earned a reputation for magnetic preaching. With Youth for Christ International, he spoke at youth rallies in the later days of World War II and gained national recognition among evangelicals for his preaching gifts. Henry Luce’s decision to publicize his Los Angeles revival in 1949 made him famous beyond the evangelical subculture and, throughout the rest of the century, he remained one of the most famous men in America. Unlike many fundamentalist contemporaries, he preached love, compassion, and understanding more than fire and brimstone. He deplored divisions among the Protestant churches and tried to diminish them rather than insist on theological purity. President Truman thought him a charlatan, but every subsequent occupant of the White House cultivated Graham—he was a particular favorite of Presidents Eisenhower and Nixon. When other evangelical preachers, such as Jim Bakker and Jimmy Swaggart, were damaged by sex and money scandals, Graham remained unblemished. The end of the Cold War enabled him to take his revival meetings even to Russia.

Herbert Hoover (1874–1964). Thirty-first president whose heroic reputation was destroyed by his inability to halt the Great Depression. Hoover, born in Iowa but raised by relatives in Oregon, graduated from Stanford in 1891 as a mining engineer. He spent most of his 20s and 30s in China, Australia, and other parts of the developing world, becoming rich and widely respected as an engineer. He was in Europe when World War I began and supervised the evacuation of Americans from France. During the war, he worked to bring famine relief to Belgians caught between the lines, and when the war ended, he organized emergency food supplies to the starving people of Germany, central Europe, and Russia. Highly regarded as a philanthropist, businessman, and
statesman, he occupied senior cabinet positions under Presidents Harding and Coolidge, becoming the Republican Party’s presidential candidate in 1928. He won easily over America’s first major-party Catholic candidate, Al Smith, but soon after his inauguration, was confronted by the Wall Street Crash and the slide into economic depression. Hoover believed strongly in the traditional American virtues of self-discipline and self-help and was reluctant to get the federal government involved in poverty relief. The scale of the Depression, however, made his remedial alternatives seem ineffective to the point of insensitivity, and he was swept out of office in the election of 1932, disliked and discredited. Poor shantytown dwellers nicknamed their hovels “Hoovervilles.” He became an outspoken critic of the New Deal’s statist policies in the 1930s and was an isolationist in the early years of World War II but returned to favor in the late 1940s and early 1950s as chair of a commission to rationalize the government’s executive departments.

**Martin Luther King, Jr.** (1929–1968). Leader of the nonviolent phase of the Civil Rights movement, and a Nobel Peace Prize winner. King, son and grandson of Atlanta ministers, was educated at Morehouse College near his home, then at Crozer Theological Seminary (Pennsylvania) and Boston University. Accepting a call to the ministry at Dexter Road Baptist Church in segregated Montgomery, Alabama, he arrived in 1954 and, a year later, became leader of the Montgomery bus boycott. Its success, and his eloquence as spokesman for the movement, catapulted him to national fame. Skilled in the manipulation of the media, he knew how to provoke racist law-enforcement officials into attacking his peaceful demonstrations and was willing to suffer assault and imprisonment to gain the moral high ground. In 1963, Bull Connor, public safety chief of Birmingham, Alabama, met King’s marchers with fire hoses and attack dogs. King was arrested but won an immense public relations victory there, not least through publication of his “Letter from a Birmingham Jail.” Later that year, his “I have a dream” speech in Washington marked a climax of his career, and he received worldwide recognition with the Nobel Prize the following year. Urban riots after 1964 and challenges to nonviolence from Black Power advocates troubled King’s later years, and he began to devote energy to the anti-Vietnam War movement, as well as to civil rights. He was assassinated by James Earl Ray in Memphis, where he had gone on behalf of striking black garbage workers, in 1968.

**Sinclair Lewis** (1885–1951). Satirical novelist and America’s first Nobel Prize winner for literature. Lewis was born in Sauk Center, Minnesota, to a doctor’s family. Fascinated by books from the beginning of his life, he graduated from Yale in 1908 and went to work in the New York publishing business, devoting every spare moment to writing of his own. His first book appeared in 1912, but his first great success came with *Main Street* (1920). From then on, he had a mass audience throughout his life and won all the major literary prizes open to him, including the Pulitzer (1926) and Nobel (1930) Prizes. Among his most famous works are *Babbitt* (1922), about a midwestern businessman’s shallow self-confidence, consumerism, and inability to think outside the crowd, and
Arrowsmith (1925), on the heroic asceticism of a true scientist. His works from the 1920s paint a vivid picture of an America becoming urban and prosperous but often backward-looking and foolish.

Walter Lippmann (1889–1974). Influential liberal journalist and commentator. A Harvard graduate in the Progressive era, Lippmann worked first for the muckraker Lincoln Steffens. His first book, A Preface to Politics (1913), won him an editorial job at The New Republic. He wrote extensively on the problems of democracy in an age of specialists and expertise and was among the century’s most effective critics of utopianism. Woodrow Wilson asked his advice on the peace treaty that ended World War I and brought him to Versailles as an advisor. Born to a Reform Jewish family, Lippmann nevertheless contributed to a Harvard policy of restricting Jewish admissions in the 1920s. By the New Deal era, he was the most influential columnist and commentator in the nation. Presidents were careful not to cross him if they could avoid it, and he knew all of them, from Franklin Roosevelt onward. His book The Public Philosophy (1955) endorsed natural law theories of politics and showed that the Cold War had made him more conservative. Nevertheless, he became an outspoken critic of President Johnson’s escalation of the Vietnam War in the 1960s.

John D. Rockefeller (1839–1937). Oil business entrepreneur who became the richest man in America. Born on a farm in upstate New York, Rockefeller moved as a teenager to Cleveland and became an oil refiner during the early days of the Pennsylvania oil rush. Shrewd, sober, and a Baptist Sunday-school teacher, but also with a flair for good investments and profitable entrepreneurial risks, he rapidly increased his share of the refining business until, in 1870, his company, Standard Oil, was the largest in the trade. Oil in those pre-automobile days was used as lamp fuel, and Rockefeller specialized in creating high-quality lamp kerosene, which was sold nationwide in distinctive red cans. After passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890, Standard was prosecuted and broken up by order of the Ohio courts because it had monopolized the business. It moved to New Jersey and, through Rockefeller’s ingenious management, was rapidly reassembled, though it succumbed to another prosecution in 1911. Rockefeller himself, retiring from the everyday running of the business in 1896, turned his attention to philanthropy, giving tens of millions of dollars to educational, church, and missionary charities. Among his biggest bequests was $35 million to the University of Chicago, founded with his encouragement and supervision in 1890. His name was a byword for financial power; he was widely hated for his hard business approach, but he contributed as much as anyone to the creation of the 20th century style of big business.

Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919). Twenty-sixth president. Born to a rich New York family in 1858, Roosevelt regretted that he was too young to fight in the Civil War. Overcoming childhood illnesses and physical weakness, he learned to box and challenged himself in arduous outdoor activities, becoming an advocate of the “strenuous life.” Roosevelt graduated from Harvard and began a career in New York state politics, where he defied the corrupt Tammany Hall Democratic regime on behalf of honest Republican principles. The death of his wife and his
mother on the same day in 1884 led to a nervous breakdown. Roosevelt recovered by spending several months hunting on his ranch in the Dakota Badlands, about which he wrote two excellent books. Remarried in 1886 and continuing a rapid political ascent, he became Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the McKinley administration after the election of 1896. He gave up this post when America went to war against Spain in 1898, creating the famous “Rough Riders,” a troop of cavalry made up of friends from Harvard and cowboy friends from the West. Becoming a hero for seizing San Juan Hill, he returned in glory to America and won the governorship of New York later that year. McKinley selected him as his running mate in the election of 1900, and Roosevelt became president a few months after the inauguration, when McKinley was assassinated by an anarchist. As president (the youngest in the nation’s history to that point), he prosecuted abusive monopolies and took a more active and interventionist role in the economy than his predecessors. Popular and widely admired, he was reelected in 1904 but left the White House after the 1908 election. Even an African safari was insufficient to keep his attention after that, and in 1912, he tried to regain the Republican nomination from his successor, William Howard Taft. Thwarted, he ran for president as a Progressive “Bull Moose” candidate, split the Republican vote, and enabled the Democrat Woodrow Wilson to prevail instead.

**Booker T. Washington** (1856–1915). Black educator and the most influential African American in the early 20th century. Washington was born in slavery to a Virginia family and was six years old at the time of Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation. Eager for education, he worked his way through Hampton Institute and admired the philanthropic whites, led by Hampton’s General Samuel Armstrong, who attempted to improve the lives of freedmen in the Reconstruction South. In 1881, he became principal of the Tuskegee Institute, a college dedicated to basic literacy and preparation for the practical careers that most African Americans could expect. He raised money for the school through successful speaking tours, mainly among such northern industrialists as John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie. Washington did not welcome the racial segregation system of the post-Reconstruction era, but in a famous speech at the Cotton States Exposition, Atlanta, in 1895, he argued that blacks could accommodate to it while earning whites’ respect and trust. His autobiography, *Up from Slavery* (1901), was hailed at the time and contributed to President Theodore Roosevelt’s much-criticized decision to invite him to dine at the White House. W. E. B. DuBois and other black leaders of less accommodationist views deplored what looked to them like Washington’s acceptance of second-class status.

**Malcolm X** (1925–1965). Black Muslim missionary and Black Power advocate. Malcolm Little grew up in the predominantly white community of Lansing, Michigan, but witnessed racist violence when the family home was burned down and when his father was murdered. Moving to Boston as a teenager, he became a petty criminal. Arrested and imprisoned for burglary, his life was transformed when he joined the Nation of Islam ( NOI) in 1946. Its members preached black
pride and dignity; they believed that whites were genetically engineered mutants and devils. Released in 1952, Malcolm (who took the name “X” to stand for his family’s African name, which had been stolen by slavery), became the NOI’s leading spokesman. His mesmerizing stage presence, eloquence, and apparent fearlessness inspired a generation of black activists. Scornful of Martin Luther King’s advocacy of integration through Christian nonviolence, he argued for racial separatism and violence when necessary in self-defense. In the early 1960s, however, he made the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca, which prompted a reorientation of his beliefs to a more orthodox form of Islam. He parted on bad terms from NOI, whose leader, Elijah Muhammad, resented his success. Soon after a series of meetings with the writer Alex Haley that formed the basis of his book *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, Malcolm X was assassinated by three members of the NOI.
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General Works


Specialized Works
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Hounshell, David. *From the American System to Mass Production*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984. Irresistibly fascinating account of how things actually got made and how hard it was to make identical parts for successful mass production.


Marsden, George. *Fundamentalism and American Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. Fundamentalists are intellectuals, Marsden shows; it’s just that they have directed their intelligence down different paths than their antagonists.


Moody, Anne. *Coming of Age in Mississippi*. New York: Doubleday, 1968. I-was-there memoir about Freedom Summer, the sit-ins, freedom rides, and gradual disillusionment of a nonviolent black student activist.


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The History of the United States
Part VI
Professor Patrick Allitt

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Patrick Allitt is Professor of History at Emory University. He was born and raised in central England and attended schools near his home in Mickleover, Derbyshire. An undergraduate at Hertford College, Oxford, he graduated (1977) with honors in British and European history. After a year of travel, he studied for the history doctorate at the University of California, Berkeley. He was a postdoctoral fellow at Harvard in the mid-1980s and, since 1988, has been on the faculty of Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia. Professor Allitt is the author of three books, including Catholic Converts: British and American Intellectuals Turn to Rome (1997). He also writes frequent articles and reviews. In 1999, he won Emory’s Excellence in Teaching Award and, in 2000, was appointed to the N.E.H./Arthur Blank Professorship of Teaching in the Humanities. Professor Allitt keeps in touch with his homeland by spending about two months every year on a working holiday in Britain, teaching the history of Victorian England with Emory’s summer school, which is held at University College, Oxford. His wife, Toni, is American, a Michigan native, and they have a daughter, Frances, born in 1988.
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The History of the United States

Scope (Lectures Forty-Nine through Eighty-Four):

America industrialized rapidly in the late 19th century, and was one of the world’s three leading industrial powers (along with Germany and Britain) by 1900. Its citizens already had the adventurous outlook, the tradition of hard work, and the entrepreneurial initiative that are vital to successful industrialization. A legal situation amenable to maximum economic growth and widespread faith in capitalism further aided the Industrial Revolution. The Americans were lucky in having plentiful natural resources at their disposal. Immense forests provided wood for cheap construction everywhere east of the Mississippi. Coal fields in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and West Virginia fueled industry’s steam-powered machinery, while ore from the great Minnesota ranges provided the raw material for the iron and steel industry. Oil fields in western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and later, Oklahoma, Texas, and California fed another rapidly growing industry.

Railroads, built in the East from 1830, were extended across the Mississippi after the Civil War. The first transcontinental road was completed in 1869, reducing the coast-to-coast journey from a matter of months, as it had been in the 1840s, to just three days by 1900. Completion of a dense nationwide railroad network between 1869 and 1900 facilitated companies’ national marketing campaigns. It also permitted improvements in diet, because fresh foods grown in southern California and Florida could be brought quickly to market in the northern cities, even during the winter.

The scale of American businesses grew rapidly, too, enabling the oil, coal, iron and steel, railroad, food, and meat-packing industries to enjoy economies of scale. The downside of this growth was that businesses became anonymous. Workers trapped in low-paying, dangerous, and monotonous jobs became resentful and organized trade unions. The late 19th century witnessed a rapid growth in unions, especially among skilled workers who could not easily be replaced with strikebreakers, and a succession of strikes. Ferocious retaliation by employers, who used armed detectives and, when possible, state militiamen, made industrial disputes ugly and bloody. Employers also tried to “divide and conquer” by hiring workers from many different ethnic groups, recent immigrants who would be less likely to make common cause against them and whose many languages would make organization difficult.

Railroads were vital not only to industry but also to settlers on the Great Plains in the 1870s and 1880s. Trains brought in wood, coal, and other necessities that settlers lacked locally, while carrying away from the area its massive annual grain harvests. The cumulative effect of Plains settlement was to create a great yearly food surplus (one of the constants of 20th-century life) and to end the danger of famine. For each particular farmer, the steady fall in grain prices caused hardship, which was accentuated by the railroads’ local monopoly as sole available carrier and by a steady deflation through the late 19th century. Plains
farmers attempted to join southern tenant and sharecropping farmers in the Populist Party, whose mushroom growth in the 1880s and 1890s was never successfully rewarded with electoral successes.

The rapid growth of America’s industrial and agricultural productivity made the nation wealthy and created the possibility of a more aggressive foreign policy. Some politicians, notably Theodore Roosevelt, favored the creation of an American colonial empire to rival those of Britain, France, Portugal, Germany, and Belgium. The disintegration of Spain’s Caribbean and Pacific empire presented an opportunity. America went to war against Spain in 1898 and became the dominant power in Cuba and the Philippines. It also influenced the Panamanian revolution and the building of an ocean-to-ocean canal there between 1903 and 1914. The debate over foreign policy acquired a new urgency when the First World War began in 1914. At first, President Woodrow Wilson argued that America must remain neutral “in thought and deed” so that it could broker a reasonable peace. Before long, however, American businesses were trading heavily with the British and French, while the Royal Navy prevented them from trading with Germany. Germany retaliated with unrestricted submarine warfare against American shipping, which in turn, prompted an American declaration of war. That decision, along with the Russian Revolution, made 1917 one of the most momentous years of the 20th century. The weaknesses of the Versailles Treaty by which World War I ended, and the American decision not to participate in the League of Nations, laid the foundations of an even more disastrous war 20 years later.

Whatever its international role, America continued to generate new technology and to grow wealthier than any nation in world history. The 1920s witnessed the perfection of modern mass-production techniques and the development of “welfare capitalism,” by which employers attended to their workers’ social needs, as well as to their productive powers, as a way of forestalling workers’ radicalism. By 1929, however, productivity had outstripped America’s capacity to consume, because incomes were still unequally distributed. The Wall Street Crash of that year was followed by a devastating economic depression, worse than any earlier fluctuation in the American economy. By 1933, banks were failing and factories lay silent, even though surrounded by men who desperately needed work. A handful of Americans, struck by this incongruity and convinced that capitalism was no longer a viable economic system, turned to Communism. Millions more, however, supported the New Deal, a series of policies by which a new president, Franklin Roosevelt, attempted to rescue the American system. The New Deal’s many agencies gave the federal government a more intrusive and powerful role than ever before in the regulation of the economy. It was not successful in ending the Great Depression, but it restored confidence in the business system, introduced such innovative programs as Social Security, and ensured that trade unions would enjoy the same legal protections as business.

The onset of the Second World War brought the Depression to an end, which it did by escalating demand for exports and prompting rapid American mobilization. Roosevelt, like Wilson, tried at first to stay out of the conflict—he
faced an influential isolationist faction at home. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, however, made American participation in the war, against both Japan and its German partner, inevitable. America, allied with Winston Churchill’s Britain and Josef Stalin’s Soviet Union, had defeated Hitler’s Germany by May of 1945, after the D-Day invasion of France and heavy aerial bombardment of German cities. The invention of a secret weapon, the atomic bomb, also enabled American forces to defeat Japan in August 1945.

No sooner had the war ended in the complete defeat of their enemies than the allies, America and Russia, fell out. The contrast in their political and economic systems, and the American fear that Soviet Communism would spread remorselessly until it dominated the world unless stopped forcibly, fueled the antagonism. The Soviets’ refusal to let the newly liberated nations of Eastern Europe elect democratic governments seemed to the new American leader, President Truman, characteristic of their aggressive designs. In consequence, America decided not to withdraw from international affairs after the Second World War as it had after the First. Instead, it became the leader of the Western democracies in a new bipolar world.

The Cold War standoff between America and the Soviet Union persisted until 1989, bringing them to the brink of war in 1962 (during the Cuban missile crisis) but restraining them with the knowledge that each had nuclear weapons sufficient to annihilate the other. The demands of a big military establishment contributed to economic buoyancy throughout most of the era. Fears that the Great Depression would return with the end of war proved groundless. The United States in the 1950s and 1960s became, in the words of economist John Kenneth Galbraith, the “affluent society,” in which an opulent consumer lifestyle came within reach of nearly everyone, even factory workers’ families.

The great exception to the spread of American prosperity was the large African American community. Ever since the end of Reconstruction, it had endured the most precarious economic and political condition. To be black in the South was to suffer under government-supported policies of racial segregation. Black Americans throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries had moved from the rural South to the urban North as industrialization spread. There, too, however, they had faced severe racial discrimination. The Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s was, therefore, vitally important in transforming their civic status. It led to the laws of 1964 and 1965 by which all forms of government-approved racial discrimination were abolished. The movement was not able to end the economic disadvantages against which many African Americans continued to struggle, however, and the intractability of that problem persisted up to and beyond the millennium.

Not only the Civil Rights movement but many other social movements contributed to the turbulence of the 1960s in America. In pursuit of its Cold War policy of preventing the spread of Communism, the nation went to war in Vietnam but found itself unable to prevail against tenacious low-tech foes in jungle warfare. The long, costly war became bitterly unpopular at home and the
antiwar movement contributed to an unprecedented “generation gap” in millions of families. Numerous groups, meanwhile, imitated the Civil Rights movement by claiming that they, too, were minorities and that they suffered discrimination unjustly; first women in the new feminist movement, then Native Americans, Hispanic Americans, and homosexuals. America was socially fractured by these experiences, while its government lost prestige, a loss greatly exacerbated by the Watergate scandal that forced President Nixon to resign in disgrace in 1974.

President Carter spoke of a “national malaise” in 1978 to a nation mired in disillusionment, inflation, and economic stagnation. His successor, the former film star Ronald Reagan, was eager to restore national vitality and determined to escalate the Cold War confrontation with an immense peacetime military buildup. This controversial policy may have contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union and its empire of Eastern European satellites in 1989, another of the crucial years of the century. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the peaceful triumph of democracy in the former Soviet sphere laid to rest the 20th-century menace of Communism and left America as the world’s sole superpower.

War against Iraq and ethnic genocide in the former Yugoslavia showed that the New World Order was anything but a utopia of peace and good will. America had to decide whether to maintain its worldwide commitments or retreat to its historic isolationist posture. Cautiously, and with care to prevent another Vietnam morass, it maintained its commitments. Richer than ever in the 1990s but still suffering from the chronic exclusion of its urban, minority, and Native American “underclass” from the general prosperity, America remained vulnerable. A domestic terrorist destroyed the federal government’s building in Oklahoma City in 1995, while foreign terrorists destroyed the New York World Trade Center in 2001. The future of the nation, like earlier futures, continued to hold out great promise but also present great challenges.
**Lecture Sixty-One**  
**Mass Production**

**Scope:** Mid-19th-century manufacturers, such as Samuel Colt (guns) and Isaac Singer (sewing machines), began to mass-produce industrial products that they could sell cheaply, in large numbers, through nationwide advertising campaigns. The first devices with full interchangeability of parts were Albert Pope’s bicycles, which enjoyed a popular vogue in the 1890s. Chicago’s slaughterhouses, in which animals on overhead conveyors were systematically killed and dismembered, gave Henry Ford the idea for a moving assembly line on which automobiles would be systematically assembled. He perfected the line in 1914, brought down the price of cars, and raised his workers’ wages, which increased their loyalty and made them potential buyers. Meanwhile, Frank Gilbreth, Frederick W. Taylor, and Elton Mayo developed “scientific management” by studying work techniques, making them more efficient, and seeking ways to increase employees’ sense of well-being at work.

**Outline**

I. The first Industrial Revolution was in textiles, iron and steel, railroads, and oil, but the second was in consumer goods.
   A. After 1870, manufacturers turned to mass production of consumer goods.
   B. At first they relied on “fitters” to assemble nearly identical parts.
      1. Samuel Colt mass-produced guns.
      2. Isaac Singer mass-produced sewing machines, from small beginnings in 1853. Singer initiated the idea of buying on the installment plan.
   C. Albert Pope, a bicycle manufacturer, achieved complete interchangeability of parts.
      1. Improvements in machine tools and hard steel facilitated this achievement.
      2. The American bicycle craze enabled him to enlarge his market, which ranged from the very lavish to the very modest.
      3. The bicycle inspired other inventors, including the Wright brothers, who began as bicycle repairmen.

II. Automobile manufacture in the early 20th century accelerated trends in mass production of consumer-goods.
   A. The first cars were individually built luxury items, far too expensive for the average consumer.
B. Henry Ford (1863–1947) looked for economies of scale and standardized manufacture. He aimed to make cars ordinary citizens could buy.

C. His managers developed the moving assembly line using meat packers’ disassembly lines as their model. Ford installed the first moving assembly lines in 1913. By the end of the year, he was producing 200,000 cars a year.

D. Ford’s contemporaries recognized the magnitude of his achievement.
   1. Lenin tried to persuade him to supervise the industrialization of post-revolutionary Russia.
   2. Aldous Huxley’s *Brave New World* uses a calendar that dates years from Ford’s time.

III. Manufacturers recognized the importance of human psychology in making mass production succeed.

A. After being plagued by extremely high turnover, Ford’s $5-day revolutionized his auto plants.
   1. Work was no less boring, but the high wage maintained employee loyalty.
   2. Car workers realized they could become car owners, too.

B. Scientific management experts controlled more areas of the worker’s experience.
   1. Frederick Taylor’s time-and-motion studies increased efficiency. His texts became the bibles of time-management proponents.
   2. His disciple Frank Gilbreth took the principle of time-and-motion studies further, inventing *therbligs*, a unit of muscular movement that assisted micromanagement policy.
   3. Elton Mayo’s Hawthorne experiment revealed psychological aspects of employee welfare by testing various environmental factors, such as climate and color.

C. Advertising developed hand-in-hand with mass production of consumer goods. Classic devices in the industry—such as inducing artificial need or using celebrity endorsements—developed in the 1910s and 1920s.

D. Buying on credit spread alongside advertising. Ford spent $2 million advertising the Model A in its first week.
**Essential Reading:**
David Hounshell, *From the American System to Mass Production.*

**Supplementary Reading:**
Robert Kanigel, *The One Best Way: Frederick Winslow Taylor and the Enigma of Efficiency.*

**Questions to Consider:**
1. What were the crucial breakthroughs that made it possible to mass-produce consumer goods?
2. Who benefited from these changes, and who suffered because of them?
Lecture Sixty-Two
World War I—The Road to Intervention

Scope: When the European nations went to war in 1914, America stayed aloof, following a century-long tradition of isolationism. Sympathy for Britain was strong among President Wilson’s cabinet members, however, and the president himself became convinced that Britain’s cause was just. American businesses and banks traded heavily with England and France between 1914 and 1917, while farmers enjoyed an immense export boom and high prices for as much food as they could produce. When 124 Americans died in the British liner *Lusitania*, sunk by a German submarine in 1915, American public opinion swung sharply toward a British alliance. Wilson was reelected in 1916 under the slogan “He kept us out of war.” No sooner had he been reinaugurated than the German decision to declare unrestricted submarine warfare against American ships in the Atlantic led him to declare war against Germany. America’s previously small army grew rapidly in 1917 and trained hard, taking the field in large numbers in 1918 under the leadership of General Pershing to forestall a German assault on the western front.

Outline

I. The United States undertook a more active foreign policy after 1898.
   A. The Spanish-American War gave the United States a powerful presence in the Caribbean and the Philippines.
      1. The Philippines campaign (1899–1902) caused controversy at home, with atrocities committed on both sides.
      2. The Panama revolution and the canal project bore witness to American hemispheric power.
   B. American forces intervened in the Mexican revolutionary wars, killing 200 Mexicans in Vera Cruz in 1914.

II. President Woodrow Wilson promised to keep America out of the First World War, but circumstances forced him to join the war directly in 1917.
   A. Britain, France, Italy, and Russia fought against an alliance of Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Turkey.
   B. Germany, dominant partner of the Central Powers, faced the disadvantage of a two-front war.
   C. President Wilson urged Americans to be neutral in thought and deed.
   D. Britain and France enjoyed naval supremacy and were able to divert American ships bound for Germany into their own ports. They paid for trade goods.
E. The *Lusitania* incident (1915) sharpened pro-British, anti-German feeling in America.
   1. A German submarine sank the luxury liner off Ireland with the loss of 1,200 lives, 124 of them American.
   2. We now know that German claims that it was carrying munitions were true.
   3. President Wilson’s note to Germany was so sharp that Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan resigned in protest.

F. When British dollar reserves were exhausted, American bankers asked the president to extend loans or credits to Britain.
   1. Failure to do so would have created economic recession.
   2. Wilson and many of his cabinet were pro-British. There was a common belief during the age that the Anglo-Saxon peoples of the United States and Britain shared a common destiny.

III. American participation in the war became inevitable early in 1917 and had a decisive effect on the war’s outcome.
   A. President Wilson won reelection under the slogan “He kept us out of war.”
   B. Germany decided on unrestricted submarine warfare against America, whose aid to Britain and France was already immense.
      1. German leaders speculated that warfare might temporarily aid the German cause.
      2. America officially declared war on April 1, 1917.
      3. German submarines’ early successes seemed to justify their government’s policy.
      4. The Zimmerman telegram intensified American support for war. The intercepted message, sent from Germany to Mexico, promised the return of territories lost by Mexico to the United States in 1847.
   C. America’s small army expanded rapidly.
      1. Soldiers took newly invented IQ tests. Such was the state of American medical care that 30 percent of recruits were declared to be physically unfit.
      2. YMCA purity crusaders were shocked at the immorality of the army camps.
      3. Mennonites and Quakers were not allowed to claim conscientious objector status. Many were sent to prison, where they were mistreated and accused of cowardice.
   D. Citizens, in general, and clergy, in particular, became enthusiastic for war.
      1. *Four-minute men*, organized by George Creel’s Committee of Public Information, gave patriotic fundraising speeches and urged young men to enlist.
      2. Congress passed legislation to restrict opponents of the war.
      3. Clergy preached blood-curdling pro-war sermons.
4. State governments and vigilante groups tried to destroy all German vestiges in America.

**Essential Reading:**

**Supplementary Reading:**
Ray Abrams, *Preachers Present Arms.*
John Milton Cooper, *The Warrior and the Priest.*

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Why did America’s initial intention to stay neutral break down between 1914 and 1917?
2. What were the domestic consequences of American intervention in the war?
Lecture Sixty-Three
World War I—Versailles and Wilson’s Gambit

Scope: German military successes on the eastern front helped precipitate the Russian Revolution of 1917, with immense consequences for the rest of the 20th century. American troops, reinforcing Britain and France in the west, first halted the Germans’ great 1918 offensive, then contributed to the Allies’ victory that November. President Wilson traveled to Versailles (near Paris) for the 1919 peace talks while another American, Herbert Hoover, organized famine relief in large parts of a devastated Europe. Wilson was disillusioned to discover that the victorious leaders, Lloyd-George of England and Clemenceau of France, were more interested in imposing blame and vindictive reparations on Germany than in making the world safe for democracy. Uneasy about the treaty but hopeful of rectifying its worst features through an international government body, the League of Nations, Wilson was thwarted by the American Senate’s refusal to join the League. The Russian Revolution intensified anti-radical fears in America and prompted the Red Scare, in which many foreign-born Socialists, anarchists, and Communists were summarily deported.

Outline

I. The years 1917–1918 witnessed a transformation of the geopolitical world.
   A. America’s decision to intervene in World War I was the first great change, ending a long era of its separation from European affairs.
   B. The Russian Revolution was the second great change.
      1. Lenin’s Bolsheviks alone among Russian groups promised an end to the war, in which about five million Russians died.
      2. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918) acknowledged Russian defeat and German gains in Eastern Europe.
   C. Victory on the eastern front enabled Germany to launch a powerful offensive in the west in the spring of 1918.
      1. American forces, arriving just in time with a million men by April, helped repel the advance.
      2. They played a useful role in the counteroffensives that led to Allied victory by November 11, 1918.
      3. American losses were high—more than 100,000 killed—except by comparison with those of the European nations.

II. President Wilson approached the Versailles peace negotiations with more hope than experience and was disillusioned by the resulting treaty.
III. Turbulent events at home helped to defeat Wilson’s hopes.

A. A committee of political and academic experts brought by Wilson, the *Inquiry*, had planned the peace. It ensured that the American negotiators were well supplied with detailed information and maps.

B. Wilson hoped that the *Fourteen Points*, based on their advice, would be the basis of a non-vindictive treaty.
   1. He hoped to make good on his claim that this had been the “war to end all wars” and the war “to make the world safe for democracy.”
   2. German consent to an armistice on November 11, 1918, was based on the Fourteen Points. The final point established an international League of Nations.

C. The British and French leaders, Lloyd-George and Clemenceau, were determined to make Germany accept blame and responsibility for the war.
   1. Germany felt betrayed by Wilson’s acceptance of the western Allies’ approach.
   2. Some American negotiators also deplored Wilson’s retreat, which led to extraordinary demands on the German state and people.

D. Dismayed by the outcome, he accepted it only in the expectation that the League of Nations would correct its worst features.

Essential Reading:


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David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society*.

**Supplementary Reading:**
John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*.
Alfred Crosby, *America’s Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918*.

**Questions to Consider:**
1. What were President Wilson’s worst mistakes at the conclusion of World War I?
2. What were the short- and long-term consequences of the Russian Revolution?
Lecture Sixty-Four

The 1920s

Scope: Fear of foreigners contributed to immigration restriction laws in 1921 and 1924. Native Protestants’ hopes for a morally improved nation, expressed in the Prohibition Amendment to the Constitution, soon soured. Prohibition created ideal conditions for the development of organized crime; so many otherwise respectable citizens violated the alcohol ban that it became unenforceable. Criminal scofflaws, such as Al Capone, became half-villains/half-folk heroes. The moralistic, intolerant side of American Protestantism was exhibited also in a revival of the Ku Klux Klan, which targeted Catholics and Jews as much as African Americans during the 1920s, and contributed to the defeat of America’s first Catholic presidential candidate, Al Smith, in 1928. A brighter side of the 1920s saw high levels of employment; rising real wages; improved city conditions; the rapid spread of cars, refrigerators, and radios among ordinary families; and the maturing of the movie industry (silent until 1927). Healthier cities also witnessed the creativity of such artistic movements as the Harlem Renaissance.

Outline

I. The transformation of America into an ethnically and religiously diverse nation, predominantly urban, caused a backlash in the 1920s.
   A. Laws of 1921 and 1924 restricted immigration from southern and eastern Europe and banned immigration from Asia.
   B. Prohibition, the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, was the culmination of a long campaign but proved a disappointment in practice.
      1. It had been the first issue to mobilize large numbers of women in a political campaign.
      2. Enforced beginning in January 1920, the law was widely violated and lacked effective enforcement.
      3. It facilitated the rise of organized crime.
   C. The Ku Klux Klan aimed to restore virtuous, rural Protestant values. Revived in 1915 at Stone Mountain, Georgia, it advocated white supremacy but was also anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant.
   D. Fundamentalists tried to prevent the teaching of evolution in state high schools.
      1. Tennessee passed an anti-evolution law in 1925.
      2. The Scopes “monkey trial” of 1925 was a courtroom victory but a public relations defeat for the fundamentalists.
   E. Al Smith, Democratic presidential candidate in 1928, was an Irish Catholic and could not attract the votes of southern white Protestants.
II. The 1920s was a period of sustained economic growth and rising real wages.
   A. Consumer durable goods became accessible to a rapidly growing middle class.
      1. Per capita income was $522 in 1921 and $716 in 1928, far higher than in any other country in the world.
      2. America was producing 5.5 million cars per year, and Americans owned five-sixths of all the world’s cars.
      3. The fiction of Sinclair Lewis criticized the new consumerism and the conformity it bred.
   B. Hollywood movies became a central part of popular entertainment.
      1. Inventive marketing created the first generation of great stars.
      2. Rapid technological improvements provided “talkies” after 1927.
   C. A more permissive youth culture created generational tensions.
      1. Bobbed hair was symbolic of new women’s attitudes.
      2. Jazz became popular among white, as well as black, audiences.

III. The Great Migration from the southern countryside to northern cities created urban black enclaves, notably in Harlem, New York.
   A. Influential community leaders competed for black audiences.
      1. Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association led a “back to Africa” campaign.
      2. W. E. B. DuBois and the NAACP continued the campaign against segregation.
   B. Black and white intellectuals joined to enjoy and study the Harlem phenomenon. Alain Locke described and analyzed the “new Negro” in 1925.

IV. The size and reach of the federal government declined through the 1920s.
   A. Calvin Coolidge was content to keep government intervention in the economy to a minimum. He won reelection in his own right in 1924.
   B. The restraint of the government makes a striking contrast with the immense growth of totalitarian states in Italy and Russia.

Essential Reading:
Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday*.
Jervis Anderson, *This Was Harlem: A Cultural Portrait*.

Supplementary Reading:
Norman H. Clark, *Deliver Us from Evil*.

Questions to Consider:
I. How did changes in everyday life affect American women in the 1920s?
2. Who supported Prohibition and why? Who opposed it and why?
Scope: The collapse of the Florida land boom in 1926, when land values fell by many times overnight, was a premonition of worse things to come. Minimal government regulation of the stock exchange, and the development of unsound financial practices, created unrealistic expectations among speculators in the late 1920s. The collapse of share prices on Wall Street in the fall of 1929 was traumatic, because it ruined many influential people and destroyed the savings of thousands more who had let themselves be deceived by false hopes. Its causes continue to be debated, but certainly, a principal factor was maldistribution of income throughout the population. The years 1929–1933 witnessed a downward spiral of economic shrinkage, bankruptcies, factory closings, and rapidly worsening unemployment. Drought in the Great Plains states added the Dust Bowl to this catalogue of woe. President Hoover, elected in 1928, became the scapegoat for these disasters. His own political and economic apprenticeship and an uninterrupted career of successes had provided no lessons for dealing with a national disaster of this magnitude.

Outline

I. Boom conditions in the 1920s eventually led to unrealistic expectations and the creation of speculative bubbles, culminating in the Wall Street crash.
   A. The Florida land boom could have provided a warning. Miami grew from 30,000 people in 1920 to 75,000 in 1925.
      1. Its warm climate made it an attractive place for vacations and retirement, once rail connections had been completed.
      2. Land values rose vertically in the early 1920s, enriching speculators.
      3. Two hurricanes devastated the Miami area in 1926, causing 400 deaths.
      4. Property price collapses left half-developed areas unfinished.
   B. Stock market prices also exceeded their real values.
      1. Investment trusts, buying on margin, and other speculative mechanisms enabled investors to spend more money than they possessed.
      2. Respectable national figures encouraged participation.
      3. The Wall Street crash of 1929 ended the fantasy. Only about one percent of the entire population had invested in the market, but it was the most influential one percent.

II. America entered an economic depression; it persisted throughout the 1930s.
   A. Economists continue to debate its causes.
1. One cause was American overproduction. By 1890, the United States was producing, for example, more food than it could consume.
2. Closely related was maldistribution of income. Five percent of Americans possessed one-third of all personal income.
3. Short-sighted American tariff policy, which made it more difficult to export food, for example, made matters worse.
4. International financial instability also contributed to the Depression, especially the instability resulting from the Treaty of Versailles, which hindered German recovery.

B. The Depression led to mass unemployment and underemployment.
   1. Individuals more often blamed themselves than the economic system.
   2. Large numbers of migratory workers rode trains in search of work, and hobo communities became common.

C. The downward spiral of the Depression perpetuated itself. Wage cuts and layoffs, the logical response of individual employers, shrank spending power and demand, which in turn, made recovery more difficult.

D. Drought conditions on the Great Plains, that is, the Dust Bowl, intensified Depression-era miseries.
   1. Over-farming of the plains in the boom years of the 1910s had destroyed natural brakes on dust storms.
   2. Large numbers of bankrupt farmers, the Okies, sought an alternative way of life in California.

III. President Hoover was forced to take the blame for the Depression.
   A. Until then, his life had been an uninterrupted line of successes.
      1. He was a prosperous mining engineer.
      2. He organized the evacuation of Americans from Europe at the beginning of the First World War.
      3. He organized famine relief in Belgium and, later, for postwar central Europe.
      4. As secretary of commerce under Presidents Harding and Coolidge, he contributed to a successful trade policy.
   B. As president, Hoover spoke on behalf of the traditional American values of self-help and economic independence but was willing to intervene to restore economic confidence.
      1. He used military force against the Bonus Marchers, a group of World War I veterans who had been promised a bonus and asked for their money in advance.
      2. The spread of shanty towns, nicknamed “Hoovervilles,” demonstrated his decline in popular esteem.
   C. His anti-Depression measures were too little and came too late to satisfy his critics.
1. He supported public works schemes, including the Boulder Dam and the Los Angeles Aqueduct, and was willing to incur federal government deficits.
2. He refused to support direct government-backed participation in industry.
3. Ironically, Franklin Roosevelt criticized him for profligate spending during the campaign of 1932.

Essential Reading:
Martin L. Fausold, *The Presidency of Herbert Hoover.*

Supplementary Reading:

Questions to Consider:
1. In what ways did government actions create the conditions for the Wall Street crash and the Great Depression?
2. What were Herbert Hoover’s strengths and weaknesses, and how did they serve him as president?
Lecture Sixty-Six
The New Deal

Scope: President Franklin Roosevelt, elected in 1932, experimented boldly with political reforms in the first 100 days after his inauguration. His efforts to prevent cutthroat competition among businesses, and his creation of federal agencies to oversee a wide variety of relief and regulatory tasks, marked a dramatic shift of power out of the states and into the federal government. Many of his early innovations were nullified by the Supreme Court in 1935 and 1936, but they created a favorable impression on much of the nation, even though unemployment figures were slow to diminish. Among Roosevelt’s more imaginative adversaries were Father Charles Coughlin, a Detroit priest whose skillful use of radio for political propaganda was equal to Roosevelt’s own, and Huey Long of Louisiana, a demagogue whose plans to oust the president were cut short by assassination. Roosevelt, reelected in 1936, tried to safeguard his political innovations by enlarging the Supreme Court with pro-New Deal justices. Widespread resistance to the plan showed that, for all his popularity, he had overstepped his mandate.

Outline

I. Franklin Roosevelt’s *New Deal* began a shift of power from the states to the federal government but was unable to solve the basic dilemmas of the Depression.
   
   A. Roosevelt had led a distinguished career in Democratic Party politics.
      1. A blueblood, related to President Theodore Roosevelt, he had enjoyed a privileged childhood.
      2. He rose to the post of assistant secretary of the Navy under Woodrow Wilson and was the Democrats’ vice presidential candidate in 1920.
      3. He overcame polio to become governor of New York.
      4. He was better able to unite the disparate parts of the Democratic Party than Al Smith.

   B. Nothing in Roosevelt’s past augured the steps he took in beginning the New Deal.
      1. He was willing to experiment with unfamiliar methods and was more flexible than Hoover.
      2. The first 100 days of his administration, renamed as the New Deal, was one of the most creative periods in all of American political history. New agencies and programs included the National Recovery Act (NRA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA).
      3. Roosevelt “sold” his policies by artful use of radio “fireside chats.”
C. Innovation continued well into his first administration, with immense and lasting consequences.
   2. The National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) strengthened American trade unions.
   3. NLRA protection set off a wave of union organizing and membership increases, despite Depression-era unemployment.
   4. The first sit-down strikes by striking auto workers in 1937 at Flint, Michigan, prevented the use of strike-breakers.

D. The Supreme Court ruled in 1935 that several New Deal policies were unconstitutional. The NRA and the AAA were overturned in cases of 1935 and 1936.

II. Roosevelt’s policies generated critics, some of them highly innovative, who threatened his bid for reelection in 1936.
   A. Father Charles Coughlin, a Catholic priest and broadcaster, began as a New Deal supporter but turned against FDR.
   B. Huey Long, the populist governor of Louisiana, U.S. senator, and state political boss, planned a challenge to FDR in 1936. Long’s “Share Our Wealth” plan offered $5,000 per year to every family.
   C. Francis Townsend, a California doctor, proposed to aid the elderly and jump-start the economy.
   D. Roosevelt overcame all rivals, including the Republican Alf Landon of Kansas, in the 1936 election, during which he won every state except Maine and Vermont.

III. Safely returned to the White House, Roosevelt rashly tried to reshape the Supreme Court.
   A. The number of justices is not specified in the Constitution but had been held at nine for a century by the time of the New Deal.
   B. FDR’s plan to enlarge the court with Democratic appointees and to encourage old judges’ retirement failed.
      1. Democratic Party critics assailed this partisan break with tradition.
      2. One judge, Owen Roberts, began to vote for, rather than against, New Deal legislation, prompting the quip: “A switch in time saves nine!”

IV. The New Deal restored confidence in the nation but did little to alleviate unemployment, which remained high throughout the 1930s, until rearment began at the decade’s end.
   A. Memoirs recall the era’s monotony and harshness.
   B. Sustained unemployment was particularly harmful to men’s self-esteem.
C. Poverty forced people to do without many of the labor-saving devices that had been available to those who could buy them for decades.

**Essential Reading:**
Paul Conkin, *The New Deal*.

**Supplementary Reading:**
Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt* (3 vols.).

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Why did Roosevelt achieve such popularity, even though he was unable to solve the Great Depression?
2. How did the lives of trade unionists and old people change during the 1930s?
Lecture Sixty-Seven
World War II—The Road to Pearl Harbor

Scope: The New Deal alone never solved the Great Depression. Only the onset of a second global war in 1939, and the immense economic demands it made on America, could do that. Hitler’s rise to power in Germany, facilitated by the faults of the Versailles treaty and the feebleness of the League of Nations, caused growing alarm in America. His astonishingly successful attacks on his European neighbors in 1939 and 1940 and his vicious anti-Jewish policies caused many Americans to seek intervention on behalf of Britain, Hitler’s sole undefeated European foe. Roosevelt was cautious. He was reelected to an unprecedented third term in November 1940 and began to give covert aid to Britain in the Atlantic antisubmarine war. He committed America to full-scale war, however, only after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, in December 1941. America’s military forces, small and unprepared for war, began to expand rapidly, but the prospect of victory appeared infinitely remote in early 1942. Meanwhile, anti-Japanese panic on the West Coast led to the mass internment of Japanese American citizens in relocation camps, one of the nation’s worst civil rights violations.

Outline

I. The United States did nothing to prevent Hitler’s rise to power in Germany.
   A. Germans nurtured an acute sense of grievance over the Versailles treaty.
   B. Hitler won the elections of 1933 and quickly cemented his position in power.
      1. He abolished the Weimar constitution.
      2. He persecuted Socialists and Jews.
   C. The League of Nations, lacking an American presence, proved powerless against aggressors in the 1930s.
      1. It was unable to prevent the Japanese invasion of China.
      2. It was unable to prevent the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

II. Hitler’s military successes in 1939 and 1940 astonished the world and alerted America to new geopolitical realities.
   A. Hitler signed a cynical alliance with the Soviet Union in 1939. It came in the wake of bitter German-Soviet conflict over the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939).
   B. Hitler overran Austria and the Sudetenland while reassuring British and French politicians.
C. *Blitzkreig* overpowered Poland, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, and France in rapid succession (1939–1940). Hitler’s innovative use of tanks and aircraft prevented the stalemate of World War I.

D. By the summer of 1940, Britain was Hitler’s only significant undefeated rival.
   1. American journalists’ news of London in the blitz and of Churchill’s resonant speeches swung more American opinion in favor of intervention.
   2. Roosevelt sent goods convoys and old destroyers to Britain on the lend-lease plan.
   3. American warships, such as the *Reuben James* (sunk in October 1941 by a German submarine), helped guard convoys to Britain when America was still nominally neutral.

III. Roosevelt moved cautiously to aid the British as the war widened but tried not to antagonize isolationists in the approach to the 1940 election.
   A. The pacifist position was popular after the First World War.
      1. Many clergy supported the Fellowship of Reconciliation.
      2. Reinhold Niebuhr argued for Protestant realism and early intervention in the war.
   B. Isolationists included the aviator-hero Charles Lindbergh and ex-President Herbert Hoover.
   C. Roosevelt defeated Wendell Willkie in November 1940.
      1. Willkie, a former Democrat, had been dismayed by the TVA and the rise of federal intervention in everyday life.
      2. His campaign, funded by private power companies, was nicknamed “the charge of the electric light brigade.”
      3. Roosevelt denied that America might go to war.
   D. Hitler attacked Russia in the summer of 1941. In the long run, it ensured his defeat.

IV. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941, finally brought America directly into the war.
   A. The Japanese government miscalculated American resolve to fight.
      1. They believed democracy had eroded the martial virtues.
      2. They anticipated American withdrawal from the Pacific theater.
   B. Pearl Harbor was a severe setback but not ultimately decisive.
      1. American aircraft carriers and submarines, which were to prove decisive in the Pacific, survived.
      2. Claims that FDR knew the attack was coming are implausible.
      3. The attack silenced isolationists.
      4. Two days later, Hitler, Japan’s ally, declared war on America.
   C. Pearl Harbor news led to an invasion scare in California and prompted the policy of interning Japanese Americans.
1. Accused of being actual or latent traitors, they were forced to sell or give away their property.
2. Most were shipped to inland internment camps.
3. Japanese American men were nevertheless expected to serve, but in the European theater.

V. Rearmament ended the Depression, while America hurried to enlarge its armed forces.
   A. In 1939, the American army was ranked about 20th in size in the world, but it began to grow rapidly with draftees and volunteers.
   B. The army discovered that many Depression-era Americans were unfit for service for want of regular medical care.
   C. It encountered a defeat in 1941 and 1942.
      1. American aircraft were destroyed on the ground in the Philippines.
      2. The Bataan garrison, besieged and without hope of relief, surrendered to a brutal captivity.
      3. General MacArthur, ordered to return to America, promised the men he had to leave behind in the Philippines that he would return.

Essential Reading:
Donald Watt, How War Came: The Immediate Origins of the Second World War.

Supplementary Reading:
Gordon Prange, At Dawn We Slept: The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor.

Questions to Consider:
1. Why did FDR delay America’s participation in World War II for so long?
2. Why did America face short-term disadvantages and long-term advantages in its conflict with Germany and Japan?
Lecture Sixty-Eight

World War II—The European Theater

Scope: Roosevelt and Churchill, believing Hitler to be the greater of their two enemies, agreed on a “Europe first” policy. Stalin urged them to split Germany’s forces by launching an early second front in Western Europe as early as the summer of 1942. Churchill, content to see the two great totalitarians tearing each another to pieces, counseled delay. American forces fought in North Africa and Italy while the Army Air Force joined the Royal Air Force in massive bomber raids against German industry. Transatlantic convoys braved submarine attacks to concentrate supplies to England, which supplied the D-Day invasion of France in June 1944. A year of hard campaigning led to the defeat of Germany, a junction with Soviet forces in central Europe, and discovery of the Holocaust’s full horror. America itself was transformed in these years into a high-wage, high-employment economy, with women taking on many jobs previously reserved for men.

Outline

I. FDR and Winston Churchill agreed to concentrate first on defeating Hitler.
   A. Soviet leader Stalin was eager to see them invade western Europe, to relieve some of the pressure on his own forces.
      1. From the summer of 1941 to the summer of 1944, the Russians faced almost the full weight of German power.
      2. America sent lend-lease aid to Russia on Arctic convoys.
      3. Churchill reminded FDR that Stalin had recently been Hitler’s ally and should not be trusted too implicitly.
   B. German fortification of the Atlantic coast made an invasion difficult. An Allied raid on Dieppe in 1942 was a bloody failure.
   C. America and Britain concentrated on air attacks against Germany.
      1. The air war was expensive in terms of men and materiel.
      2. Postwar surveys showed it to have been relatively ineffective and to have boosted the enemy’s determination to resist.
      3. Occasionally, firestorm raids would be murderously destructive.
   D. Keeping Atlantic shipping lanes open also demanded massive resources.
      1. Allied success in Europe depended on America’s ability to ship goods to Britain en masse, against determined submariners.
      2. Allied code-breakers helped swing the war in their favor.
   E. American and German soldiers first clashed in North Africa. The reconquest of North Africa was followed by an Anglo-American invasion of Sicily and Italy.
II. The second front in Europe began on D-Day (June 6, 1944), and the European war finished 11 months later.
   A. Eisenhower’s invasion force surprised the Germans by attacking Normandy, not the Calais area.
      1. Paratroopers behind enemy lines destroyed bridges to hamstring German reinforcements.
      2. Bombing and naval bombardment preceded the landing craft.
      3. Landings were nevertheless fiercely opposed, especially at Omaha Beach.
   B. The Allies built a powerful beachhead, then broke out into France.
   C. The American advance was checked in the Ardennes that winter (the battle of the Bulge) but resumed in the spring and led to the invasion and conquest of western Germany.
   D. Soviet armies rolled into Germany from the east while the “Big Three” leaders met at Yalta to decide the disposition of the postwar world.
      1. Stalin was determined not to relinquish his grip on the eastern European nations he had reclaimed from Hitler.
      2. He was embittered against Churchill and FDR for what he regarded as the tardiness of the second front.
      3. Hitler committed suicide in his bunker on April 30, 1945, and his successor, Admiral Doenitz, surrendered unconditionally a week later.

III. The war energized America, annihilated unemployment, and stimulated prodigious feats of technology and productivity.
   A. Large numbers of women worked at previously all-male tasks.
      1. A government campaign named the typical female factory worker “Rosie the Riveter.”
      2. Government and most employers regarded the women as strictly temporary employees.
      3. Marriage rates and the birth rate rose sharply—the baby boom began in 1943.
   B. Henry Kaiser developed and mass-produced Liberty Ships.
      1. He cut production time on a ship from 355 days in 1941 to 14 days in 1943.
      2. Production of aircraft, landing craft, tanks, trucks, jeeps, and other munitions grew astronomically during the war years.
   C. The war bore witness to a significant redistribution of income.
      1. High wages made a return of the depression after the war less likely.
      2. Access to basic health care meant that, even including war casualties, American life expectancy increased during World War II.
D. Hollywood made patriotic and propaganda films to keep civilian morale high. Ronald Reagan and other stars worked on propaganda projects.

Essential Reading:
Max Hastings, *Overlord*.

Supplementary Reading:
John Morton Blum, *V Was for Victory: Politics and American Culture during World War II*.
Studs Terkel, *The Good War*.

Questions to Consider:
1. At what point did victory for Hitler become impossible?
2. What were the principal sources of tension between the Allies?
Lecture Sixty-Nine
World War II—The Pacific Theater

Scope: America’s aircraft carriers had survived Pearl Harbor and became the crucial weapon of the Pacific war. The battle of Midway was the first in history in which the rival fleets never even came over each other’s horizon, being fought instead by carrier-based aircraft. American seaborne forces seized a succession of Pacific islands from which aircraft could bomb the Japanese mainland but found progress slow and enemy resistance tenacious. American forces also aided Britain in Burma and Chinese forces seeking to repel a decade-old Japanese invasion. By mid-1945, Allied victory in the Pacific was assured. Japanese refusal to surrender, and the prospect of a costly and difficult invasion of Japan itself, prompted the new president, Harry Truman, to approve the use of the war’s greatest secret weapon, the atomic bomb.

Outline

I. Aircraft carriers and island air bases were central to American Pacific war strategy.
   A. The Doolittle raid was designed as a symbolic response to Pearl Harbor.
      1. Bombers flew from the carrier *Hornet* at maximum range on April 18, 1942, to bomb Tokyo.
      2. The raid demonstrated the Japanese emperor’s vulnerability and horrified his generals.
   B. The battles of Coral Sea and Midway in the spring of 1942 showed that the Americans could meet the Japanese on equal terms.
      1. *Yorktown*, damaged at Coral Sea, was repaired in 2 days instead of 90, as its captain had expected.
      2. At Midway, the two fleets never came over each other’s horizon.
      3. Good luck enabled American dive-bombers to sink four enemy aircraft carriers in the space of five minutes.
      4. Seaborne aviators were acutely vulnerable.
   C. American forces concentrated on seizing Japanese-held islands on which air bases for attacks on Japan and its shipping lanes could be built.
      1. American air power and submarines made it increasingly difficult for Japan to resupply its dispersed island holdings.
      2. Desperate land and sea battles gave America an eventual victory at Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands and in subsequent island campaigns.
   D. The largest naval battle in history was fought at Leyte Gulf, Philippines, in October 1944.
E. American anti-Japanese propaganda created a harsh racial stereotype of the enemy.

II. As the war approached Japan itself in 1944 and 1945, Japan’s resistance became even more ferocious, even though by then, its defeat was inevitable.
   A. The American campaign against Iwo Jima suffered heavy casualties, nearly 7,000 killed and 13,000 wounded.
   B. The Okinawa campaign was worse, taking 12,000 American lives, with 50,000 more wounded.
   C. Kamikaze (suicide) aircraft wrought destruction among American invasion forces.
   D. Japan prepared a civil defense army, some of whose members were expected to fight with nothing more than bows and arrows or sticks.
   E. From November 1944, American bombing planes, supported by long-range fighters, made round-the-clock raids on Japanese industry and cities.

III. The length and ferocity of the war, and the anticipation of worse things to come in an invasion of Japan itself, were the context in which the American atom bomb was perfected and used.
   A. Enrico Fermi’s experiment at the University of Chicago in 1942 had shown that nuclear fission was possible and that it had a potential military application.
   B. The Manhattan Project enjoyed secrecy and a high government priority.
      1. General Leslie Groves organized the project, which was conducted at Hanford, Washington; Oak Ridge, Tennessee; and Los Alamos, New Mexico.
      2. J. Robert Oppenheimer led the team of physicists at Los Alamos.
   C. The first bomb, tested in the New Mexico desert on July 16, 1945, proved spectacularly successful.
   D. President Truman, elevated to office just before the end of the war in Europe, had to decide whether atomic bombs should be used against Japan.
      1. He had not been a member of Roosevelt’s inner circle and had no foreign policy experience.
      2. He shared his advisors’ belief that a conventional invasion of Japan would be costly in lives and might take years.
      3. He doubted the viability of arranging a demonstration.
   E. Truman elected to use the bomb.
      1. The first, dropped from the B-29 Enola Gay, destroyed Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. The explosion killed 70,000 people outright.
      2. The second, dropped three days later, destroyed Nagasaki.
      3. Japan surrendered on August 14, with no conditions except the preservation of their emperor.
4. American soldiers who would have participated in the invasion of Japan, and most civilians, were delighted.

5. General MacArthur accepted the formal Japanese surrender on September 2, on board the USS Missouri.

**Essential Reading:**
Ronald Spector, *Eagle against the Sun.*
John Toland, *The Rising Sun: The Decline and Fall of the Japanese Empire.*

**Supplementary Reading:**
E. B. Sledge, *With the Old Breed at Peleliu and Okinawa.*

**Questions to Consider:**
1. What challenges did the American military have to overcome in its war against Japan?
2. What factors made the debate over use of the atomic bomb difficult?
Scope: World War II did not end with a general peace treaty. The principal victors, America and the Soviet Union, disagreeing over the future of eastern Europe and ideologically hostile to each other, fell out. Britain, severely weakened by the war, signaled to President Truman that it could no longer maintain a worldwide imperial policy. He made the momentous decision not to revert to the customary American policy of isolationism but, rather, to take up the burden Britain had relinquished. A temporary dividing line drawn through Europe became permanent—Churchill described it as the “Iron Curtain.” Soviet possession of nuclear weapons by 1949 created a geopolitical stalemate. Neither side could afford to upset the balance of terror. Nuclear weapons were much cheaper to maintain than conventional armies and were, thus, attractive foundations for American defense policy. Nevertheless, their proliferation over the ensuing decades to a point of mutual assured destruction caused anxiety and an intense moral debate about their legitimacy inside the United States.

Outline

I. The victors of the Second World War could not agree about the disposition of the postwar world.
   A. Presidents Roosevelt and Truman believed that European countries liberated from Germany should hold free elections.
      1. The “Big Three” leaders met at Teheran (November 1943), Yalta (February 1945), and Potsdam (July 1945) to discuss war policy and the postwar situation.
      2. Tensions and mistrust among them were already evident before the fighting finished.
   B. Stalin was determined to create a pro-Soviet zone in eastern Europe.
      1. His armies were in place, enabling him to enforce his will.
      2. In the decades after World War II, the “Iron Curtain,” a phrase coined by Winston Churchill, became both an economic and a political dividing line.
   C. Britain’s uncertain future presented America with new international responsibilities.
      1. Winston Churchill was voted out of office during the Potsdam meeting, to be replaced by Labour Prime Minister Clement Attlee.
      2. War exhaustion prevented Britain from maintaining its world-spanning imperial role.
   D. President Truman decided to maintain an American presence in Europe rather than withdraw into isolationism.
1. America took over from the British in backing the anti-Communist regimes of Greece and Turkey in 1947.

2. An influential American diplomat, George Kennan, conceived the policy of containment to prevent the worldwide spread of Communism.


E. NATO, formed in 1949, converted Germany from enemy to ally.
   2. NATO politics, as in the Suez crisis of 1956, added complex moral dilemmas to American foreign policymaking.

II. Nuclear weapons development continued and became a decisive factor in the postwar geopolitical situation.
   A. The first Soviet atom bomb was exploded in 1949; America tested its first hydrogen bomb in 1952.

   B. Rapid escalation in the explosive power of the bombs was matched by escalation in the development of “delivery systems.”

   C. Nuclear weapons were attractive because of their comparative cheapness.
      1. Their attractions to American taxpayers were offset by their excessive power.
      2. Nuclear weapons underlay America’s deterrence policy throughout the Cold War.
      3. Nuclear war-gaming created complex logical puzzles about what might happen and how targeting should be planned. New concepts included mutual assured destruction (MAD) and overkill.

   D. Influential Americans opposed dependence on nuclear weapons.
      1. The first antinuclear movement culminated in the early 1960s.
      2. A second campaign challenged the policy in the early 1980s.

   E. The potential for nuclear-armed confrontation with the Soviet Union underlay every element of American foreign policy between World War II and 1990. Subsidiary wars in Korea and Vietnam, along with political struggles over ex-colonial Africa, all revolved around it.
Essential Reading:
David McCullough, *Truman*.

Supplementary Reading:
Michael Mandelbaum, *The Nuclear Question: The United States and Nuclear Weapons*.
Wilson Miscamble, *George Kennan and the Making of American Foreign Policy*.

Questions to Consider:
1. Did nuclear weapons make the Cold War more or less dangerous?
2. What were the effects of the Cold War on Europe and America’s relations with it?
Lecture Seventy-One

The Korean War and McCarthyism

Scope: A series of espionage cases in the late 1940s (which showed that spies may have accelerated the Soviet nuclear weapons project) heightened American fears of Communism. The Truman government began to investigate the loyalty of federal employees, whose numbers had risen sharply during the New Deal and the war, and to dismiss current or former Communists. Many businesses, including the Hollywood film industry, conducted anti-Communist purges of their own. The American decision to resist a Communist North Korean invasion of South Korea in 1950 intensified anti-Communist fears inside America and gave a demagogue, Senator Joseph McCarthy, the opportunity to exploit irrational public fears. The war bore witness to a technically brilliant campaign by General Douglas MacArthur following his invasion at Inchon. Truman nevertheless dismissed him when he exceeded his instructions and publicly advocated an attack on China that might have provoked another world war. Dwight Eisenhower, a World War II hero, ran successfully for president in 1952 and arranged a cease-fire soon after his inauguration in early 1953. Korea, along with Berlin, remained a potential flash-point throughout the following decades. The end of the fighting mitigated anti-Communist fears at home. Senator McCarthy’s rash attack on alleged Communists in the U.S. Army itself discredited him.

Outline

I. Rapid changes in the world situation during the late 1940s contributed to fears that Communist espionage had undermined American security.
   A. The Soviet Union’s completion of its own atomic bomb in 1949, sooner than the Americans had expected, was attributable partly to spies. Two among them, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, were sentenced to death and executed in 1953.

   B. Mao’s Chinese revolution in 1949 and the defeat of Chiang Kai Shek, America’s client, intensified fears about internal loyalty.
      1. Rival Chinese armies under Chiang and Mao had postponed their enmity to fight the Japanese invasion during the 1930s and 1940s.
      2. American postwar aid to Chiang could not promote mass Chinese loyalty to his cause.
      3. He retreated to Taiwan and defended it with the help of the U.S. Navy.
      4. Anti-Communist Republicans in Congress denounced Truman for the “loss of China.”
C. The Truman administration instituted background checks on federal employees in 1947, searching for Communist infiltrators.
1. The Alger Hiss case indicated the presence of Communists in important government positions.
2. American Communism had enjoyed a brief period of support during the Great Depression.
3. Loyalty investigations by federal and state governments, and within industries, often compelled former Communists to redeem themselves by identifying former associates: “naming names.”

II. The Korean War intensified domestic fears of Communism.
A. Containment policy was put to the test when Kim Il-Sung, North Korea’s Communist dictator, invaded South Korea in June 1950.
1. Korea had been conquered by Japan and partitioned at the 38th parallel by America and the Soviet Union at the war’s end.
2. A speech by Secretary of State Dean Acheson appeared to exclude Korea from the nations under American protection.

B. President Truman decided almost at once to support Syngman Rhee, anti-Communist dictator of South Korea.
1. A Soviet boycott of the United Nations Security Council (because of its refusal to seat a Chinese Communist member) enabled Truman to get unanimous Security Council support of U.N. action against North Korean aggression.
2. General Douglas MacArthur took command of the American invasion.
3. The Inchon landings, in September of 1950, were a brilliant strategic success.

C. MacArthur expelled the invaders and went over to the offensive by invading North Korea.

D. His success prompted Mao to commit Chinese forces to the war.
1. Their counterattack in November 1950 forced American troops into retreat.
2. MacArthur advocated direct attacks on China, in pursuit of total victory.
3. General Omar Bradley and the Joint Chiefs of Staff disagreed, fearing Russian entry into the war and nuclear escalation.

E. MacArthur’s public challenge to Truman’s orders prompted the president to dismiss him as commander.
1. General Matthew Ridgway assumed command and stabilized the military situation.
2. Congressional Republicans lionized MacArthur in their campaign against the Truman government.
3. Truce negotiations began in July 1951, but fighting continued.
4. The war continued until early 1953 when a new president, Eisenhower, arranged a truce that held for the next half century.
Thirty-three thousand Americans—and two million Koreans—died.

III. Anti-Communist fears and the Korean War provided the conditions in which Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wisconsin) was able to make reckless allegations of disloyalty in high places.

A. A former judge and non-combat war veteran, McCarthy needed a high-profile issue to ensure reelection. He had falsely claimed to be a decorated ex-aviator when he first ran for the Senate in 1946.

B. In a February 1950 speech, he claimed that Truman had failed to dismiss hundreds of “known Communists” in the State Department.

C. His theatrical displays at the Senate Subcommittee on Investigations kept his adversaries on the defensive.
   1. Press and popular enthusiasm for his charges discouraged other Republicans from restraining or contradicting him.
   2. His defenders argued that he was right on the big question: that America must think of itself as being at war against Communism.

D. He overstepped the bounds of credibility by attacking the U.S. Army.
   1. The Army-McCarthy hearings (1954) were televised, enabling large numbers of citizens to witness his overbearing tactics firsthand.
   2. The Senate passed a motion of censure against him in 1954.

Essential Reading:
Max Hastings, *The Korean War*.

Supplementary Reading:
Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War*.
Allen Weinstein, *Perjury: The Hiss-Chambers Case*.

Questions to Consider:
1. Why were Americans’ fears of Communism so intense in the late 1940s and early 1950s?
2. How did America’s role in the Korean War differ from its role in the Second World War?
Lecture Seventy-Two
The Affluent Society

Scope: World War II had witnessed a dramatic redistribution of income throughout society. Good wages, full employment, and generous veterans’ benefits for the millions who had served in the war contributed to a transformation of everyday life in America. High incomes and widespread possession of cars among working people enabled them to buy houses in the proliferating new suburbs. Their high fertility rate created the baby boom. Consumer-goods manufacturers and advertisers took advantage of steady rises in available discretionary income. America sprawled in the 1950s and became incomparably the wealthiest society in the entire history of the world. Anxiety about the Cold War peril was offset by domestic luxury and a sense of almost boundless technologically enhanced possibilities for the future. The Soviet Union’s surprise victory in the space race (1957) led to a new American dedication to education in science and technology. Economist John Kenneth Galbraith’s *The Affluent Society* (1957), which gave a name to the era, reminded Americans that they had not yet achieved “social balance” in the expenditure of their newfound national wealth.

Outline

I. Income was more widely distributed after World War II than before and contributed to a sustained economic boom.
   A. The GI Bill enabled veterans to gain low-cost education and mortgages.
      1. Congress passed the act unanimously in 1944.
      2. It dramatically raised the number of Americans graduating from college every year, from 160,000 graduates in the 1930s to half a million per year in 1950.
   B. Levittown and other mass-produced suburbs contributed to suburban sprawl.
      2. Sunbelt cities, such as San Diego, Los Angeles, and Miami, were urban areas of low population density, built around their highway systems and made feasible by air conditioning.
   C. Baby-boom children of the late 1940s and 1950s enjoyed more luxurious circumstances than any previous American generation.
      1. America’s population rose from 140 million in 1945 to 200 million in 1967.
2. Childhood and adolescence became distinct categories for marketing, entertainment, and psychologists. Disneyland (1955) is a prime example.

3. The rise of Las Vegas speaks to the amount of surplus money generated by the postwar American economy.

D. Citizens’ mobility increased.
   1. Possession of automobiles became almost universal.
   2. Building the interstate highway system stimulated the 1950s economy.
   3. Mass air travel began to displace the railroads.

E. High employment and high wages enabled most homeowning families to rely on single earners.
   1. The military-industrial complex contributed to economic buoyancy.
   2. The rapid spread of consumer credit facilitated this luxurious life.

II. Anxiety accompanied the new affluence.
   A. The shadow of nuclear war tempered national optimism.
      1. Children practiced civil defense drills against nuclear attack.
      2. Journalists and ministers debated the ethics of defending one’s personal nuclear fallout shelters against negligent neighbors.

   B. Intellectuals worried about a tendency to excessive conformity.
      1. Influential books, such as David Reisman’s The Lonely Crowd (1950), argued that American individualism was in decline.
      2. Other social critics feared that advertising now obscured Americans’ view of reality.
      3. American prisoners of war in Korea proved vulnerable to brainwashing.

   C. Parents worried about their children’s future in a complex world.
      1. One concern was the incidence of juvenile delinquency, depicted in such films as Rebel Without a Cause (1955) and The Wild One (1953).
      2. American public education did not seem equal to the era’s technical and political challenges.

III. American culture nevertheless enjoyed greater worldwide prestige than ever before.
   A. American literature no longer deferred to European masters. Norman Mailer, Saul Bellow, Ralph Ellison, Arthur Miller, and others were authors of the first rank.

   B. New York became the capital of the art world.
      1. Abstract Expressionism, then Pop Art, were American-led movements in painting.
C. American corporations dominated the world: among them Coca-Cola, Kodak, GM, Ford, Levi’s, Exxon, I.T.T.
D. American universities enjoyed a golden age of expansion, funding, and respect in the 1945–1965 era.
E. Galbraith’s *The Affluent Society* (1957) gave a name to the era and pointed out many of its strengths and weaknesses.

**Essential Reading:**
David Reisman et al., *The Lonely Crowd.*

**Supplementary Reading:**
Richard Pells, *The Liberal Mind in a Conservative Age.*
David Halberstam, *The Fifties.*

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Why did an apparently successful situation create such a vigorous intellectual backlash?
2. What were the sources of sustained postwar prosperity?
Timeline

1869 ................................................Completion of the first transcontinental railroad.
1869 ................................................Completion of the Suez Canal.
1873 ................................................Invention of barbed wire (which made fencing of the Great Plains possible).
1876 ................................................Battle of the Little Bighorn; death of General Custer.
1876 ................................................Invention of the telephone by Alexander Graham Bell.
1877 ................................................Great Railroad Strike.
1879 ................................................Invention of the light bulb by Edison.
1880 ................................................Election of President James Garfield (Rep.).
1881 ................................................Assassination of President Garfield by a disappointed job-seeker, Guiteau; Vice President Chester Arthur becomes president.
1884 ................................................Election of President Grover Cleveland (Dem.).
1886 ................................................Founding of the American Federation of Labor.
1886 ................................................Haymarket (Chicago) anarchist bombing.
1888 ................................................Election of President Benjamin Harrison (Rep.).
1889 ................................................Jane Addams founds Hull House.
1890 ................................................U.S. Census announces the closing of the frontier.
1892 ................................................Election of President Grover Cleveland (Dem.).
1892 ................................................Homestead Strike, Pennsylvania.
1894 ................................................Pullman Strike, Illinois.
1896 ................................................Supreme Court decision in Plessy v. Ferguson upholds racial segregation laws.
1896 ................................................Election of President William McKinley (R.) over William Jennings Bryan (D. and Populist).
1898 ................................................U.S. war against Spain in Cuba and the
Philippines; Theodore Roosevelt victorious
on San Juan Hill.

1900 ................................................Reelection of President McKinley, with
Theodore Roosevelt as vice president.

1901 ................................................Assassination of President McKinley by
anarchist Czolgosz. Vice President
Roosevelt becomes president.

1903 ................................................Wright Brothers’ first flight.

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1904 ................................................Reelection of President Theodore Roosevelt.

1906 ................................................San Francisco earthquake.

1906 ................................................Publication of Upton Sinclair’s The Jungle.

1908 ................................................Election of President William Howard Taft
(R.).

1908 ................................................Henry Ford builds the prototype Model T.

1912 ................................................Election of President Woodrow Wilson (D.)
over Taft and Roosevelt (Progressive).

1914 ................................................Completion (by American companies) and
opening of the Panama Canal.

1914 ................................................World War I begins in Europe.

1915 ................................................German submarine sinks the Lusitania;
Wilson protests to Germany and W. J. Bryan
resigns as secretary of state.

1916 ................................................Wilson reelected under the slogan “He kept
us out of war.”

1917 ................................................German declaration of unrestricted
submarine warfare prompts American entry
into the war.

1917 ................................................Russian Revolution; Bolsheviks, led by
Vladimir Lenin, seize power.

1918 ................................................American forces on the Western Front
contribute to Allied victory in World War I.

1919 ................................................President Wilson at the Treaty of Versailles
is unable to prevent a vengeful, anti-German
settlement. U.S. Senate refuses to participate
in League of Nations.
1919 ................................................Constitutional Amendments give votes to women and prohibit alcohol.

1920 ................................................Election of President Warren G. Harding (R.).

1921 ................................................Commercial radio broadcasting begins.

1921 (and 1924) ..............................Congress passes restrictive legislation against immigration.

1923 ................................................President Harding dies in office. Vice President Calvin Coolidge becomes president.

1924 ................................................Reelection of President Coolidge.

1925 ................................................Scopes “Monkey Trial” upholds Tennessee law against teaching evolution in schools.

1925 ................................................Supreme Court decision in *Pierce v. Society of Sisters* upholds constitutional right to private education.

1927 ................................................Charles Lindbergh makes first solo transatlantic flight in the *Spirit of St. Louis*.

1928 ................................................Election of President Herbert Hoover (R.) over Al Smith (D.), America’s first Catholic presidential candidate.

1929 ................................................Wall Street Crash.

1932 ................................................Election of President Franklin Roosevelt (D.) over Hoover.

1933 ................................................First 100 days of the New Deal creates powerful new federal agencies.

1933 ................................................Adolf Hitler elected to German leadership.


1935 ................................................Supreme Court decision in *Schechter v. United States* overturns crucial New Deal legislation.

1936 ................................................President Roosevelt reelected over Alf Landon (R.).

1937 ................................................Failure of Roosevelt’s “court-packing” plan.

1939 ................................................Hitler’s Germany invades Poland: World War II begins.
1940 ................................................President Roosevelt reelected over Wendell Willkie (R.).
1941 (summer) ...............................Hitler’s invasion of the Soviet Union.
1941 (December) ............................Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor brings United States into the war against Germany and Japan.
1942 ................................................Battle of Midway, first significant American military success of World War II.
1943 ................................................American forces participate in Allied invasion of Sicily and Italy.
1944 ................................................Allied invasion of France (D-Day), led by General Dwight Eisenhower.
1944 (November) ............................Reelection of President Roosevelt over Thomas Dewey (R.).
1945 (April) .................................Death of President Roosevelt. Vice President Harry Truman becomes president.
1945 (May) .....................................Unconditional German surrender ends war in Europe.
1945 (August) .................................Atomic bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki end war in Asia.
1946 ................................................Allied deadlock over the future of Eastern Europe begins Cold War.
1948 ................................................Reelection of President Truman over Dewey (R.), Henry Wallace (Progressive), and Strom Thurmond (Dixiecrat).
1950 ................................................Korean War begins.
1950 ................................................Senator Joseph McCarthy’s accusations intensify American anti-Communism.
1952 ................................................President Dwight Eisenhower (R.) elected over Adlai Stevenson (D.).
1953 ................................................Truce ends fighting in Korea.
1954 ................................................Supreme Court’s decision in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas condemns racial segregation in education.
1955 ................................................Martin Luther King, Jr., leads Montgomery bus boycott against segregated city transportation.
1956 ................................................Reelection of President Eisenhower over Stevenson.

1957 ................................................Soviet launch of Sputnik inaugurates the “space race.”

1960 ................................................Election of President John F. Kennedy (D.), America’s first Catholic president, over Richard Nixon (R.).

1962 ................................................Cuban missile crisis.

1963 ................................................Assassination of President Kennedy by Lee Harvey Oswald. Vice President Lyndon Johnson becomes president.

1964 ................................................Gulf of Tonkin incident escalates American role in Vietnam.

1964 ................................................Reelection of President Johnson over Barry Goldwater (R.).

1964 and 1965.................................Legislation on civil rights, voting rights, and immigration abolishes all forms of government-sponsored racial discrimination.

1967 ................................................Hippie “summer of love” in San Francisco Haight-Ashbury district.

1968 ................................................Tet offensive further undermines American credibility in Vietnam.

1968 ................................................Assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr., and Robert Kennedy; urban rioting.

1968 ................................................Election of President Richard Nixon (R.) over Hubert Humphrey (D.).

1969 ................................................Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin, the first men on the moon.


1972 ................................................President Nixon visits China and opens diplomatic contacts.

1972 ................................................Reelection of President Nixon over George McGovern (D.).
1973 .................................................. American military withdrawal from Vietnam completed.

1974 .................................................. President Nixon forced to resign over Watergate scandal. Vice President Gerald Ford becomes president.

1976 .................................................. Election of President Jimmy Carter (D.) over Ford.

1977 .................................................. Opening of trans-Alaska pipeline.

1978 .................................................. President Carter brokers Camp David Peace Accords between Israel and Egypt.

1979 .................................................. Accident at Three Mile Island nuclear power station.

1979 .................................................. American embassy staff in Teheran, Iran, imprisoned by revolutionary students.


1980 .................................................. Election of President Ronald Reagan (R.) over Carter.

1981 .................................................. Reagan military escalation intensifies Cold War.

1984 .................................................. President Reagan reelected over Walter Mondale (D.), whose running mate, Geraldine Ferraro, was the first major-party female candidate in U.S. history.

1986 .................................................. Soviet Premier Gorbachev attempts radical internal reforms, glasnost and perestroika.

1987 .................................................. Congressional investigation of the Iran-Contra scandal.

1988 .................................................. Election of President George Bush, Sr., over Michael Dukakis (D.).


1990 .................................................. Iraq invades Kuwait and creates an emergency for the “New World Order.”

1991 .................................................. U.N. forces led by the United States eject Iraqi forces from Kuwait in the Gulf War.
1991 ................................................Soviet Union collapses. Democracy established in Russia.

1992 ................................................Election of President Bill Clinton (D.) over George Bush, Sr..

1995 ................................................Attack on federal building in Oklahoma City.

1996 ................................................Reelection of President Clinton over Bob Dole (R.)

2000 ................................................Election of President George W. Bush, Jr., (R.) over Al Gore (D.) by narrowest possible margin.

2001 ................................................Al Qaeda attack on World Trade Center and Pentagon.


2003 ................................................U.S. and coalition forces fight in Iraq.
Glossary

**Affirmative action**: Government policies designed after the civil rights laws of 1965 to achieve actual racial integration by setting aside places in schools and workplaces for racial minorities and women.

**Agrarianism**: The belief that farmers are the most important element in the nation and that government policy should be more attentive to their interests than those of any other element.

**Anarchism**: The belief that government and capitalism are always oppressive and should be abolished. Some American anarchists in the 1880–1920 era, notably Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, believed that violence in pursuit of these ends was justifiable.

**Anti-Communism**: The belief that Communism poses a mortal threat to America and that legal measures at home and military measures abroad are necessary to thwart it. Anti-Communism was the central informing idea of American policy from 1946–1990.

**Black Power**: Advocacy of black political assertion and rejection of Martin Luther King’s pacifist and integrationist ideals by a second generation of civil rights activists after about 1965. Malcolm X was its most well-known advocate.

**Bull Moose**: Nickname for Theodore Roosevelt’s Progressive Party in the election of 1912.

**Busing**: Moving public school children from one district to another to achieve actual racial integration in education (the policy prevailed between the 1970s and 1990s but had been abandoned by 2000).

**Conservative**: A politician, intellectual, or citizen who believes in conserving society’s main institutions and principles. American conservatism has always been paradoxical because the nation’s commercial dynamism has made it change more rapidly than virtually all others in the world. American conservatives in the 20th century supported capitalism and opposed liberalism and Communism.

**Containment**: The theoretical basis of America’s Cold War-era defense policy; deterring and preventing Soviet aggression wherever it appeared, diplomatically if possible but with the threat of nuclear strikes if necessary.

**Ecumenism**: The belief—widespread in 20th-century America—that different religious groups can coexist and that they should cooperate.

**Evil Empire**: President Reagan’s name for the Soviet Union and its satellites in the early 1980s. Advocates of peaceful coexistence criticized such provocative language.

**Feminism**: The belief that society ought not to make invidious distinctions between men and women and ought not to deny education, work, or other
opportunities to women because of their gender. Early 20th-century feminism was dedicated chiefly to women’s suffrage; late-20th-century feminism, to jobs and educational equality.

**Free silver:** The belief, common among farmers in the late 19th century, that silver, as well as gold, should be the basis of American currency, a policy that would have been inflationary and would have tended to increase farm incomes. Free silver was the central economic issue of the 1896 election.

**Fundamentalism:** The religion of conservative American Protestants who opposed the intellectual developments in science and comparative religion of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Fundamentalists continued to assert the inerrancy (perfect accuracy) of all the Bible, which led them to reject evolutionary theory and ecumenism.

**Germany First:** American policy in World War II, based on the recognition that Germany, the greater military and industrial threat, should be attacked and defeated before Japan.

**Imperialism:** The policy, common among Western European powers in the late 19th century, of conquering African and Asian nations. Influential turn-of-the-century politicians in America, including Theodore Roosevelt, favored a comparable policy after the Spanish-American War, and the idea influenced America’s role in the Philippines, Cuba, and Latin America.

**Integrationist:** A black or white advocate of racial integration.

**Interchangeability:** Manufacture of identical parts, first fully achieved in the bicycle industry, which was essential to mass production.

**Isolationism:** The belief that American 20th-century foreign policy should carry on the 19th-century tradition of disengagement from European affairs. Americans who opposed participation in World War II between 1939 and Pearl Harbor (1941), including aviation hero Charles Lindbergh and ex-president Herbert Hoover, were labeled isolationists.

**Liberal:** In the 19th century, a politician, intellectual, or citizen who believed in human equality, free institutions, and a free-market economy, while opposing inherited privilege and hierarchy. The word’s American meaning shifted in the 1930s to signify a supporter of the New Deal and a stronger government role in combating poverty and social vulnerability.

**Libertarian:** Advocate of an extreme form of 19th-century “classical” liberalism, taking the view that the entire economy should be privatized and that government’s role should be minimal.

**Massive resistance:** The declared policy of white southern congressmen and senators after the *Brown* case (1954), who threatened absolute non-cooperation with the federal government and judiciary in their policy of racial integration.
**Massive retaliation**: The Eisenhower-era defense policy, which economized on conventional forces by relying on the threat of nuclear retaliation against Soviet aggression.

**New Freedom and New Nationalism**: The economic policy proposals of Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, respectively, in the 1912 election campaign. Wilson’s New Freedom sought to restore free competition in each industry by breaking up monopolies and oligopolies. Roosevelt’s New Nationalism accepted the existence of economic giants but advocated their close regulation by government.

**Overkill**: The ability of the world’s nuclear weapons stockpiles to kill the world’s entire population more than once; a situation already in existence by the mid-1960s.

**Political correctness**: The social orthodoxy of late-20th-century America. The term meant to favor feminism, affirmative action, gay rights, and abortion rights and to condemn humor that satirized any social, ethnic, or racial group, especially if it was disadvantaged. Influential, especially on college campuses; opponents saw it as antithetical to freedom of thought, expression, and speech.

**Populist**: A supporter of the People’s Party in the 1890s, advocating agrarian and free silver policies. More generally, populism is support for “the people” against “the experts” or “the intellectuals.” Politicians with a populist image included Huey Long, Joe McCarthy, and George Wallace.

**Progressive**: An early 20th-century advocate of political and social reforms, emphasizing democratic accountability, efficiency, and the application of rationality and expertise to all problems. By 1912, nearly all politicians claimed to be Progressives.

**Spin**: Techniques for manipulating and interpreting the news so that, whatever its content, it can be made to reflect favorably on one’s own group. “Spin-doctors” became a central feature of political life in the late 20th century.

**Temperance**: Originally the word meant moderation in drinking, but it had come to mean complete abstinence from alcohol by the late 19th century. National temperance was the objective of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and other lobbies for a prohibition amendment to the Constitution.

**Trust**: Early 20th-century name for a monopoly or a price-fixing agreement between the biggest companies in an industry. Antitrust legislation from 1890 was designed to prevent trusts from forming or to prosecute those that did form, if they acted in restraint of competition and free trade.
Biographical Notes

**Jane Addams** (1860–1935). Progressive reformer and founder of Hull House social settlement. Addams suffered from psychosomatic illnesses in her youth and sought an outlet in philanthropic, socially useful work. Reluctant to marry and live the parasitic life of an upper-middle-class woman, she was impressed by the British settlement house movement, which brought privileged young men and women into the slums of London. She bought Hull House in the midst of a poor, working-class Chicago district in 1889 and turned it into a shelter, day-care center, and educational resource, living and working there for the rest of her life. Hull House helped generations of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe to adapt to American city life, and it lobbied the city government on their behalf, attempting to rid it of corrupt machine politicians. It also served as a high-pressure training school for middle-class women in the temperance, suffrage, and social work movements, with many of its alumnae becoming nationally important figures in their own right. Addams helped incipient trade unions in the area and created a Labor Museum, as well. She respected and tried to preserve the folkways, languages, and cultures of immigrant groups, and she was among the founders of the American Civil Liberties Union. She became a nationally famous peace advocate during World War I and won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931.

**Louis Brandeis** (1856–1941). First Jewish member of the Supreme Court. Born to Czech immigrant parents in Louisville, Kentucky, Brandeis excelled as a student, graduating at the head of his Harvard Law School class at age 21. He created a successful practice in Boston and became interested in public interest questions, as well as profitable cases. His “Brandeis Brief,” first tried in *Muller v. Oregon* (1908), used not only legal information but also sociological and medical evidence in support of a law restricting women to an eight-hour work day. A friend of trade unions and women’s rights and a tenacious courtroom critic of monopoly businesses, he became an economic policy advisor to Woodrow Wilson. Wilson appointed him to the Supreme Court in 1916, where he served with distinction until his retirement in 1939. He opposed the repressive Espionage Act during World War I and maintained a distinguished record on civil liberties through the 1920s. He was, however, one of the justices who enraged President Franklin Roosevelt by concluding that such New Deal initiatives as the National Recovery Administration exceeded the limits of the Constitution.

**Andrew Carnegie** (1835–1919). Poor Scottish immigrant who became a steel manufacturer and philanthropist. Son of a poor handloom weaver, Carnegie came to America at age 13 and became a cotton factory worker, then a railroad messenger boy. Self-educated and an avid reader, he soon learned how to seize business opportunities and invest his savings, making small amounts increase dramatically. By the end of the Civil War, he was a senior railroad employee but left to start his own company in the metal bridge business. As the American railroad network continued to spread nationwide, Carnegie’s steel factories in
the Pittsburgh area provided the raw iron and steel, eventually making him one of the richest men in America. The bitter Homestead Strike of 1892 took place at his factories; he was doggedly opposed to trade unions. He sold out at the end of the century to J. P. Morgan, who used Carnegie’s factories as the basis of the U.S. Steel Corporation. Carnegie wrote in *The Gospel of Wealth* (1889) that rich men should use their wealth for the public good, and he gave away more than $350 million in his lifetime. The most famous of his charities was the building of public libraries in Britain and America, giving access to books to the thousands of working people for whom they were otherwise out of reach.

**Hillary Clinton** (b. 1947). The first First Lady to piggyback on her husband’s political career and create one of her own. Raised in Park Ridge, Illinois, Hillary Rodham became an outstanding student at Wellesley College (Massachusetts) and Yale Law School in the late 1960s. She served on the staff of the Watergate-era Judiciary Committee in Congress; then, after President Nixon’s resignation, she went to Arkansas to marry Bill Clinton, whom she had met in law school. He became governor of the state in 1978, and she became a practicing lawyer, law school professor, and the state’s First Lady, involving herself in educational and children’s affairs. Clinton’s election to the presidency in 1992 brought her into the national spotlight where, more than any previous First Lady, she sought a substantive policy-making role. She chaired a task force on national health care reform but was unable to bring to fruition her plans for an American national health service. During her husband’s second administration, she had to endure the humiliating evidence of his infidelity with White House intern Monica Lewinsky. She stuck by him during his own impeachment crisis, but they separated when his term in office ended, by which time she had been elected New York’s junior senator in the election of 2000.

**Thomas Edison** (1847–1931). America’s most prolific inventor, who eventually held more than a thousand patents. The Ohio-born son of a carpenter, Edison became a railroad messenger at age 12, learned how to operate the telegraph, and began inventing devices to improve the quality and speed of telegraphy. After six years on the railroads, traveling the Midwest and Canada, Edison became an independent inventor, moving in 1876 to Menlo Park, New Jersey, where he spent the next 10 years, working systematically on new inventions. He moved again to a bigger lab in West Orange, New Jersey, in 1886, where he employed a staff of 60 assistants. Among his most important inventions were the incandescent electric light bulb, the phonograph (earliest device for recording music), and several elements of moving photography, including the world’s first “talkie” in 1913. Recognizing the transforming possibilities of electricity, he established a generating company for Manhattan in 1882, with the backing of several major financiers who had learned to trust, and invest heavily in, his innovations. He also improved telephones, batteries, and duplication machines, becoming, in his later years, a living legend of inventiveness and ingenuity.

**Dwight Eisenhower** (1890–1969). Victorious World War II general and 34th president. A career army officer from Abilene, Kansas, Eisenhower graduated from West Point in 1916 but did not see action in World War I. He was an
outstanding staff officer, however, and drew the favorable attention of Douglas MacArthur and other senior officers. He worked with MacArthur in the Philippines in the 1930s but was recalled to America after Pearl Harbor. Eisenhower led the American invasion of North Africa in 1942 and was supreme Allied Commander for the D-Day invasion of Normandy in 1944, showing great political skill, as well as logistical and strategic brilliance. His success made him one of the great heroes of the war and an attractive candidate to both political parties in the early Cold War years. With no prior political record, he could have accepted either bid but chose the Republicans and ran successfully in the election of 1952 against Adlai Stevenson. As president, Eisenhower cultivated the impression of being less intelligent than he really was, delegated effectively to a powerful staff, and found time for almost daily golf. He presided over many of the tensest years of the Cold War but had a realistic sense, from his military years, of what the nation could and could not do in the face of a nuclear-armed enemy. He helped create a truce in Korea and resisted the temptation to escalate in Vietnam, meanwhile presiding over boom conditions at home. Reelected in 1956 despite a serious heart attack, he acted cautiously to aid the Civil Rights movement and, on his retirement from office after the 1960 election, warned Americans about the potential hazards of an over-mighty “military-industrial complex.”

**Henry Ford** (1863–1947). First manufacturer of cheap, mass-produced cars.

Ford, the son of Irish immigrant parents in Michigan, was among the earliest Americans to study internal combustion engines and automobiles. He built his own first car in 1896, founded his company in 1903, and introduced the immortal Model T in 1908. He continued to build the same model between then and 1927, switching to the moving assembly line method in 1913, first, at Highland Park and, later, at an even larger factory in River Rouge, Michigan. To ensure workers’ loyalty despite the job’s boredom, he paid them $5 per day, far higher than industrial wages elsewhere. When General Motors and Chrysler began to challenge his dominance of the business, he shut down for five months in 1927, retooling to produce the Model A. Dictatorial and intolerant, he spied on workers who attempted to unionize in the 1930s and never really relinquished power to his son Edsel, who was nominal chief from 1919. Among his many interests and obsessions were industrial history (he founded a museum and named it after Edison, whom he had known as a teenager) and an exaggerated fear of Jewish power.

**Betty Friedan** (b. 1921). Author of *The Feminine Mystique* and founder of the National Organization of Women (NOW). Betty Goldstein (her maiden name) was an enthusiastic leftist during the 1930s and 1940s but, after college at Smith, she attempted to settle down with her new husband to suburban middle-class life. Finding it stifling and discovering that many of her former college friends felt the same way, she published *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963. Vigorous and scathing, it denounced the values and assumptions that directed American women into motherhood and home building. It became an immense bestseller. Friedan cofounded NOW in 1966 to lobby against gender
discrimination in legislation, pay, and work; under her powerful guidance, it became an effective lobby. Her stormy, violent marriage ended in 1969, and she feuded with other central figures in the new feminism, notably Bella Abzug and Gloria Steinem. Her later work included campaigning for the Equal Rights Amendment, contradicting some radical feminists’ claim that lesbianism was superior to heterosexuality, and advocacy (in *The Fountain of Age* [1993]) on behalf of elderly people.

**Bill Gates** (b. 1955). High-tech business wizard, head of Microsoft, and multi-billionaire. Gates, son of a Seattle attorney and a schoolteacher, became a computer enthusiast in his early teens and was already building innovative software systems as a Harvard freshman in the early 1970s. He dropped out of Harvard as a junior and founded Microsoft in 1975, building software that shrewdly anticipated the coming of personal computers. Constant dedication to company growth and to innovative research and development enabled him to dominate the field by the late 1980s and to pioneer the Internet boom. In the 1990s, government regulators who regarded him as a monopolist prosecuted Gates for violation of the antitrust statutes. He generated popular good will, however, with philanthropy on a massive scale, donating $800 million to education, libraries, public health, and the arts, establishing a foundation that at once became one of the world’s most munificent. His book on his experiences and the computer industry, *The Road Ahead* (1995), became a bestseller and, by 2000, he was almost certainly the richest man in the world.

**Emma Goldman** (1869–1940). Russian immigrant who advocated anarchism, feminism, and free love. Born and raised in Russia, Goldman migrated to America as a teenager and worked in clothing-trade sweatshops in Rochester and New York. After the 1886 Haymarket bombing, she joined the anarchists and made passionate public speeches urging the overthrow of capitalism. She was deeply attached to Alexander Berkmann, another anarchist immigrant, and supported his decision to attempt the assassination of Henry Clay Frick for his anti-union tactics at Homestead during the bitter steelworkers’ strike of 1892. She even tried to raise money to buy him a gun and train fare by becoming a prostitute, but her first potential customer told her that she was unsuited to the business. Berkmann wounded but did not kill Frick and went to prison for 14 years. Goldman became an advocate of birth control for working-class women, made speeches on behalf of the idea, and was also imprisoned for it, because it violated the Comstock Acts against public indecency. When America joined the First World War in 1917, she and Berkmann spoke against American involvement in a capitalist war. Arrested again, they were deported and spent the years from 1917 to 1921 in Russia, where they witnessed (and were disillusioned by) the early years of the Russian Revolution. As anarchists, they were opposed to all forms of government and soon found that Lenin and Trotsky’s Bolsheviks favored a strong and repressive state. Goldman spent her later years partly in Britain, partly touring and speaking—she even went to Spain at the outbreak of its civil war in 1936 to speak on behalf of the anarchist forces there.
Samuel Gompers (1850–1924). Immigrant cigar maker and trade unionist who became the president of the American Federation of Labor. Born in London to Dutch parents, he emigrated to America at the age of 13. Gompers worked in the cigar-making trade, which flourished in thousands of New York sweatshops. Becoming a trade unionist, he represented the Cigar Makers’ Union at early efforts to create an association of trade unions and, in 1886, played a leading role in founding the American Federation of Labor, remaining its president from then until his death except for one “sabbatical” year, 1895. A pragmatic, down-to-earth workingman, he avoided radical politics and concentrated on his member unions’ efforts to bargain for better pay, shorter hours, and safe, sanitary working conditions. His leadership skills enabled the AFL to gain a membership of over a million by 1890 and to continue its growth through the early 20th century. He concentrated on skilled workers who could not easily be replaced by strikebreakers and, therefore, had greater bargaining leverage against their employers. Admired on both sides of the negotiating table, Gompers often gave testimony in Congress, joined civic groups, and became a member of President Wilson’s Council of National Defense during World War I. He attended the Versailles Peace Treaty negotiations as a member of the Commission on International Labor Legislation.

Billy Graham (b. 1918). Evangelical revival preacher. Raised on a farm in North Carolina, Billy Graham attended a series of Bible colleges and earned a reputation for magnetic preaching. With Youth for Christ International, he spoke at youth rallies in the later days of World War II and gained national recognition among evangelicals for his preaching gifts. Henry Luce’s decision to publicize his Los Angeles revival in 1949 made him famous beyond the evangelical subculture and, throughout the rest of the century, he remained one of the most famous men in America. Unlike many fundamentalist contemporaries, he preached love, compassion, and understanding more than fire and brimstone. He deplored divisions among the Protestant churches and tried to diminish them rather than insist on theological purity. President Truman thought him a charlatan, but every subsequent occupant of the White House cultivated Graham—he was a particular favorite of Presidents Eisenhower and Nixon. When other evangelical preachers, such as Jim Bakker and Jimmy Swaggart, were damaged by sex and money scandals, Graham remained unblemished. The end of the Cold War enabled him to take his revival meetings even to Russia.

Herbert Hoover (1874–1964). Thirty-first president whose heroic reputation was destroyed by his inability to halt the Great Depression. Hoover, born in Iowa but raised by relatives in Oregon, graduated from Stanford in 1891 as a mining engineer. He spent most of his 20s and 30s in China, Australia, and other parts of the developing world, becoming rich and widely respected as an engineer. He was in Europe when World War I began and supervised the evacuation of Americans from France. During the war, he worked to bring famine relief to Belgians caught between the lines, and when the war ended, he organized emergency food supplies to the starving people of Germany, central Europe, and Russia. Highly regarded as a philanthropist, businessman, and
statesman, he occupied senior cabinet positions under Presidents Harding and Coolidge, becoming the Republican Party’s presidential candidate in 1928. He won easily over America’s first major-party Catholic candidate, Al Smith, but soon after his inauguration, was confronted by the Wall Street Crash and the slide into economic depression. Hoover believed strongly in the traditional American virtues of self-discipline and self-help and was reluctant to get the federal government involved in poverty relief. The scale of the Depression, however, made his remedial alternatives seem ineffective to the point of insensitivity, and he was swept out of office in the election of 1932, disliked and discredited. Poor shantytown dwellers nicknamed their hovels “Hoovervilles.” He became an outspoken critic of the New Deal’s statist policies in the 1930s and was an isolationist in the early years of World War II but returned to favor in the late 1940s and early 1950s as chair of a commission to rationalize the government’s executive departments.

**Martin Luther King, Jr.** (1929–1968). Leader of the nonviolent phase of the Civil Rights movement, and a Nobel Peace Prize winner. King, son and grandson of Atlanta ministers, was educated at Morehouse College near his home, then at Crozer Theological Seminary (Pennsylvania) and Boston University. Accepting a call to the ministry at Dexter Road Baptist Church in segregated Montgomery, Alabama, he arrived in 1954 and, a year later, became leader of the Montgomery bus boycott. Its success, and his eloquence as spokesman for the movement, catapulted him to national fame. Skilled in the manipulation of the media, he knew how to provoke racist law-enforcement officials into attacking his peaceful demonstrations and was willing to suffer assault and imprisonment to gain the moral high ground. In 1963, Bull Connor, public safety chief of Birmingham, Alabama, met King’s marchers with fire hoses and attack dogs. King was arrested but won an immense public relations victory there, not least through publication of his “Letter from a Birmingham Jail.” Later that year, his “I have a dream” speech in Washington marked a climax of his career, and he received worldwide recognition with the Nobel Prize the following year. Urban riots after 1964 and challenges to nonviolence from Black Power advocates troubled King’s later years, and he began to devote energy to the anti-Vietnam War movement, as well as to civil rights. He was assassinated by James Earl Ray in Memphis, where he had gone on behalf of striking black garbage workers, in 1968.

**Sinclair Lewis** (1885–1951). Satirical novelist and America’s first Nobel Prize winner for literature. Lewis was born in Sauk Center, Minnesota, to a doctor’s family. Fascinated by books from the beginning of his life, he graduated from Yale in 1908 and went to work in the New York publishing business, devoting every spare moment to writing of his own. His first book appeared in 1912, but his first great success came with *Main Street* (1920). From then on, he had a mass audience throughout his life and won all the major literary prizes open to him, including the Pulitzer (1926) and Nobel (1930) Prizes. Among his most famous works are *Babbitt* (1922), about a midwestern businessman’s shallow self-confidence, consumerism, and inability to think outside the crowd, and
Arrowsmith (1925), on the heroic asceticism of a true scientist. His works from the 1920s paint a vivid picture of an America becoming urban and prosperous but often backward-looking and foolish.

Walter Lippmann (1889–1974). Influential liberal journalist and commentator. A Harvard graduate in the Progressive era, Lippmann worked first for the muckraker Lincoln Steffens. His first book, A Preface to Politics (1913), won him an editorial job at The New Republic. He wrote extensively on the problems of democracy in an age of specialists and expertise and was among the century’s most effective critics of utopianism. Woodrow Wilson asked his advice on the peace treaty that ended World War I and brought him to Versailles as an advisor. Born to a Reform Jewish family, Lippmann nevertheless contributed to a Harvard policy of restricting Jewish admissions in the 1920s. By the New Deal era, he was the most influential columnist and commentator in the nation. Presidents were careful not to cross him if they could avoid it, and he knew all of them, from Franklin Roosevelt onward. His book The Public Philosophy (1955) endorsed natural law theories of politics and showed that the Cold War had made him more conservative. Nevertheless, he became an outspoken critic of President Johnson’s escalation of the Vietnam War in the 1960s.

John D. Rockefeller (1839–1937). Oil business entrepreneur who became the richest man in America. Born on a farm in upstate New York, Rockefeller moved as a teenager to Cleveland and became an oil refiner during the early days of the Pennsylvania oil rush. Shrewd, sober, and a Baptist Sunday-school teacher, but also with a flair for good investments and profitable entrepreneurial risks, he rapidly increased his share of the refining business until, in 1870, his company, Standard Oil, was the largest in the trade. Oil in those pre-automobile days was used as lamp fuel, and Rockefeller specialized in creating high-quality lamp kerosene, which was sold nationwide in distinctive red cans. After passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890, Standard was prosecuted and broken up by order of the Ohio courts because it had monopolized the business. It moved to New Jersey and, through Rockefeller’s ingenious management, was rapidly reassembled, though it succumbed to another prosecution in 1911. Rockefeller himself, retiring from the everyday running of the business in 1896, turned his attention to philanthropy, giving tens of millions of dollars to educational, church, and missionary charities. Among his biggest bequests was $35 million to the University of Chicago, founded with his encouragement and supervision in 1890. His name was a byword for financial power; he was widely hated for his hard business approach, but he contributed as much as anyone to the creation of the 20th century style of big business.

Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919). Twenty-sixth president. Born to a rich New York family in 1858, Roosevelt regretted that he was too young to fight in the Civil War. Overcoming childhood illnesses and physical weakness, he learned to box and challenged himself in arduous outdoor activities, becoming an advocate of the “strenuous life.” Roosevelt graduated from Harvard and began a career in New York state politics, where he defied the corrupt Tammany Hall Democratic regime on behalf of honest Republican principles. The death of his wife and his
mother on the same day in 1884 led to a nervous breakdown. Roosevelt recovered by spending several months hunting on his ranch in the Dakota Badlands, about which he wrote two excellent books. Remarried in 1886 and continuing a rapid political ascent, he became Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the McKinley administration after the election of 1896. He gave up this post when America went to war against Spain in 1898, creating the famous “Rough Riders,” a troop of cavalry made up of friends from Harvard and cowboy friends from the West. Becoming a hero for seizing San Juan Hill, he returned in glory to America and won the governorship of New York later that year. McKinley selected him as his running mate in the election of 1900, and Roosevelt became president a few months after the inauguration, when McKinley was assassinated by an anarchist. As president (the youngest in the nation’s history to that point), he prosecuted abusive monopolies and took a more active and interventionist role in the economy than his predecessors. Popular and widely admired, he was reelected in 1904 but left the White House after the 1908 election. Even an African safari was insufficient to keep his attention after that, and in 1912, he tried to regain the Republican nomination from his successor, William Howard Taft. Thwarted, he ran for president as a Progressive “Bull Moose” candidate, split the Republican vote, and enabled the Democrat Woodrow Wilson to prevail instead.

**Booker T. Washington** (1856–1915). Black educator and the most influential African American in the early 20th century. Washington was born in slavery to a Virginia family and was six years old at the time of Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation. Eager for education, he worked his way through Hampton Institute and admired the philanthropic whites, led by Hampton’s General Samuel Armstrong, who attempted to improve the lives of freedmen in the Reconstruction South. In 1881, he became principal of the Tuskegee Institute, a college dedicated to basic literacy and preparation for the practical careers that most African Americans could expect. He raised money for the school through successful speaking tours, mainly among such northern industrialists as John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie. Washington did not welcome the racial segregation system of the post-Reconstruction era, but in a famous speech at the Cotton States Exposition, Atlanta, in 1895, he argued that blacks could accommodate to it while earning whites’ respect and trust. His autobiography, *Up from Slavery* (1901), was hailed at the time and contributed to President Theodore Roosevelt’s much-criticized decision to invite him to dine at the White House. W. E. B. DuBois and other black leaders of less accommodationist views deplored what looked to them like Washington’s acceptance of second-class status.

**Malcolm X** (1925–1965). Black Muslim missionary and Black Power advocate. Malcolm Little grew up in the predominantly white community of Lansing, Michigan, but witnessed racist violence when the family home was burned down and when his father was murdered. Moving to Boston as a teenager, he became a petty criminal. Arrested and imprisoned for burglary, his life was transformed when he joined the Nation of Islam ( NOI) in 1946. Its members preached black
pride and dignity; they believed that whites were genetically engineered mutants and devils. Released in 1952, Malcolm (who took the name “X” to stand for his family’s African name, which had been stolen by slavery), became the NOI’s leading spokesman. His mesmerizing stage presence, eloquence, and apparent fearlessness inspired a generation of black activists. Scornful of Martin Luther King’s advocacy of integration through Christian nonviolence, he argued for racial separatism and violence when necessary in self-defense. In the early 1960s, however, he made the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca, which prompted a reorientation of his beliefs to a more orthodox form of Islam. He parted on bad terms from NOI, whose leader, Elijah Muhammad, resented his success. Soon after a series of meetings with the writer Alex Haley that formed the basis of his book *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, Malcolm X was assassinated by three members of the NOI.
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Patrick Allitt is Professor of History at Emory University. He was born and raised in central England and attended schools near his home in Mickleover, Derbyshire. An undergraduate at Hertford College, Oxford, he graduated (1977) with honors in British and European history. After a year of travel, he studied for the history doctorate at the University of California, Berkeley. He was a postdoctoral fellow at Harvard in the mid-1980s and, since 1988, has been on the faculty of Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia. Professor Allitt is the author of three books, including *Catholic Converts: British and American Intellectuals Turn to Rome* (1997). He also writes frequent articles and reviews. In 1999, he won Emory’s Excellence in Teaching Award and, in 2000, was appointed to the N.E.H./Arthur Blank Professorship of Teaching in the Humanities. Professor Allitt keeps in touch with his homeland by spending about two months every year on a working holiday in Britain, teaching the history of Victorian England with Emory’s summer school, which is held at University College, Oxford. His wife, Toni, is American, a Michigan native, and they have a daughter, Frances, born in 1988.
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The History of the United States

Scope (Lectures Forty-Nine through Eighty-Four):

America industrialized rapidly in the late 19th century, and was one of the world’s three leading industrial powers (along with Germany and Britain) by 1900. Its citizens already had the adventurous outlook, the tradition of hard work, and the entrepreneurial initiative that are vital to successful industrialization. A legal situation amenable to maximum economic growth and widespread faith in capitalism further aided the Industrial Revolution. The Americans were lucky in having plentiful natural resources at their disposal. Immense forests provided wood for cheap construction everywhere east of the Mississippi. Coal fields in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and West Virginia fueled industry’s steam-powered machinery, while ore from the great Minnesota ranges provided the raw material for the iron and steel industry. Oil fields in western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and later, Oklahoma, Texas, and California fed another rapidly growing industry.

Railroads, built in the East from 1830, were extended across the Mississippi after the Civil War. The first transcontinental road was completed in 1869, reducing the coast-to-coast journey from a matter of months, as it had been in the 1840s, to just three days by 1900. Completion of a dense nationwide railroad network between 1869 and 1900 facilitated companies’ national marketing campaigns. It also permitted improvements in diet, because fresh foods grown in southern California and Florida could be brought quickly to market in the northern cities, even during the winter.

The scale of American businesses grew rapidly, too, enabling the oil, coal, iron and steel, railroad, food, and meat-packing industries to enjoy economies of scale. The downside of this growth was that businesses became anonymous. Workers trapped in low-paying, dangerous, and monotonous jobs became resentful and organized trade unions. The late 19th century witnessed a rapid growth in unions, especially among skilled workers who could not easily be replaced with strikebreakers, and a succession of strikes. Ferocious retaliation by employers, who used armed detectives and, when possible, state militiamen, made industrial disputes ugly and bloody. Employers also tried to “divide and conquer” by hiring workers from many different ethnic groups, recent immigrants who would be less likely to make common cause against them and whose many languages would make organization difficult.

Railroads were vital not only to industry but also to settlers on the Great Plains in the 1870s and 1880s. Trains brought in wood, coal, and other necessities that settlers lacked locally, while carrying away from the area its massive annual grain harvests. The cumulative effect of Plains settlement was to create a great yearly food surplus (one of the constants of 20th-century life) and to end the danger of famine. For each particular farmer, the steady fall in grain prices caused hardship, which was accentuated by the railroads’ local monopoly as sole available carrier and by a steady deflation through the late 19th century. Plains
farmers attempted to join southern tenant and sharecropping farmers in the Populist Party, whose mushroom growth in the 1880s and 1890s was never successfully rewarded with electoral successes.

The rapid growth of America’s industrial and agricultural productivity made the nation wealthy and created the possibility of a more aggressive foreign policy. Some politicians, notably Theodore Roosevelt, favored the creation of an American colonial empire to rival those of Britain, France, Portugal, Germany, and Belgium. The disintegration of Spain’s Caribbean and Pacific empire presented an opportunity. America went to war against Spain in 1898 and became the dominant power in Cuba and the Philippines. It also influenced the Panamanian revolution and the building of an ocean-to-ocean canal there between 1903 and 1914. The debate over foreign policy acquired a new urgency when the First World War began in 1914. At first, President Woodrow Wilson argued that America must remain neutral “in thought and deed” so that it could broker a reasonable peace. Before long, however, American businesses were trading heavily with the British and French, while the Royal Navy prevented them from trading with Germany. Germany retaliated with unrestricted submarine warfare against American shipping, which in turn, prompted an American declaration of war. That decision, along with the Russian Revolution, made 1917 one of the most momentous years of the 20th century. The weaknesses of the Versailles Treaty by which World War I ended, and the American decision not to participate in the League of Nations, laid the foundations of an even more disastrous war 20 years later.

Whatever its international role, America continued to generate new technology and to grow wealthier than any nation in world history. The 1920s witnessed the perfection of modern mass-production techniques and the development of “welfare capitalism,” by which employers attended to their workers’ social needs, as well as to their productive powers, as a way of forestalling workers’ radicalism. By 1929, however, productivity had outstripped America’s capacity to consume, because incomes were still unequally distributed. The Wall Street Crash of that year was followed by a devastating economic depression, worse than any earlier fluctuation in the American economy. By 1933, banks were failing and factories lay silent, even though surrounded by men who desperately needed work. A handful of Americans, struck by this incongruity and convinced that capitalism was no longer a viable economic system, turned to Communism. Millions more, however, supported the New Deal, a series of policies by which a new president, Franklin Roosevelt, attempted to rescue the American system. The New Deal’s many agencies gave the federal government a more intrusive and powerful role than ever before in the regulation of the economy. It was not successful in ending the Great Depression, but it restored confidence in the business system, introduced such innovative programs as Social Security, and ensured that trade unions would enjoy the same legal protections as business.

The onset of the Second World War brought the Depression to an end, which it did by escalating demand for exports and prompting rapid American mobilization. Roosevelt, like Wilson, tried at first to stay out of the conflict—he
faced an influential isolationist faction at home. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, however, made American participation in the war, against both Japan and its German partner, inevitable. America, allied with Winston Churchill’s Britain and Josef Stalin’s Soviet Union, had defeated Hitler’s Germany by May of 1945, after the D-Day invasion of France and heavy aerial bombardment of German cities. The invention of a secret weapon, the atomic bomb, also enabled American forces to defeat Japan in August 1945.

No sooner had the war ended in the complete defeat of their enemies than the allies, America and Russia, fell out. The contrast in their political and economic systems, and the American fear that Soviet Communism would spread remorselessly until it dominated the world unless stopped forcibly, fueled the antagonism. The Soviets’ refusal to let the newly liberated nations of Eastern Europe elect democratic governments seemed to the new American leader, President Truman, characteristic of their aggressive designs. In consequence, America decided not to withdraw from international affairs after the Second World War as it had after the First. Instead, it became the leader of the Western democracies in a new bipolar world.

The Cold War standoff between America and the Soviet Union persisted until 1989, bringing them to the brink of war in 1962 (during the Cuban missile crisis) but restraining them with the knowledge that each had nuclear weapons sufficient to annihilate the other. The demands of a big military establishment contributed to economic buoyancy throughout most of the era. Fears that the Great Depression would return with the end of war proved groundless. The United States in the 1950s and 1960s became, in the words of economist John Kenneth Galbraith, the “affluent society,” in which an opulent consumer lifestyle came within reach of nearly everyone, even factory workers’ families.

The great exception to the spread of American prosperity was the large African American community. Ever since the end of Reconstruction, it had endured the most precarious economic and political condition. To be black in the South was to suffer under government-supported policies of racial segregation. Black Americans throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries had moved from the rural South to the urban North as industrialization spread. There, too, however, they had faced severe racial discrimination. The Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s was, therefore, vitally important in transforming their civic status. It led to the laws of 1964 and 1965 by which all forms of government-approved racial discrimination were abolished. The movement was not able to end the economic disadvantages against which many African Americans continued to struggle, however, and the intractability of that problem persisted up to and beyond the millennium.

Not only the Civil Rights movement but many other social movements contributed to the turbulence of the 1960s in America. In pursuit of its Cold War policy of preventing the spread of Communism, the nation went to war in Vietnam but found itself unable to prevail against tenacious low-tech foes in jungle warfare. The long, costly war became bitterly unpopular at home and the
antiwar movement contributed to an unprecedented “generation gap” in millions of families. Numerous groups, meanwhile, imitated the Civil Rights movement by claiming that they, too, were minorities and that they suffered discrimination unjustly; first women in the new feminist movement, then Native Americans, Hispanic Americans, and homosexuals. America was socially fractured by these experiences, while its government lost prestige, a loss greatly exacerbated by the Watergate scandal that forced President Nixon to resign in disgrace in 1974.

President Carter spoke of a “national malaise” in 1978 to a nation mired in disillusionment, inflation, and economic stagnation. His successor, the former film star Ronald Reagan, was eager to restore national vitality and determined to escalate the Cold War confrontation with an immense peacetime military buildup. This controversial policy may have contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union and its empire of Eastern European satellites in 1989, another of the crucial years of the century. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the peaceful triumph of democracy in the former Soviet sphere laid to rest the 20th-century menace of Communism and left America as the world’s sole superpower.

War against Iraq and ethnic genocide in the former Yugoslavia showed that the New World Order was anything but a utopia of peace and good will. America had to decide whether to maintain its worldwide commitments or retreat to its historic isolationist posture. Cautiously, and with care to prevent another Vietnam morass, it maintained its commitments. Richer than ever in the 1990s but still suffering from the chronic exclusion of its urban, minority, and Native American “underclass” from the general prosperity, America remained vulnerable. A domestic terrorist destroyed the federal government’s building in Oklahoma City in 1995, while foreign terrorists destroyed the New York World Trade Center in 2001. The future of the nation, like earlier futures, continued to hold out great promise but also present great challenges.
Scope: The Supreme Court’s decision in the Brown case (1954) and the Montgomery bus boycott (1955–1956) inaugurated the activist phase of the Civil Rights movement. By 1965, a combination of lobbying, direct action, and shifts in public sympathy had brought about the complete legal abolition of racial segregation. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the other movement leaders were nearly all evangelical clergy, bringing the style and idiom of their worship to bear on a pressing public question. The defenders of segregation promised massive resistance but, in reality, gave way quickly, with only a tiny minority offering active or violent resistance. Success for the Civil Rights movement, however, did little to alleviate disparities in income and opportunity for African Americans. The next stage of the movement, with disputes over busing and affirmative action, was clouded by bitter political disagreements. The interracial civil rights coalition, meanwhile, broke up in the face of militant Black Power.

Outline

I. The Supreme Court’s decision in Brown v. Board of Education (1954) was the culmination of a long period of legal struggle for desegregation.
   A. After World War II, the federal government abandoned racial segregation.
      1. A government committee report, To Secure These Rights (1947), condemned American racial policy.
      2. Truman abolished racial discrimination in the military and in federal hiring in July 1948.
   B. The Democratic Party divided over civil rights in 1948. Truman’s victory showed that a pro-civil rights stance was not necessarily politically dangerous.
   C. Jackie Robinson’s desegregation of major-league baseball in 1947 was symbolically important.
      1. The Warren Court used sociological and psychological evidence to show that separate education for a racial minority was inherently unequal.
      2. The Court’s 1955 order for “all deliberate speed” in desegregation was ambiguous.

II. Civil rights activism accelerated in the late 1950s and early 1960s.
   A. Martin Luther King, Jr., led the Montgomery bus boycott (1955–1956).
1. Rosa Parks agreed to test the local segregation laws and was arrested.
2. NAACP women arranged a protest meeting, calling for the boycott and appointing King to lead it.
3. Regular church meetings maintained community solidarity during the ensuing year-long boycott, which succeeded.

**B.** Civil rights groups mounted campaigns in which confrontation and, hence, press coverage seemed likely.
1. Sit-ins at lunch counters, beginning in Greensboro, North Carolina, and “freedom rides” on interstate buses provoked white aggression. As with Mohandas Gandhi, nonviolence was an effective weapon against antagonists who had a conscience.
2. Atlanta politicians realized the importance of desegregating nonviolently to preserve their city’s public image.

**C.** The Kennedy government dragged its feet for fear of losing votes in the “Solid South.”
1. The Birmingham campaign of 1963 provoked Bull Connor to violent reaction, as King had expected.
2. His “Letter from Birmingham Jail” argued the nationwide importance of seemingly local events.

**D.** The Birmingham bombings prompted more vigorous federal support for the movement.
1. Bomb attacks on churches killed four girls during their Sunday-school classes in 1963. In August, King made his “I Have a Dream” speech.
2. King’s Nobel Peace Prize in 1964 made him a world-famous figure.

**E.** Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad offered an alternative model of black citizenship.
1. The Nation of Islam offered a mirror image of white racism, relying as it did on a creation story that included “white devils.”
2. It rehabilitated drug addicts and criminals, offering them pride and dignity.
3. Malcolm X became the most influential advocate of black separatism and criticized King’s version of integration.
4. Malcolm X’s militancy made King seem, by comparison, a mild and mainstream reform advocate.

**III.** Legally sanctioned segregation disappeared quickly, but efforts to destroy de facto segregation proved far more difficult.

**A.** “Massive resistance” collapsed quickly.
1. Prince Edward County, Virginia, was unusual in closing its public schools (1958) rather than desegregating them.
2. The policy of token integration was taken by most southern school districts.

C. Destructive race riots in the “long, hot summers” of the 1960s soured the good feeling that had been generated by the Civil Rights movement. Political rights, though vital, had not reduced immense disparities of wealth.

D. Affirmative action programs reintroduced racial categories in 1965, but now with an integrationist rather than a segregationist intent.

E. Opposition to busing and affirmative action spread in the American north.
   1. Militant white parents and students attacked school buses in Boston.
   2. “White flight” accelerated suburban growth and racial re-segregation.

**Essential Reading:**
David Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.*
Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X.*

**Supplementary Reading:**
Martin Luther King, Jr., *Stride toward Freedom.*

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Why was the Civil Rights movement able to overcome segregation relatively quickly after 1954?
2. What problems persisted in the African American community after the movement’s victory, and how effectively were they resolved?
Lecture Seventy-Four
The New Frontier and the Great Society

Scope: Youthful, handsome President Kennedy brought charisma to the White House in 1961. His election also showed that a Roman Catholic could win the nation’s highest office and contributed to a decline in inter-religious tensions. Kennedy’s escalation of the Cold War, apparent in the Bay of Pigs invasion, the Cuban missile crisis, and expansion of the American role in Vietnam, was offset by a new concern for legislating on behalf of the poor and minorities. After his assassination in November 1963 (about which certain mysteries have never been resolved), his successor, Lyndon Johnson, pursued similar policies more aggressively. His sweeping anti-poverty, anti-discrimination legislation, remembered collectively as the Great Society, marked another step in the expansion of the federal government. Despite continued economic boom conditions, however, the nation experienced severe urban rioting among the poorest sectors of the population. The riots severely damaged the social optimism generated by the Civil Rights movement’s success.

Outline

I. Kennedy’s family history and personal attributes made him an attractive candidate and president.
   A. His father, Joseph Kennedy, was wealthy and ambitious for himself and his sons.
      1. He profited from the liquor business during and after Prohibition.
      2. He was American ambassador to Britain at the start of World War II.
      3. He schemed to attain the presidency for his oldest son Joseph, Jr., but the young man was killed in a plane crash.
      4. John, the younger son, became the focus of his ambitions.
   B. John Kennedy had a distinguished war record and made rapid progress through the Democratic ranks.
      1. His adventures on P.T. 109, the boat he captained during the war, became the basis of a book and film.
      2. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1946.
      3. He became the junior Massachusetts senator in 1952.
      4. His wife, Jacqueline Bouvier (married, 1953), was elegant, beautiful, and politically accomplished.
   C. His presidential campaign in 1960 led to one of the narrowest victories in American history.
      1. Adlai Stephenson, having lost twice to Eisenhower, was an unconvincing candidate.
2. Kennedy managed to allay fears that his Catholicism made him unsuitable for the presidency.
3. The two candidates, Kennedy and Nixon, debated on TV, Kennedy being the more photogenic.
4. Nixon accepted the razor-thin electoral verdict against him, despite widespread rumors of election fraud in Chicago.

II. The Kennedy administration believed in a more aggressive pursuit of the Cold War than had Eisenhower.
A. Kennedy argued for “flexible response” and “brushfire wars” around the periphery of the Cold War. He supported vigorous anti-Communist action in Vietnam.
B. He reacted to the Cuban Revolution first by supporting, then by abandoning, the Bay of Pigs counter-invasion (1961).
C. Kennedy attempted to regain the initiative in the Cuban missile crisis of 1962.
   1. The U.S. Navy created a “quarantine” line in October 1962 that Soviet ships, carrying missiles to Cuba, must not cross.
   2. The prospect of war prompted Soviet Premier Krushchev to back down.
D. In domestic politics, Kennedy took limited initiatives on behalf of women, minorities, and the poor.
   1. Progress was inhibited by his slender electoral victory and the power of conservative southern white Democrats in Congress.
   2. He became progressively more sympathetic to the Civil Rights movement as segregationist violence intensified.
E. He was assassinated in November 1963.
   1. Mystery surrounds the incident. The Warren Commission report only intensified speculation about the assassination.
   2. Lyndon Johnson was sworn in as president on Air Force One.
   3. Kennedy’s good looks, charismatic personality, and “Camelot” mystique have turned him retrospectively into a larger-than-life figure.

III. The Johnson administration continued, and escalated, the work Kennedy had begun.
A. Johnson, from humble Texan origins, was already a Washington veteran when Kennedy arrived.
   1. Relations between the two men, former rivals in the 1960s primaries, were never close.
   2. Johnson felt overshadowed by the Kennedy mystique and was scorned by the Kennedy loyalists.
B. He was genuinely committed to abolishing racial segregation. He ushered the Civil Rights, Voting Rights, and Immigration Reform Acts through Congress in 1964 and 1965.
C. Johnson won reelection in 1964 against conservative Republican Barry Goldwater, an Arizona senator.
   1. Goldwater offered “a choice, not an echo.”
   2. He was a tactless, outspoken campaigner and lost severely.
   3. Goldwater’s allegation that Johnson was insufficiently resolute in opposing Communism contributed to the escalation of the Vietnam War.

D. Johnson’s War on Poverty program argued for “maximum feasible participation” by the poor themselves.
   1. The Economic Opportunity Bill created numerous organizations to combat poverty and helplessness.
   2. Overcoming longstanding opposition from the American Medical Association, Congress created Medicare and Medicaid.

E. Inner-city race riots, beginning in Los Angeles, severely undercut the program’s political popularity.

**Essential Reading:**
Garry Wills, *The Kennedy Imprisonment*.
Doris Kearns Goodwin, *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream*.

**Supplementary Reading:**
Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House*.

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Why is President Kennedy remembered so fondly by most Americans?
2. How did President Johnson advance the cause of American liberalism?
Lecture Seventy-Five
The Rise of Mass Media

Scope: Twentieth-century America was almost universally literate. Thousands of newspapers throughout the century (including numerous foreign-language papers that helped immigrants adjust to the New World) were complemented by radio stations from the 1920s and by television from the late 1940s. These media, combined with the world’s premier movie industry, enabled ordinary citizens to become extremely well informed about their immediate surroundings and about general political and social questions. The computer revolution of the late 20th century added further sophistication to this process, while the Internet of the 1990s created a “global village,” in which people with access could make instant contact with strangers on the other side of the world. Media moguls from Pulitzer and Hearst to Henry Luce and Ted Turner became nationally important figures in their own right. Media, moreover, did not just report the news. Often, they created it or gave it a distinctive shape, undertaking campaigns and crusades, supporting or denigrating political candidates, and relishing scandals that compromised public figures. Media power transformed the nature of politics, lobbying, and even the military, as the army discovered to its detriment in Vietnam.

Outline

I. The mass circulation of newspapers accompanied near-universal literacy.
   A. Public schooling assured the rapid assimilation of new immigrants.
   B. Early 20th-century America also had a massive foreign-language press.
   C. Newspapers could embody the character of late 19th- and early 20th-century cities that were too big for face-to-face relations.
   D. Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst were the most skillful promoters of mass-circulation newspapers.
      1. They understood the value of big headlines, illustrations, low prices, and high-quality writing.
      2. They promoted sales by embarking on campaigns and “crusades.”
   E. Magazine editors developed the muckraking style.
      1. Ida Tarbell exposed the Standard Oil scandal for McClure’s in 1904.
      2. Lincoln Steffens’s The Shame of the Cities (1904) enjoyed mass circulation in journal and book form.
      3. Later muckrakers, such as Jessica Mitford (The American Way of Death, 1963), followed in their footsteps.
II. Radio broadcasting extended communication possibilities.
   A. Radio technology was developed out of telegraphy.
      1. By 1900, ship-to-shore Morse code messages were possible.
      2. Invention of the “audion tube” in 1906 made voice and music
         broadcasting possible.
      3. Amateurs and enthusiasts tinkered with radio until 1917, when the
         U.S. Navy took control of it, for fear of its espionage possibilities.
   B. Regular civilian broadcasting began in the 1920s.
      1. Evangelical preachers, such as Amy Seple McPherson, quickly
         appreciated its possibilities.
      2. Radio was commercial and private in America; public and by
         license in Britain.
      3. Ownership of radios in America grew from nearly nothing in 1919
         to 12 million in 1930.
   C. President Franklin Roosevelt realized the immense potential of
      broadcasting to give him direct access to voters.
      1. Radio ownership was close to universal by the Depression era.
      2. “Fireside chats” enabled FDR to explain his policies in person.
      3. His powerful rivals, such as Father Charles Coughlin, a master of
         negative campaigning, also enjoyed radio access.
   D. Radio, like the movie industry, created widely loved fictional
      characters, along with news personalities.
      1. Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll created “Amos ’n Andy” in
         1928.
      2. The Lone Ranger made his debut on a Detroit radio station in
         1933.
      3. Edward Murrow became a highly respected news broadcaster,
         reporting from England during the German blitz.
   E. Orson Welles created a brief national panic with his “War of the
      Worlds” broadcast in 1938.

III. Television intensified the effects established by radio.
   A. Television was technologically viable by the late 1930s, but World War
      II postponed its mass development.
   B. TV grew meteorically in the late 1940s and early 1950s. By 1960, it
      was almost universally available in America.
      1. It revived the careers of some fading Hollywood stars, such as
         Ronald Reagan.
      2. Its spectacles, such as Twenty-One, garnered massive audiences.
   C. Television, too, began to play a crucial role in political life.
      1. Senator Estes Kefauver became famous for his televised hearings
         on organized crime in 1951, and Senator Joseph McCarthy was
         discredited by the televised Army-McCarthy hearings in 1954.
2. The Kennedy-Nixon debate (1960) gave an advantage to the more physically attractive man.

3. Joe Maginnis’s *The Selling of the President* (1969) is the classic account of how the candidate was “packaged” for electoral success by gifted and cynical TV professionals.

D. Television enabled citizens to follow dramatic and controversial events that were physically remote.
   1. It played an important role in turning American public opinion against the Vietnam War.
   2. It followed the first human landings on the moon in 1969.

E. Religious groups made use of television, as of radio.
   1. Fulton Sheen, a Catholic priest, was the first major religious TV star in the 1950s.
   2. Television was central to the ministries of Jerry Falwell and Jim and Tammy Bakker.

IV. Computers revolutionized personal communications and information access in the last decades of the 20th century.
   A. Phenomenal developments in transistor technology and miniaturization made computers possible.
      1. Transistors, invented in 1947, replaced cumbersome vacuum tubes.
      2. Jack Kilby invented the silicon-based integrated circuit in 1958, eliminating the problem of overheating.
   B. Miniaturization, improvements in user-friendliness, and a gradual decline in cost brought computers to the business world in the 1960s and 1970s. The first video games, including PacMan, also appeared in the late 1970s.
   C. Intensification of these trends inaugurated a boom in personal computer ownership in the 1980s. IBM launched the first PC in 1981.
   D. The spread of the Internet and email in the 1990s gave ordinary citizens almost instant access to one another around the world.

Essential Reading:
Joe McGinniss, *The Selling of the President, 1968*.

Supplementary Reading:
R. W. Burns, *Television: An International History of the Formative Years*.
John Naughton, *A Brief History of the Future: From Radio Days to Internet Years in a Lifetime*.

Questions to Consider:
1. Are there social costs, as well as benefits, to having extremely high levels of access to information?
2. How did the development of broadcasting change American politics?
Lecture Seventy-Six
The Vietnam War

Scope: Vietnam was a French colony in the early 20th century. Japan invaded in 1942 but was ousted by the victorious allies in 1945. Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese nationalist leader, issued a Declaration of Independence based on the American model. To his dismay, the French Empire returned, aided by America as a quid pro quo for French participation in the defense of West Germany and NATO. Ho finally overpowered the French at Dien Bien Phu (1954), and the French Empire in Vietnam ended in 1955. American power then underwrote South Vietnam, the non-Communist southern half of the country, and prevented elections that would have led to its reunification under Ho. South Vietnam’s inability to defend itself led to steady increases in American aid under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, until by 1968, half a million American soldiers were fighting there. American casualties, TV footage of American troops persecuting Vietnamese villagers or accidentally bombing children with napalm, turned public opinion against the war. American campuses became centers of draft resistance, church groups campaigned against the war, and in early 1968, President Johnson abandoned his reelection plans because of it. Richard Nixon campaigned successfully, claiming to have a secret plan to end the war, but after his victory that November, his determination to achieve “peace with honor” would postpone an end to the fighting. The last Americans withdrew only in 1973; their absence made the fall of South Vietnam two years later inevitable. The Vietnam syndrome constrained American military actions from then on.

Outline
I. American defense planners became involved in Vietnam as part of the containment policy and because they were determined to “avoid another Munich.”
   A. The events of the late 1930s suggested that the enemy should be fought earlier rather than later and that to delay would simply increase the enemy’s power. Most Americans did not know where Vietnam was in the 1950s, and few could speak its language.
   B. America became involved in the French colonial war in return for French cooperation in NATO in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Dien Bien Phu (1954) showed Ho’s military skill and the decline of French imperial power.
   C. American support of South Vietnam enabled it to avoid elections after the Geneva Treaty.
D. A steady escalation of American civil and military aid in the late 1950s and early 1960s shored up Diem’s regime.

E. For young Americans, including Dr. Tom Dooley, who helped relocate Catholic Vietnamese from north to south, anti-Communism in Southeast Asia was an idealistic cause.

II. Presidents Kennedy and Johnson enlarged the American presence in Vietnam.

A. Among Kennedy’s difficulties was the deep unpopularity of the Diem regime.
   1. A Catholic minority ruled corruptly and heavy-handedly.
   3. South Vietnam never found a stable or popular alternative to Diem, which forced America to collaborate with a succession of corrupt and unpopular military dictators.

B. Johnson aimed to show that he was as stern an anti-Communist as Goldwater.
   1. The Gulf of Tonkin incident in 1964 provided the justification for direct military intervention in force.
   2. By 1968, more than half a million Americans were fighting in Vietnam.

C. The American expectation of success was reasonable.
   1. The American military had perfected long-range amphibious and jungle warfare techniques in World War II and Korea.
   2. The North Vietnamese army and the Viet Cong guerrillas in the south were poorly armed.

D. Enemy control of the countryside, especially at night, prevented the American and South Vietnamese forces from gaining ground.
   1. The terrain and the enemy’s fighting style proved unsuitable to American tanks and high-tech weapons.
   2. Reliance on helicopters gave the Americans mobility and temporary local advantage, and they inflicted much heavier casualties than they suffered.

E. Uncertainty about the enemy’s identity contributed to American commission of atrocities, such as the My Lai massacre.
   1. Declining morale among American troops also led to more than 700 “fragging” incidents.
   2. Drug addiction among the troops became widespread.

III. Domestic opposition to the war increased after 1966.

A. Growing numbers of young men resisted the draft or deserted.
   1. Student deferments brought thousands more into colleges, leaving the poor and minorities to take on a disproportionate share of the fighting.
   2. Sympathetic faculty at some schools aided draft resistance.
B. Demonstrations against the war attracted massive crowds.
   1. Martin Luther King, Jr., Dr. Spock, Norman Mailer, and other celebrities became vocal opponents of the war.
   2. Antivwar intellectuals, such as Susan Sontag, began to visit Hanoi, the enemy capital, and to eulogize the North Vietnamese.

C. Hatred of the war prompted Lyndon Johnson to abandon his plans for reelection in 1968. The Tet offensive sealed his fate.

D. The election campaign of 1968 witnessed scenes of massive disruption over the war issue.
   1. Democratic candidates split over whether to support the war policy—their Chicago convention was chaotic.
   2. Richard Nixon, the veteran Republican candidate, campaigned on behalf of the “silent majority” in making his comeback.

E. The Paris peace talks made slow progress because Ho used them for political advantage and because Nixon wanted to achieve “peace with honor.”

F. Nixon’s decision to attack North Vietnamese sanctuaries in Cambodia in 1970 set off another wave of protests.

IV. The outcome of the war influenced America in profound ways.

A. American disengagement was complete by 1973. American POWs returned home.

B. The Watergate crisis and the unpopularity of the war prevented an American return to Vietnam when intense fighting resumed. Saigon fell to North Vietnamese forces in 1975.

C. Repression and persecution in postwar Vietnam prompted some Americans to re-think their wartime attitudes. Neo-conservatives, such as Michael Novak and Norman Podhoretz, argued that the American role had been justified after all, not least on human rights grounds.

D. Government, constrained by the Vietnam syndrome, became cautious about subsequent interventions.
   1. The army restricted media access to operations.
   2. Politicians sought potential “exit strategies” before becoming engaged.
   3. Keeping American casualties low became a higher priority than ever.
**Essential Reading:**

**Supplementary Reading:**
Norman Podhoretz, *Why We Were in Vietnam.*
Michael Herr, *Dispatches.*

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Why did American intervention in Vietnam seem justifiable in the early 1960s?
2. How did the Vietnam War transform the character of American politics in the 1960s and 1970s?
Lecture Seventy-Seven
The Women’s Movement

Scope: Postwar America idealized families in which father worked outside the home and mother didn’t. Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) showed that many middle-class women were bored with their confinement to housework and mothering. Friedan’s organization, the National Organization for Women (NOW), campaigned successfully for the abolition of gender discrimination in employment. In the late 1960s, women in the Civil Rights and antiwar movements, annoyed at being subordinated by their menfolk, created women’s liberation, arguing by analogy to the Civil Rights movement that women, too, were a disadvantaged minority group. Their “consciousness-raising” work, attacks on sexism in advertising and media, and criticism of gender bias in society and law gave rise to radical feminism. At its most militant, feminism turned men as a group into the enemy. In its more moderate form, it campaigned for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the Constitution. Feminists were dismayed to discover that the ERA’s leading opponent was another group of women (StopERA), led by Phyllis Schlafly, who argued that women already enjoyed ideal conditions in America and that the amendment would destroy public recognition of real differences between the sexes.

Outline

I. American women of the 1950s and 1960s were among the most privileged in world history, but many felt that their lives were being wasted.
   A. Their material circumstances were more luxurious than those of earlier generations. The massive middle class had access to better foods and more labor-saving devices than any earlier generation.
   B. Those with college degrees felt their education was underused. Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) argued their case and identified “the problem that has no name.”
   C. Employed women were vulnerable to discrimination in the workplace and pay differentials by gender.
      1. Its first head was Eleanor Roosevelt.
II. The women’s movement began as a moderate lobbying effort, but radical women’s liberation upstaged it in the late 1960s.

   1. Legislation in 1963 and 1964 included clauses preventing gender discrimination and stipulating equal pay for equal work.
   2. The 1960s and after saw a sharp rise in the number of women in previously all-male, high-profile jobs.
   3. Access to high-quality childcare became, and remained, a vital issue among feminists.

B. Women in the Civil Rights, student, and antiwar movements became critical of the sexism they encountered among their male comrades.
   1. They sought to oppose sexism and women’s self-delusion by conducting “consciousness-raising” workshops.
   2. They denounced such conventional forms of female display as beauty contests.
   3. They compared themselves to other minority groups, especially African Americans.

C. A minority of radical feminists viewed the world as a perpetual conflict between men and women.
   1. Susan Brownmiller’s Against Our Will (1975) was a notorious literary example of this outlook.
   2. The place of lesbianism in the movement created tension among feminists in the 1970s.

III. The sexual revolution and its effects contributed to tension about questions of men’s and women’s roles.

A. The Kinsey Reports on male (1948) and female (1953) sexuality found high levels of premarital and extramarital sex and of homosexuality.
   1. Playboy (1953) and other literature promoted a hedonistic philosophy of sex.

B. The dramatic improvement of contraceptives with the birth-control pill in the early 1960s made it possible to reliably separate sex from procreation.
   1. Concern about the “population explosion” also made contraception seem benign.
   2. Many American Catholics were indignant when, in 1968, their church affirmed its ban on contraceptives.

C. Taboos on cohabitation and childbearing outside of marriage declined sharply.

D. Abortion gained legal protection in 1973 with the Supreme Court’s decision in Roe v. Wade.
E. The gay liberation movement began in 1969, making analogous claims to those of the feminists and the Civil Rights movement.

IV. These rapid changes in social mores and gender roles led to an anti-feminist backlash and some unanticipated consequences.
   A. Phyllis Schlafly led the campaign against the ERA.
      1. Passed through Congress easily in 1972, the amendment seemed sure to become part of the Constitution.
      2. Schlafly’s “StopERA” opposed it for its perceived assault on traditional distinctions.

   B. Religious groups campaigned against abortion.
      1. Some leaders offered powerful analogies from slavery and the Holocaust era.
      2. Operation Rescue in the 1980s tried to apply the techniques of the Civil Rights movement to the anti-abortion cause.

   C. Women’s participation in the workforce became more widespread than ever and, eventually, more necessary, too. Family incomes continued to rise into the 1990s but only by having both spouses in the workforce.

Essential Reading:
Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique.*

Supplementary Reading:
Gloria Steinem, *Outrageous Acts and Everyday Rebellions.*

Questions to Consider:
1. What issues in American life led to the sudden emergence of feminism in the 1960s?
2. Why did American women divide over the benefits and drawbacks of the Equal Rights Amendment?
Lecture Seventy-Eight
Nixon and Watergate

Scope: Richard Nixon, a Quaker but also a World War II veteran, made his political reputation as a harsh anti-Communist Republican congressman in the 1940s. Eisenhower chose him as a running mate in 1952, but he narrowly lost to Kennedy in 1960, despite his eight years’ experience as vice president. Repairing his political image, he made a comeback in 1968 and defeated Hubert Humphrey to reach the White House. Accepting the largely bipartisan Cold War consensus, he continued the American role in Vietnam, accepted much of the heritage of the Great Society from Lyndon Johnson, and even tinkered with the statist idea of a guaranteed national income. By the standards of his later Republican successors, Nixon was a center or even liberal Republican. His opponent in the 1972 election, George McGovern, was the weakest Democratic candidate in years, whom Nixon would certainly have beaten in a fair fight. His unnecessary decision to eavesdrop electronically on McGovern’s campaign in the Watergate complex in the summer of 1972 led to the arrest of his agents, the “plumbers.” Nixon won easily that fall but was ruined by an escalating series of revelations over the next two years. It was shown that he had known of the break-ins almost from the beginning and had tried to orchestrate a cover-up. Congressional investigations and an imminent impeachment finally forced him to resign in disgrace in 1974.

Outline

I. Nixon’s early career marked him as a talented and able politician.
   A. He, like John F. Kennedy, entered Congress in 1946.
      1. He was a graduate of Whittier College and Duke Law School.
      2. He had served in the Pacific during World War II.
   B. His support for Whittaker Chambers in the Alger Hiss case brought him early prominence as an anti-Communist.
   C. He campaigned against Helen Gahagan Douglas in 1950 for a California seat in the U.S. Senate. Allegations that she was “soft on Communism” again proved effective.
   D. Eisenhower’s running mate in 1952, Nixon survived a challenge to his candidacy.
   E. The “Checkers” speech was an early masterpiece of TV political rhetoric.
   F. Eisenhower restricted Nixon’s actual political role during his eight-year vice presidency.
      1. He lost narrowly to Kennedy in 1960.
2. He lost the California governor’s election in 1962 and seemed to be finished as a politician.

II. Nixon took advantage of the social upheavals of the 1960s to strengthen the Republican Party and his own role in it.
   A. He realized that white southerners were now willing to vote Republican.
   B. He appealed for the support of the “silent majority” against the forces of social unrest.
      1. He faced the challenge of George Wallace, the Alabama segregationist, an independent candidate.
      2. His use of the media was disciplined now, as was the Republicans’ Miami convention.
   C. His diplomatic policy of detente was largely successful.
      1. He opened diplomatic negotiations with China in 1972.
      2. He negotiated the SALT I Treaty with the Soviet Union in the same year.
   D. Nixon’s domestic policies accepted most of the legacy of Johnson’s Great Society.
   E. Vice President Spiro Agnew publicized the administration’s dislike of radicals and the media.

III. The Watergate break-in was unnecessary, and it ruined Nixon.
   A. The “plumbers” bugged the Democratic Party’s headquarters in the Watergate complex (July 1972) but were caught.
   B. *Washington Post* journalists Robert Woodward and Carl Bernstein pursued the story tenaciously. They cultivated sources who enabled them to trace links back to the Oval Office.
   C. Nixon won reelection easily in the fall of 1972. George McGovern of South Dakota represented the Democratic left, which had a passionate following, but only among a minority of voters.
   D. Nixon had to give the appearance of prosecuting the Watergate investigation vigorously, while actually involved in covering it up.
      2. Investigators were astonished to discover that Nixon had tape-recorded all his Oval Office conversations.
      3. He tried to claim “executive privilege” but was eventually forced to turn over the tapes, which incriminated him.
   E. In the summer of 1974, the House of Representatives prepared to indict Nixon for “high crimes and misdemeanors.”
      1. It denied his appeal for renewed military efforts in Vietnam.
      2. Nixon resigned rather than face trial in Congress.
3. Vice President Gerald Ford took over until the next presidential election in 1976.

**Essential Reading:**
Garry Wills, *Nixon Agonistes*.
Robert Woodward and Carl Bernstein, *All the President’s Men*.

**Supplementary Reading:**

**Questions to Consider:**
1. How did the social turmoil of the 1960s help Nixon in his rise to power?
2. What does Watergate tell us about the nature of the American political system in the mid- and late 20th century?
Lecture Seventy-Nine
Environmentalism

Scope: Theodore Roosevelt had established a national policy toward forests, parks, and land use. Modern environmentalism began with Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* (1962), a surprise bestseller that criticized the indiscriminate use of pesticides. By 1968, widespread concerns over pollution, chemicals in the atmosphere, and world overpopulation had gelled into what was at first called the “ecology movement.” It celebrated the first Earth Day in 1970, the year in which enabling legislation created the Environmental Protection Agency. From then on, all building projects had to be preceded by (and were sometimes prevented by) environmental impact statements. Endangered species, wild rivers, and scarce water resources all became issues of government concern, as did the cleanup of toxic chemical sites. Sudden “oil crises” in 1973 and 1979, triggered by political upheavals in the Middle East, demonstrated the need for conservation, efficiency, and economy. Environmental lobbying and demonstrations after the Three-Mile Island nuclear power station disaster (1979) ended the 20-year-long growth of civilian nuclear power. By 1980, environmentalism was an established part of national life. President Reagan discovered, when he tried to scant it, that the environment and its protection were almost as popular among his own supporters as among his adversaries. Environmentalists in the 1980s and 1990s alerted the nation to further resource shortages and potential threats to the Earth’s welfare.

Outline

I. The early environmental movement developed in response to citizens’ anxieties about pollution and population.

A. Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* (1962) criticized the indiscriminate use of pesticides and herbicides.
   1. DDT had, at first, seemed almost miraculously effective as a mosquito and louse killer.
   2. After a few years, however, new generations of the insects developed resistance to DDT.
   3. The chemical entered the food chain and threatened to poison animals and humans, too.

B. Ralph Nader’s *Unsafe at Any Speed* (1965) inaugurated consumer advocacy and a new willingness among citizens to criticize corporations.

C. Paul Ehrlich’s *The Population Bomb* (1968) argued that catastrophic famines due to overpopulation were inevitable and imminent.
D. The Sierra Club and other environmental groups campaigned to prevent the building of a dam in the Grand Canyon.

E. The first Earth Day, April 22, 1970, popularized the environmental cause.
   1. Activists invented symbolic and theatrical ways of drawing citizens’ attention to environmental issues.
   2. The decade’s tradition of protests and skepticism about government claims aided the environmental cause.

II. Congressional legislation after 1960 gave greater protection to the environment than ever previously.
   A. Acts to improve air and water quality reduced ambient pollution levels.
   C. Legislation enhanced the status of national parks, national forests, wilderness areas, and wild and scenic rivers.
   D. The Endangered Species Act (1973) helped preserve threatened animals and their habitats.

III. Energy crises in the 1970s tested the nation’s dedication to environmental protection.
   A. The oil crises of 1973 prompted Congress to vote in favor of a trans-Alaska pipeline.
      1. The pipeline was a technical triumph.
      2. The transfer point, Port Valdez, was the scene of a severe oil spill in 1989.
   B. Nuclear power stations seemed superior to coal-fired and hydroelectric stations in the 1950s but did not fulfill their advocates’ hopes.
      1. The federal government encouraged utility companies to invest in nuclear power generation.
      2. Problems with thermal pollution, disposal of spent nuclear fuel rods, and poor construction practices led to widespread public doubts about the industry in the 1970s.
      3. The Three-Mile Island accident (1979) energized the anti-nuclear movement and effectively ended the technology’s political viability.

IV. By the early 1980s, support for the environment was bipartisan, and it remained a central issue on the national agenda for both parties through the millennium.
   A. President Reagan’s first secretary of the interior, James Watt, scorned environmental concerns.
      1. Membership in the environmental lobbies boomed.
2. After two years, Watt and his EPA head, Ann Gorsuch, were both forced to resign.
3. Reagan tried to recover by re-appointing the original EPA administrator, William Ruckelshaus, to repair the damage.

B. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, both parties’ candidates claimed the environment as a priority.
   1. George Bush, Sr., declared in 1988 that he would be “the environmental president” and criticized his opponent Michael Dukakis for the pollution of Boston harbor.
   2. Democrat Al Gore in 1992 published *Earth in the Balance* and brought his environmental concerns to the Clinton White House.

**Essential Reading:**
Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring.*

**Supplementary Reading:**
Aldo Leopold, *A Sand-County Almanac.*
Marc Reisner, *Rivers of Empire: The American West and Its Disappearing Water.*

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Why did the environment become an important political issue only after World War II?
2. What were the strengths and weaknesses of the American response to environmental protection?
Lecture Eighty
Religion in 20th-Century America

Scope: By 1920, America was the most ethnically and religiously diverse nation in the world, but it was able to assimilate nearly everyone. The First Amendment ensured separation of church and state, along with freedom of religion, and this combination enabled many denominations and faiths to coexist. America’s long tradition of religious revivals, already two centuries old, found its latest embodiment in the Billy Graham sensation of the late 1940s. Religious tensions included a long-running anti-Catholicism among Protestants and a low-level anti-Semitism until the mid-1940s. Revelations about the Holocaust made anti-Semitism disgraceful; the election of President Kennedy and the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) had the same effect on anti-Catholicism. America remained a far more religious society than the other Western industrial nations—another example of its exceptionalism—and appeared to deny the validity of secularization theory. It also witnessed an exotic array of sects and cults, from the ex-hippie “Jesus freaks” to the followers of Jim Jones who committed mass suicide in the Guyana jungle in 1978. Religious groups also played an important role in the great moral-political debates of the era over civil rights, feminism, abortion, homosexuality, and nuclear weapons.

Outline

I. After World War I, the nation came to terms with its multi-religious character.
   A. Protestants were still numerically dominant.
      1. They split between liberal and evangelical groups.
      2. The Scopes “Monkey Trial” (1925) exposed this fracture.
      3. Liberal Protestants tried to adapt to the most recent intellectual trends; fundamentalists to resist them.
   B. Catholics, almost a third of the population, assimilated ethnically diverse peoples and lobbied for full American inclusion.
      1. Catholics asserted their place with great architectural monuments.
      2. Catholic machines dominated the political life of many cities.
      3. The Legion of Decency influenced Hollywood productions.
   C. Jews, about three percent of the population, debated the merits of assimilation.
      1. Reform Jews emphasized the ethical side of their tradition.
      2. Orthodox Jews tried to resist assimilation.
      3. Conservative Judaism, an American invention of the late 19th century, steered a middle course.
II. Mutual tolerance increased during the second half of the 20th century.
   A. The Holocaust and the creation of Israel contributed to the end of
      American anti-Semitism.
      1. Already mild by European standards, it became an impermissible
         breach of national standards after 1950.
      2. Will Herberg, in Protestant, Catholic, Jew (1955), treated Judaism
         as one of the three main forms of American identity.
   B. John F. Kennedy’s electoral success and the Second Vatican Council
      contributed to the end of American anti-Catholicism.
      1. Paul Blanshard was the last of the “highbrow” anti-Catholics.
      2. Organizations to prevent the election of John F. Kennedy failed
         and had no successors.
      3. An American Jesuit, John Courtney Murray, advised the Vatican
         Council on its religious liberty document.
   C. A series of Supreme Court decisions clarified the separation between
      church and state.
      1. School prayer and Bible-reading decisions (1962 and 1963)
         excluded all sectarianism from public schools.
      2. The Pierce v. Society of Sisters case (1925) had upheld the
         constitutionality of religious and private education.

III. The 1960s social movements gave rise to new religions and new versions of
     old ones.
   A. Hippie Christians created the Jesus movement.
      1. Ted Wise’s “Living Room” was an evangelical Christian sanctuary
         for hippies of the Haight-Ashbury district.
      2. Arthur Blessitt served the same function in Los Angeles.
      3. Jim Jones’s “People’s Temple” demonstrated that new religious
         movements could be unstable.
   B. Women began to question their traditional religious roles.
      1. Liberal churches began to ordain women to the ministry, but
         Catholics and Orthodox Jews refused to change.
      2. Feminist theologians reinterpreted familiar biblical stories.
   C. Americans who were disenchanted by the Judeo-Christian tradition
      turned to Asian spiritual alternatives.
      1. The Beatles’ journey to the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi and their
         practice of transcendental meditation influenced young Americans.
      2. Zen meditation attracted men and women who hoped to adapt it to
         their secular lives rather than become monks.

IV. New immigrant generations further diversified America’s religious
    landscape.
   A. Immigration reform laws in 1965 abolished discrimination based on
      national origin, enabling people from everywhere in the world to enter
      America.
B. American Islam was composed partly of African American converts and partly of immigrants.
   2. Immigrants from India, Pakistan, Iran, Yemen, and other Middle Eastern nations brought a more traditional Islam to America.
   3. Political tensions after 1980 subjected some American Muslims to discrimination and assault.

C. American Hindus found their way of life changing even as they tried to preserve it. Like earlier groups, their children’s assimilation was difficult to forestall.

Essential Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Jane I. Smith, *Islam in America*.

Questions to Consider:
1. Why was America so successful at incorporating new religious groups?
2. How did social movements affect religious life after 1960?
Lecture Eighty-One
Carter and the Reagan Revolution

Scope: Jimmy Carter benefited from Watergate to win the 1976 presidential race in an anti-Washington campaign. He was unlucky, however, and confronted an ugly combination of economic stagnation and inflation (stagflation). His economic woes were worsened by the Iranian revolution (1978–1979) and the seizure of America’s diplomats at Tehran as hostages. He fought off Edward Kennedy’s challenge in his own party but lost to a right-wing Republican, Ronald Reagan, in 1980. Reagan would not accept the bipartisan consensus of the last two decades. He escalated the Cold War by planning a new generation of space-based weapons (“Star Wars”) and aimed to cut taxes and diminish the reach of the federal government. His supply-side economics was designed to accelerate economic growth with a minimum of political intervention. He owed a political debt to the New Religious Right, in revolt against recent decades’ moral changes, but did little in practice to support their pro-family plans (to outlaw abortion, restore school prayer, and combat feminism). Reagan had been a film star, and his masterful use of the media made him a popular president, even when sordid aspects of his foreign policy were exposed during his second administration.

Outline

I. Jimmy Carter was an unusual figure in the presidency; lucky to be elected but unlucky in the circumstances he confronted.
   A. His Christian persona, uncontaminated by Washington experience, made him a bracing alternative after the Watergate era.
      1. His religious views surprised journalists and policy professionals.
      2. His eccentric family provided plentiful material for colorful media stories.
   B. Carter struggled to make respect for human rights central to his foreign policy.
      1. He withdrew American support for the shah of Iran.
      2. He withdrew American support for the Nicaraguan dictator Somoza.
   C. He tried to promote lasting peace in the Middle East. The Camp David Accord between Israel and Egypt (1978) was his most important contribution to world stability.
   D. He relinquished American control of the Panama Canal.
   E. Carter’s economic policies were hamstrung by an awkward combination of slow growth and inflation (stagflation).
      1. The 1979 oil crisis intensified inflation.

F. The Carter administration ended in a pair of complex foreign-policy crises.
1. Iranian revolutionaries seized 71 American diplomats and embassy staff members in November 1979 and held 52 of them as hostages for 444 days.
2. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979) poisoned the detente atmosphere.

II. Ronald Reagan’s victory in 1980 indicated a shift in the Republican Party and the new energy of the Religious Right.

A. The Moral Majority, led by Jerry Falwell, brought the concerns of evangelical Christians into the political arena for the first time since the 1920s.
   1. They objected to the “permissive society,” the sexual revolution, feminism, and a perceived breakdown of the family.
   2. They aimed to restore religion to a central place in public life.

B. Conservative Republicans had gained control of local party branches since the Goldwater fiasco of 1964.

C. Reagan’s earlier fame, based on his radio, Hollywood, and television careers, gave Republican conservatives a handsome, relaxed, media-savvy representative.
   1. Reagan, like Eisenhower, deliberately gave the impression of being less politically capable than he, in fact, was.
   2. Surviving an assassination attempt soon after his inauguration enhanced his popularity.

D. His persona, as much as his policies, helped to ensure Reagan’s reelection in 1984, especially when the Democrats pursued controversial policies and candidates.
   1. The Democrats’ choice of a female vice-presidential candidate backfired.
   2. Jesse Jackson’s role in the Democratic Party contributed to its disarray.

III. Reagan abandoned the bipartisan consensus of recent decades in both domestic and foreign policy.

A. He espoused the supply-side revolution in economic policy. Tax cuts, providing entrepreneurial incentives, would increase economic growth and enhance revenue.

B. The libertarian side of Republicanism gained more than the pro-family and evangelical side, whose policy plans presupposed more government intervention and surveillance.
1. Reagan, despite his rhetoric, did little to legislate against abortion or for school prayers.
2. He found it difficult to follow through on his promise to diminish the reach of the federal government.

C. Rapid military escalation created budget deficits.
D. Reagan’s militant Cold War posture strained relations with the Soviet Union and contributed to bitter conflict in Latin America.
   1. Reagan supported the anti-regime *contras* in Nicaragua’s civil war and the pro-U.S. regime in El Salvador.
   2. The “Star Wars” program prepared to militarize even beyond the Earth’s atmosphere.
   3. Concessions in the START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) talks augured the Soviet Union’s internal crisis.

E. His “Teflon” image enabled Reagan to weather even the embarrassing Iran-Contra scandal of his second term.

**Essential Reading:**
Garry Wills, *Reagan’s America: Innocents at Home*.
Peter G. Bourne, *Jimmy Carter: A Comprehensive Biography from Plains to Post-Presidency*.

**Supplementary Reading:**
Peter Carroll, *It Seemed Like Nothing Happened: America in the 1970s*.
Haynes Johnson, *Sleepwalking through History: America in the Reagan Years*.

**Questions to Consider:**
1. Why did evangelical Christian voters abandon Jimmy Carter even though he was more like them in most respects than President Reagan?
2. How did Cold War and Middle Eastern crises affect Presidents Carter and Reagan, and in what ways did their responses differ?
Lecture Eighty-Two
The New World Order

Scope: Pressure from the arms race in the 1980s and military failure in Afghanistan combined to bring the great postwar Soviet Empire to an end in 1989. Joyful students demolished the Berlin Wall; two years later, the Soviet Union itself went through a peaceful transition to democracy and survived an attempted counter-coup. These sudden changes left the United States as the world’s one great superpower, able to preside over the creation of numerous new nations with more or less democratic and America-inspired political systems. President George Bush, Sr., announced that America would continue to monitor what he described as the “New World Order.” Its first challenge was to repel an Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, a challenge to which the United States rose in 1991, leading U.N. forces. The 1990s showed that the absence of Communist repression permitted old ethnic and religious animosities in Eastern Europe to resurface. Hideous “ethnic cleansing” campaigns there led to mass extermination of civilians, but America was reluctant to become too deeply involved for fear that Bosnia might become another Vietnam. A more elusive threat, from foreign and domestic terrorism, troubled the 1990s.

Outline

I. The sudden end of the Soviet Empire took the United States by surprise.
   A. The Soviet Union’s participation in an unwinnable war in Afghanistan intensified hatred for the regime, especially among the non-Russian nationalities.
   B. Mikhail Gorbachev’s policies of perestroika and glasnost were too little, too late.
   C. The Iron Curtain collapsed in 1989. Its most famous section, the Berlin Wall, had been a symbol of the Cold War confrontation since 1961.
   D. President Bush welcomed the birth of democracy in Russia, its former Soviet neighbors, and Eastern Europe.
   E. China’s regime crushed pro-democracy demonstrations in Beijing’s Tiananmen Square in 1989.
   F. The long nuclear standoff of the era had not ended in nuclear war; deterrence had worked.

II. The Gulf War tested the world’s new geopolitical alignment in 1990 and 1991.
   A. Saddam Hussein’s Iraq invaded its oil-rich neighbor Kuwait in August 1990.
B. The United Nations, with strong American leadership, imposed trade sanctions.

C. When sanctions yielded no result, U.N. air raids, from January 15, 1991, then a ground invasion on February 24, ejected the invaders.
   1. “Smart bombs” and overwhelming technological superiority kept American casualties low and ensured rapid victory.
   2. American media were kept far from the fighting, and the army controlled access to news.
   3. President Bush decided not to pursue and overthrow Saddam Hussein.
   4. The American military at once undertook studies of its performance and was generally pleased at the outcome.

III. Foreign policy dilemmas in the 1990s arose in southeastern Europe, east Africa, and in the form of terrorism from internal and external sources.

A. Post-Communist Yugoslavia broke up into warring, and sometimes genocidal, ethnic fragments. NATO, the U.N., and the United States attempted to stop the bloodshed without becoming overcommitted in the region.

B. Inter-tribal genocide in Rwanda drew no effective American response.

C. Anti-American terrorism created an undercurrent of anxiety through the 1990s and into the new millennium.
   1. Ever since the 1960s, political groups had hijacked aircraft for purposes of political leverage and publicity.
   2. An attack on the World Trade Center in February 1993 killed 6 people and injured another 1,000.
   4. The threat of terrorism exacted immense costs in time, money, and security.

Essential Reading:
Robert Hutchings, *American Diplomacy at the End of the Cold War.*

Supplementary Reading:
Richard Serrano, *One of Ours: Timothy McVeigh and the Oklahoma City Bombing.*

Philip Grosscup, *The Newest Explosions of Terrorism.*

Questions to Consider:
1. Why did the Soviet Empire collapse between 1989 and 1991?
2. What issues made the conduct of post–Cold War foreign policy difficult for Presidents Bush, Sr., and Clinton?
Lecture Eighty-Three

Clinton’s America and the Millennium

Scope: Bill Clinton surrendered much of the Democratic Party’s liberal heritage and presented himself as a vigorous pro-business president. His eight-year administration witnessed an incredible period of economic growth but also a continued growth in the gap between America’s rich and poor. The decision to dismantle many Great Society programs, notably Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and Clinton’s failure to create a national healthcare system underlined the difference between America and the other Western nations, which by the 1990s, had created lavish cradle-to-grave social welfare states. Under greater media scrutiny than any predecessor, Clinton was severely embarrassed by the Whitewater and Monica Lewinsky scandals but survived impeachment and trial. Continued turbulence in the Middle East, which generations of policymakers had been powerless to quiet (with the lone exception of President Carter’s Camp David Peace Accord between Israel and Egypt, 1978), made America a devil-nation to the Arab world. This judgment confronted America in the starkest possible way in September 2001 with the al Qaeda attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

Outline

I. President Clinton combined great political skill with ruinous personal weaknesses.
   A. Highly educated and hard working, he had risen rapidly in Arkansas politics.
   B. He was a surprise Democratic favorite in 1992.
      1. George Bush, Sr., soon lost the aura of victory in the Gulf War.
      2. Ross Perot’s quixotic candidacy hurt the GOP more than the Democrats. He got 19 million votes, more than any third-party candidate in U.S. history.
   C. Clinton’s initiatives on homosexuality and healthcare generated intense Republican resistance.
      1. Mrs. Clinton’s role in the healthcare plan was the most important political work ever undertaken by a First Lady, but not the most tactful.
      2. Newt Gingrich led the GOP to an immense mid-term upset in the 1994 elections.
   D. Reelected over Bob Dole in 1996, Clinton’s second administration was hamstrung by the Lewinsky affair.
1. Lewinsky, by talking to her friends about her affair with the president, contributed to press leaks.
2. Clinton’s lies about the affair led to his impeachment in December 1998.

E. Democratic support in Congress and some Republican crossover votes enabled Clinton to win acquittal despite evidence of his improper conduct.

F. Republican George Bush, Jr., won the election of 2000 but only after a controversial count of Florida votes.

II. Sustained economic boom times through the 1990s did nothing to narrow the gap between America’s richest and poorest citizens.

A. High technology created a new generation of entrepreneurial wizards.

B. The failure of the Great Society’s War on Poverty led to a drastic overhaul of welfare and Aid to Families with Dependent Children in 1996.

C. The nation was riven by bitter debates over affirmative action, political correctness, and “culture wars.”
   1. Powerful lobbies supported affirmative action, but the Supreme Court and voter initiatives began to restrict it in the 1990s.
   2. University campuses debated whether free speech was an absolute right.

D. American crime and imprisonment rates remained far higher than in most industrially developed nations, and its dependence on the death penalty made it unpopular among human rights groups.

III. The al Qaeda attack on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, emphasized the world’s continuing instability.

A. The well-planned attack took advantage of America’s open society, porous immigration system, and high technology.
   1. The attackers’ willingness to sacrifice their own lives made the event difficult to foresee or prevent.
   2. Conspiracy theories about 9/11 are implausible.

B. President George W. Bush and his cabinet drew the conclusion that America must take a more proactive approach to foreign policy.
   1. They attacked Afghanistan to oust the Taliban regime, which supported al Qaeda.
   2. Their military success there stood in striking contrast to the agonizing 10-year campaign that had contributed to bringing down the Soviet Union.
   3. The political aftermath of this victory was ambiguous.

C. In the opening months of 2003, Bush also decided to attack Iraq, claiming that it was preparing weapons of mass destruction.
1. In justification of the attack was Iraq’s consistent failure to cooperate with 10 years of U.N. resolutions and Saddam Hussein’s human rights abuses.

2. Against it was the danger of being sucked into a Vietnam-like quagmire, of arousing even more passionate anti-Americanism in the Arab world, and of being unable to create a stable political alternative to Hussein’s despotism.

3. The war began in March 2003 and was another overwhelming American military success, annihilating the enemy in four weeks with scarcely 100 U.S. casualties.

4. As in Afghanistan, the political aftermath was far less decisive.

D. The painful and decisive events of 2001–2003 demonstrated that although America had overwhelming military power at its disposal, it could not look forward to presiding over a harmonious world and could not enjoy domestic consensus about its proper role in the world.

**Essential Reading:**


**Supplementary Reading:**
Elizabeth Drew, *Showdown: The Struggle between the Gingrich Congress and the Clinton White House.*


**Questions to Consider:**
1. What domestic problems continued to mar post–Cold War America?
2. What were the strengths and weaknesses of President Clinton?
Lecture Eighty-Four
Reflections

Scope: It is easy to assume that history is something that happened once and for all in the past. Actually, it is continuous, and we live with history’s burdens, as well as its benefits. This course has shown that the immense vitality and diversity of American life have been underlain by certain recurrent themes. First, America’s development has differed from that of most of the rest of the world: in religiosity, in national confidence and sense of destiny, and in the nation’s incredible good fortune. Second, and closely related, America has enjoyed unprecedented wealth, an abundance of raw materials, plenty of entrepreneurial and inventive talent, and a gradual widening of the population that could share in the benefits of prosperity. By the millennium, it set standards for the rest of the world to follow and was a decisive leader of the whole world’s economy. Third, its political and social system ensured that citizens enjoyed a wide range of freedoms, that its class system was fluid, and that democracy was as much a reality as an aspiration. Fourth, it was more successful than any other nation in bringing immigrants from every corner of the world and assimilating them into the American system. Compared to its high ideals, America always fell short. Compared to the other nations of the world, however, America was far more impressive for its successes than for its failings.

Outline

I. American historians’ use of the idea of *American exceptionalism* is justified.
   A. Americans never lost the sense of being a “chosen” people.
      1. This sense contributed to some of the initial settlers’ motivation in the 17th century.
      2. It shaped the idea of manifest destiny in the 19th century.
   B. American foreign policy was rarely mere *realpolitik* but had particular objectives in view.
   C. America was exceptional in remaining far more religiously energetic than the other industrial democracies.

II. A combination of cultural and environmental circumstances enabled America to become the richest nation in the history of the world.
   A. It was lucky in its access to great natural resources.
      1. For three centuries, it was able to develop fertile land and plentiful timber supplies.
      2. Iron ore and coal deposits fueled America’s Industrial Revolution.
3. Crude oil, vital to the later stages of industrial development, was also abundant.
4. Even the secondary minerals (gold, copper, mercury, uranium) were plentiful in America.

B. The capitalist system encouraged the rapid exploitation of these resources.
   1. Individual incentives to entrepreneurs proved more effective than alternative economic systems.
   2. Capitalism sometimes led to reckless or delusional activity.
   3. It also ensured massive inequality of incomes.

III. America’s political institutions nurtured and protected vital freedoms.
A. The Constitution, written under difficult conditions, proved itself effective for the next two centuries. Political stability and political freedom combined to nurture prosperity.
B. Democracy, steadily widened since the 1780s, has made the political system responsive to citizens’ interests.
   1. Most white males gained the vote before 1860.
   2. Women participated in electoral politics after 1919.
   3. Full participation by African Americans was delayed until the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.
C. The Bill of Rights and the Supreme Court prevented democracy from degenerating into demagogy.
D. New generations learned to take the principles of democracy and equality very seriously.

IV. America has welcomed and assimilated more varied immigrant groups than any other nation.
A. European, African, and Asian immigrants, voluntary and coerced, all adapted to a single language, polity, and culture. “Multiculturalism” has demonstrated great internal variation and richness.
B. British institutions largely decided the shape of the melting pot, but its savor came from the languages, foods, and cultures of those it combined.
C. America’s educational achievements have matched its assimilative power.
   1. It has a distinguished literary and artistic tradition.
   2. Since the mid-20th century, it has led the world in scientific research.
   3. In America, the endowment of education sanitizes ill-gotten fortunes.

Essential Reading:


**Supplementary Reading:**


Max Lerner, *America as a Civilization*.

**Questions to Consider:**

1. Why has American history been so different from that of the other industrial democracies?

2. Should historians pass moral judgments on their subject or should they simply explain what happened and why?
Timeline

1869 ................................................ Completion of the first transcontinental railroad.

1869 ................................................ Completion of the Suez Canal.

1873 ................................................ Invention of barbed wire (which made fencing of the Great Plains possible).

1876 ................................................ Battle of the Little Bighorn; death of General Custer.

1876 ................................................ Invention of the telephone by Alexander Graham Bell.

1877 ................................................ Great Railroad Strike.

1879 ................................................ Invention of the light bulb by Edison.

1880 ................................................ Election of President James Garfield (Rep.).

1881 ................................................ Assassination of President Garfield by a disappointed job-seeker, Guiteau; Vice President Chester Arthur becomes president.

1884 ................................................ Election of President Grover Cleveland (Dem.).

1886 ................................................ Founding of the American Federation of Labor.

1886 ................................................ Haymarket (Chicago) anarchist bombing.

1888 ................................................ Election of President Benjamin Harrison (Rep.).

1889 ................................................ Jane Addams founds Hull House.

1890 ................................................ U.S. Census announces the closing of the frontier.

1892 ................................................ Election of President Grover Cleveland (Dem.).

1892 ................................................ Homestead Strike, Pennsylvania.

1894 ................................................ Pullman Strike, Illinois.

1896 ................................................ Supreme Court decision in Plessy v. Ferguson upholds racial segregation laws.

1896 ................................................ Election of President William McKinley (R.) over William Jennings Bryan (D. and Populist).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>U.S. war against Spain in Cuba and the Philippines; Theodore Roosevelt victorious on San Juan Hill.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Reelection of President McKinley, with Theodore Roosevelt as vice president.</td>
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<td>1901</td>
<td>Assassination of President McKinley by anarchist Czolgosz. Vice President Roosevelt becomes president.</td>
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<td>1903</td>
<td>Wright Brothers’ first flight.</td>
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<td>1904</td>
<td>Reelection of President Theodore Roosevelt.</td>
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<td>1906</td>
<td>San Francisco earthquake.</td>
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<td>1906</td>
<td>Publication of Upton Sinclair’s <em>The Jungle</em>.</td>
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<td>1908</td>
<td>Election of President William Howard Taft (R.).</td>
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<td>1908</td>
<td>Henry Ford builds the prototype Model T.</td>
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<td>1912</td>
<td>Election of President Woodrow Wilson (D.) over Taft and Roosevelt (Progressive).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Completion (by American companies) and opening of the Panama Canal.</td>
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<td>1914</td>
<td>World War I begins in Europe.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>German submarine sinks the <em>Lusitania</em>; Wilson protests to Germany and W. J. Bryan resigns as secretary of state.</td>
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<td>1916</td>
<td>Wilson reelected under the slogan “He kept us out of war.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>German declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare prompts American entry into the war.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Russian Revolution; Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, seize power.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>American forces on the Western Front contribute to Allied victory in World War I.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>President Wilson at the Treaty of Versailles is unable to prevent a vengeful, anti-German settlement. U.S. Senate refuses to participate in League of Nations.</td>
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1919 ................................................Constitutional Amendments give votes to women and prohibit alcohol.

1920 ................................................Election of President Warren G. Harding (R.).

1921 ................................................Commercial radio broadcasting begins.

1921 (and 1924)................................Congress passes restrictive legislation against immigration.

1923 ................................................President Harding dies in office. Vice President Calvin Coolidge becomes president.

1924 ................................................Reelection of President Coolidge.

1925 ................................................Supreme Court decision in Pierce v. Society of Sisters upholds constitutional right to private education.

1927 ................................................Charles Lindbergh makes first solo transatlantic flight in the Spirit of St. Louis.

1928 ................................................Supreme Court decision in Schechter v. United States overturns crucial New Deal legislation.

1929 ................................................First 100 days of the New Deal creates powerful new federal agencies.

1930 ................................................Adolf Hitler elected to German leadership.

1935 ................................................Election of President Herbert Hoover (R.) over Al Smith (D.), America’s first Catholic presidential candidate.

1932 ................................................Election of President Franklin Roosevelt (D.) over Hoover.

1933 ................................................Legislation establishes Social Security.

1935 ................................................Failure of Roosevelt’s “court-packing” plan.

1936 ................................................President Roosevelt reelected over Alf Landon (R.).

1939 ................................................Hitler’s Germany invades Poland: World War II begins.
1940 ................................................President Roosevelt reelected over Wendell Willkie (R.).

1941 (summer) ............................Hitler’s invasion of the Soviet Union.

1941 (December) .......................Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor brings United States into the war against Germany and Japan.

1942 ................................................Battle of Midway, first significant American military success of World War II.

1943 ................................................American forces participate in Allied invasion of Sicily and Italy.

1944 ................................................Allied invasion of France (D-Day), led by General Dwight Eisenhower.

1944 (November) ......................Reelection of President Roosevelt over Thomas Dewey (R.).

1945 (April) ...............................Death of President Roosevelt. Vice President Harry Truman becomes president.

1945 (May) ...............................Unconditional German surrender ends war in Europe.

1945 (August) .........................Atomic bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki end war in Asia.

1946 ................................................Allied deadlock over the future of Eastern Europe begins Cold War.

1948 ................................................Reelection of President Truman over Dewey (R.), Henry Wallace (Progressive), and Strom Thurmond (Dixiecrat).

1950 ................................................Korean War begins.

1950 ................................................Senator Joseph McCarthy’s accusations intensify American anti-Communism.

1952 ................................................President Dwight Eisenhower (R.) elected over Adlai Stevenson (D.).

1953 ................................................Truce ends fighting in Korea.

1954 ................................................Supreme Court’s decision in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas condemns racial segregation in education.

1955 ................................................Martin Luther King, Jr., leads Montgomery bus boycott against segregated city transportation.
1956 ..................................................Reelection of President Eisenhower over Stevenson.
1957 ..................................................Soviet launch of Sputnik inaugurates the “space race.”
1960 ..................................................Election of President John F. Kennedy (D.), America’s first Catholic president, over Richard Nixon (R.).
1962 ..................................................Cuban missile crisis.
1963 ..................................................Assassination of President Kennedy by Lee Harvey Oswald. Vice President Lyndon Johnson becomes president.
1964 ..................................................Gulf of Tonkin incident escalates American role in Vietnam.
1964 ..................................................Reelection of President Johnson over Barry Goldwater (R.).
1964 and 1965.................................Legislation on civil rights, voting rights, and immigration abolishes all forms of government-sponsored racial discrimination.
1967 ..................................................Hippie “summer of love” in San Francisco Haight-Ashbury district.
1968 ..................................................Tet offensive further undermines American credibility in Vietnam.
1968 ..................................................Assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr., and Robert Kennedy; urban rioting.
1968 ..................................................Election of President Richard Nixon (R.) over Hubert Humphrey (D.).
1969 ..................................................Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin, the first men on the moon.
1972 ..................................................President Nixon visits China and opens diplomatic contacts.
1972 ..................................................Reelection of President Nixon over George McGovern (D.).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>American military withdrawal from Vietnam completed.</td>
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<td>1974</td>
<td>President Nixon forced to resign over Watergate scandal. Vice President Gerald Ford becomes president.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Election of President Jimmy Carter (D.) over Ford.</td>
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<td>1977</td>
<td>Opening of trans-Alaska pipeline.</td>
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<td>1978</td>
<td>President Carter brokers Camp David Peace Accords between Israel and Egypt.</td>
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<td>1979</td>
<td>Accident at Three Mile Island nuclear power station.</td>
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<td>1979</td>
<td>American embassy staff in Teheran, Iran, imprisoned by revolutionary students.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Election of President Ronald Reagan (R.) over Carter.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Reagan military escalation intensifies Cold War.</td>
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<td>1984</td>
<td>President Reagan reelected over Walter Mondale (D.), whose running mate, Geraldine Ferraro, was the first major-party female candidate in U.S. history.</td>
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<td>1986</td>
<td>Soviet Premier Gorbachev attempts radical internal reforms, glasnost and perestroika.</td>
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<td>1987</td>
<td>Congressional investigation of the Iran-Contra scandal.</td>
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<td>1988</td>
<td>Election of President George Bush, Sr., over Michael Dukakis (D.).</td>
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<td>1990</td>
<td>Iraq invades Kuwait and creates an emergency for the “New World Order.”</td>
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<td>1991</td>
<td>U.N. forces led by the United States eject Iraqi forces from Kuwait in the Gulf War.</td>
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<td>Year</td>
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<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Soviet Union collapses. Democracy established in Russia.</td>
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<td>1992</td>
<td>Election of President Bill Clinton (D.) over George Bush, Sr.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Attack on federal building in Oklahoma City.</td>
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<td>1996</td>
<td>Reelection of President Clinton over Bob Dole (R.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Election of President George W. Bush, Jr., (R.) over Al Gore (D.) by narrowest possible margin.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Al Qaeda attack on World Trade Center and Pentagon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>U.S. and coalition forces fight in Iraq.</td>
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Glossary

**Affirmative action**: Government policies designed after the civil rights laws of 1965 to achieve actual racial integration by setting aside places in schools and workplaces for racial minorities and women.

**Agrarianism**: The belief that farmers are the most important element in the nation and that government policy should be more attentive to their interests than those of any other element.

**Anarchism**: The belief that government and capitalism are always oppressive and should be abolished. Some American anarchists in the 1880–1920 era, notably Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, believed that violence in pursuit of these ends was justifiable.

**Anti-Communism**: The belief that Communism poses a mortal threat to America and that legal measures at home and military measures abroad are necessary to thwart it. Anti-Communism was the central informing idea of American policy from 1946–1990.

**Black Power**: Advocacy of black political assertion and rejection of Martin Luther King’s pacifist and integrationist ideals by a second generation of civil rights activists after about 1965. Malcolm X was its most well-known advocate.

**Bull Moose**: Nickname for Theodore Roosevelt’s Progressive Party in the election of 1912.

**Busing**: Moving public school children from one district to another to achieve actual racial integration in education (the policy prevailed between the 1970s and 1990s but had been abandoned by 2000).

**Conservative**: A politician, intellectual, or citizen who believes in conserving society’s main institutions and principles. American conservatism has always been paradoxical because the nation’s commercial dynamism has made it change more rapidly than virtually all others in the world. American conservatives in the 20th century supported capitalism and opposed liberalism and Communism.

**Containment**: The theoretical basis of America’s Cold War-era defense policy; deterring and preventing Soviet aggression wherever it appeared, diplomatically if possible but with the threat of nuclear strikes if necessary.

**Ecumenism**: The belief—widespread in 20th-century America—that different religious groups can coexist and that they should cooperate.

**Evil Empire**: President Reagan’s name for the Soviet Union and its satellites in the early 1980s. Advocates of peaceful coexistence criticized such provocative language.

**Feminism**: The belief that society ought not to make invidious distinctions between men and women and ought not to deny education, work, or other
opportunities to women because of their gender. Early 20th-century feminism was dedicated chiefly to women’s suffrage; late-20th-century feminism, to jobs and educational equality.

**Free silver**: The belief, common among farmers in the late 19th century, that silver, as well as gold, should be the basis of American currency, a policy that would have been inflationary and would have tended to increase farm incomes. Free silver was the central economic issue of the 1896 election.

**Fundamentalism**: The religion of conservative American Protestants who opposed the intellectual developments in science and comparative religion of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Fundamentalists continued to assert the inerrancy (perfect accuracy) of all the Bible, which led them to reject evolutionary theory and ecumenism.

**Germany First**: American policy in World War II, based on the recognition that Germany, the greater military and industrial threat, should be attacked and defeated before Japan.

**Imperialism**: The policy, common among Western European powers in the late 19th century, of conquering African and Asian nations. Influential turn-of-the-century politicians in America, including Theodore Roosevelt, favored a comparable policy after the Spanish-American War, and the idea influenced America’s role in the Philippines, Cuba, and Latin America.

**Integrationist**: A black or white advocate of racial integration.

**Interchangeability**: Manufacture of identical parts, first fully achieved in the bicycle industry, which was essential to mass production.

**Isolationism**: The belief that American 20th-century foreign policy should carry on the 19th-century tradition of disengagement from European affairs. Americans who opposed participation in World War II between 1939 and Pearl Harbor (1941), including aviation hero Charles Lindbergh and ex-president Herbert Hoover, were labeled isolationists.

**Liberal**: In the 19th century, a politician, intellectual, or citizen who believed in human equality, free institutions, and a free-market economy, while opposing inherited privilege and hierarchy. The word’s American meaning shifted in the 1930s to signify a supporter of the New Deal and a stronger government role in combating poverty and social vulnerability.

**Libertarian**: Advocate of an extreme form of 19th-century “classical” liberalism, taking the view that the entire economy should be privatized and that government’s role should be minimal.

**Massive resistance**: The declared policy of white southern congressmen and senators after the *Brown* case (1954), who threatened absolute non-cooperation with the federal government and judiciary in their policy of racial integration.
**Massive retaliation:** The Eisenhower-era defense policy, which economized on conventional forces by relying on the threat of nuclear retaliation against Soviet aggression.

**New Freedom and New Nationalism:** The economic policy proposals of Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, respectively, in the 1912 election campaign. Wilson’s New Freedom sought to restore free competition in each industry by breaking up monopolies and oligopolies. Roosevelt’s New Nationalism accepted the existence of economic giants but advocated their close regulation by government.

**Overkill:** The ability of the world’s nuclear weapons stockpiles to kill the world’s entire population more than once; a situation already in existence by the mid-1960s.

**Political correctness:** The social orthodoxy of late-20th–century America. The term meant to favor feminism, affirmative action, gay rights, and abortion rights and to condemn humor that satirized any social, ethnic, or racial group, especially if it was disadvantaged. Influential, especially on college campuses; opponents saw it as antithetical to freedom of thought, expression, and speech.

**Populist:** A supporter of the People’s Party in the 1890s, advocating agrarian and free silver policies. More generally, populism is support for “the people” against “the experts” or “the intellectuals.” Politicians with a populist image included Huey Long, Joe McCarthy, and George Wallace.

**Progressive:** An early 20th-century advocate of political and social reforms, emphasizing democratic accountability, efficiency, and the application of rationality and expertise to all problems. By 1912, nearly all politicians claimed to be Progressives.

**Spin:** Techniques for manipulating and interpreting the news so that, whatever its content, it can be made to reflect favorably on one’s own group. “Spin-doctors” became a central feature of political life in the late 20th century.

**Temperance:** Originally the word meant moderation in drinking, but it had come to mean complete abstinence from alcohol by the late 19th century. National temperance was the objective of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union and other lobbies for a prohibition amendment to the Constitution.

**Trust:** Early 20th-century name for a monopoly or a price-fixing agreement between the biggest companies in an industry. Antitrust legislation from 1890 was designed to prevent trusts from forming or to prosecute those that did form, if they acted in restraint of competition and free trade.
Biographical Notes

Jane Addams (1860–1935). Progressive reformer and founder of Hull House social settlement. Addams suffered from psychosomatic illnesses in her youth and sought an outlet in philanthropic, socially useful work. Reluctant to marry and live the parasitic life of an upper-middle-class woman, she was impressed by the British settlement house movement, which brought privileged young men and women into the slums of London. She bought Hull House in the midst of a poor, working-class Chicago district in 1889 and turned it into a shelter, day-care center, and educational resource, living and working there for the rest of her life. Hull House helped generations of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe to adapt to American city life, and it lobbied the city government on their behalf, attempting to rid it of corrupt machine politicians. It also served as a high-pressure training school for middle-class women in the temperance, suffrage, and social work movements, with many of its alumnae becoming nationally important figures in their own right. Addams helped incipient trade unions in the area and created a Labor Museum, as well. She respected and tried to preserve the folkways, languages, and cultures of immigrant groups, and she was among the founders of the American Civil Liberties Union. She became a nationally famous peace advocate during World War I and won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931.

Louis Brandeis (1856–1941). First Jewish member of the Supreme Court. Born to Czech immigrant parents in Louisville, Kentucky, Brandeis excelled as a student, graduating at the head of his Harvard Law School class at age 21. He created a successful practice in Boston and became interested in public interest questions, as well as profitable cases. His “Brandeis Brief,” first tried in Muller v. Oregon (1908), used not only legal information but also sociological and medical evidence in support of a law restricting women to an eight-hour work day. A friend of trade unions and women’s rights and a tenacious courtroom critic of monopoly businesses, he became an economic policy advisor to Woodrow Wilson. Wilson appointed him to the Supreme Court in 1916, where he served with distinction until his retirement in 1939. He opposed the repressive Espionage Act during World War I and maintained a distinguished record on civil liberties through the 1920s. He was, however, one of the justices who enraged President Franklin Roosevelt by concluding that such New Deal initiatives as the National Recovery Administration exceeded the limits of the Constitution.

Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919). Poor Scottish immigrant who became a steel manufacturer and philanthropist. Son of a poor handloom weaver, Carnegie came to America at age 13 and became a cotton factory worker, then a railroad messenger boy. Self-educated and an avid reader, he soon learned how to seize business opportunities and invest his savings, making small amounts increase dramatically. By the end of the Civil War, he was a senior railroad employee but left to start his own company in the metal bridge business. As the American railroad network continued to spread nationwide, Carnegie’s steel factories in
the Pittsburgh area provided the raw iron and steel, eventually making him one of the richest men in America. The bitter Homestead Strike of 1892 took place at his factories; he was doggedly opposed to trade unions. He sold out at the end of the century to J. P. Morgan, who used Carnegie’s factories as the basis of the U.S. Steel Corporation. Carnegie wrote in *The Gospel of Wealth* (1889) that rich men should use their wealth for the public good, and he gave away more than $350 million in his lifetime. The most famous of his charities was the building of public libraries in Britain and America, giving access to books to the thousands of working people for whom they were otherwise out of reach.

**Hillary Clinton** (b. 1947). The first First Lady to piggyback on her husband’s political career and create one of her own. Raised in Park Ridge, Illinois, Hillary Rodham became an outstanding student at Wellesley College (Massachusetts) and Yale Law School in the late 1960s. She served on the staff of the Watergate-era Judiciary Committee in Congress; then, after President Nixon’s resignation, she went to Arkansas to marry Bill Clinton, whom she had met in law school. He became governor of the state in 1978, and she became a practicing lawyer, law school professor, and the state’s First Lady, involving herself in educational and children’s affairs. Clinton’s election to the presidency in 1992 brought her into the national spotlight where, more than any previous First Lady, she sought a substantive policy-making role. She chaired a task force on national health care reform but was unable to bring to fruition her plans for an American national health service. During her husband’s second administration, she had to endure the humiliating evidence of his infidelity with White House intern Monica Lewinsky. She stuck by him during his own impeachment crisis, but they separated when his term in office ended, by which time she had been elected New York’s junior senator in the election of 2000.

**Thomas Edison** (1847–1931). America’s most prolific inventor, who eventually held more than a thousand patents. The Ohio-born son of a carpenter, Edison became a railroad messenger at age 12, learned how to operate the telegraph, and began inventing devices to improve the quality and speed of telegraphy. After six years on the railroads, traveling the Midwest and Canada, Edison became an independent inventor, moving in 1876 to Menlo Park, New Jersey, where he spent the next 10 years, working systematically on new inventions. He moved again to a bigger lab in West Orange, New Jersey, in 1886, where he employed a staff of 60 assistants. Among his most important inventions were the incandescent electric light bulb, the phonograph (earliest device for recording music), and several elements of moving photography, including the world’s first “talkie” in 1913. Recognizing the transforming possibilities of electricity, he established a generating company for Manhattan in 1882, with the backing of several major financiers who had learned to trust, and invest heavily in, his innovations. He also improved telephones, batteries, and duplication machines, becoming, in his later years, a living legend of inventiveness and ingenuity.

**Dwight Eisenhower** (1890–1969). Victorious World War II general and 34th president. A career army officer from Abilene, Kansas, Eisenhower graduated from West Point in 1916 but did not see action in World War I. He was an
outstanding staff officer, however, and drew the favorable attention of Douglas MacArthur and other senior officers. He worked with MacArthur in the Philippines in the 1930s but was recalled to America after Pearl Harbor. Eisenhower led the American invasion of North Africa in 1942 and was supreme Allied Commander for the D-Day invasion of Normandy in 1944, showing great political skill, as well as logistical and strategic brilliance. His success made him one of the great heroes of the war and an attractive candidate to both political parties in the early Cold War years. With no prior political record, he could have accepted either bid but chose the Republicans and ran successfully in the election of 1952 against Adlai Stevenson. As president, Eisenhower cultivated the impression of being less intelligent than he really was, delegated effectively to a powerful staff, and found time for almost daily golf. He presided over many of the tensest years of the Cold War but had a realistic sense, from his military years, of what the nation could and could not do in the face of a nuclear-armed enemy. He helped create a truce in Korea and resisted the temptation to escalate in Vietnam, meanwhile presiding over boom conditions at home. Reelected in 1956 despite a serious heart attack, he acted cautiously to aid the Civil Rights movement and, on his retirement from office after the 1960 election, warned Americans about the potential hazards of an over-mighty “military-industrial complex.”

Henry Ford (1863–1947). First manufacturer of cheap, mass-produced cars. Ford, the son of Irish immigrant parents in Michigan, was among the earliest Americans to study internal combustion engines and automobiles. He built his own first car in 1896, founded his company in 1903, and introduced the immortal Model T in 1908. He continued to build the same model between then and 1927, switching to the moving assembly line method in 1913, first, at Highland Park and, later, at an even larger factory in River Rouge, Michigan. To ensure workers’ loyalty despite the job’s boredom, he paid them $5 per day, far higher than industrial wages elsewhere. When General Motors and Chrysler began to challenge his dominance of the business, he shut down for five months in 1927, retooling to produce the Model A. Dictatorial and intolerant, he spied on workers who attempted to unionize in the 1930s and never really relinquished power to his son Edsel, who was nominal chief from 1919. Among his many interests and obsessions were industrial history (he founded a museum and named it after Edison, whom he had known as a teenager) and an exaggerated fear of Jewish power.

Betty Friedan (b. 1921). Author of *The Feminine Mystique* and founder of the National Organization of Women (NOW). Betty Goldstein (her maiden name) was an enthusiastic leftist during the 1930s and 1940s but, after college at Smith, she attempted to settle down with her new husband to suburban middle-class life. Finding it stifling and discovering that many of her former college friends felt the same way, she published *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963. Vigorous and scathing, it denounced the values and assumptions that directed American women into motherhood and home building. It became an immense bestseller. Friedan cofounded NOW in 1966 to lobby against gender
discrimination in legislation, pay, and work; under her powerful guidance, it became an effective lobby. Her stormy, violent marriage ended in 1969, and she feuded with other central figures in the new feminism, notably Bella Abzug and Gloria Steinem. Her later work included campaigning for the Equal Rights Amendment, contradicting some radical feminists’ claim that lesbianism was superior to heterosexuality, and advocacy (in The Fountain of Age [1993]) on behalf of elderly people.

**Bill Gates** (b. 1955). High-tech business wizard, head of Microsoft, and multi-billionaire. Gates, son of a Seattle attorney and a schoolteacher, became a computer enthusiast in his early teens and was already building innovative software systems as a Harvard freshman in the early 1970s. He dropped out of Harvard as a junior and founded Microsoft in 1975, building software that shrewdly anticipated the coming of personal computers. Constant dedication to company growth and to innovative research and development enabled him to dominate the field by the late 1980s and to pioneer the Internet boom. In the 1990s, government regulators who regarded him as a monopolist prosecuted Gates for violation of the antitrust statutes. He generated popular good will, however, with philanthropy on a massive scale, donating $800 million to education, libraries, public health, and the arts, establishing a foundation that at once became one of the world’s most munificent. His book on his experiences and the computer industry, The Road Ahead (1995), became a bestseller and, by 2000, he was almost certainly the richest man in the world.

**Emma Goldman** (1869–1940). Russian immigrant who advocated anarchism, feminism, and free love. Born and raised in Russia, Goldman migrated to America as a teenager and worked in clothing-trade sweatshops in Rochester and New York. After the 1886 Haymarket bombing, she joined the anarchists and made passionate public speeches urging the overthrow of capitalism. She was deeply attached to Alexander Berkmann, another anarchist immigrant, and supported his decision to attempt the assassination of Henry Clay Frick for his anti-union tactics at Homestead during the bitter steelworkers’ strike of 1892. She even tried to raise money to buy him a gun and train fare by becoming a prostitute, but her first potential customer told her that she was unsuited to the business. Berkmann wounded but did not kill Frick and went to prison for 14 years. Goldman became an advocate of birth control for working-class women, made speeches on behalf of the idea, and was also imprisoned for it, because it violated the Comstock Acts against public indecency. When America joined the First World War in 1917, she and Berkmann spoke against American involvement in a capitalist war. Arrested again, they were deported and spent the years from 1917 to 1921 in Russia, where they witnessed (and were disillusioned by) the early years of the Russian Revolution. As anarchists, they were opposed to all forms of government and soon found that Lenin and Trotsky’s Bolsheviks favored a strong and repressive state. Goldman spent her later years partly in Britain, partly touring and speaking—she even went to Spain at the outbreak of its civil war in 1936 to speak on behalf of the anarchist forces there.
Samuel Gompers (1850–1924). Immigrant cigar maker and trade unionist who became the president of the American Federation of Labor. Born in London to Dutch parents, he emigrated to America at the age of 13. Gompers worked in the cigar-making trade, which flourished in thousands of New York sweatshops. Becoming a trade unionist, he represented the Cigar Makers’ Union at early efforts to create an association of trade unions and, in 1886, played a leading role in founding the American Federation of Labor, remaining its president from then until his death except for one “sabbatical” year, 1895. A pragmatic, down-to-earth workingman, he avoided radical politics and concentrated on his member unions’ efforts to bargain for better pay, shorter hours, and safe, sanitary working conditions. His leadership skills enabled the AFL to gain a membership of over a million by 1890 and to continue its growth through the early 20th century. He concentrated on skilled workers who could not easily be replaced by strikebreakers and, therefore, had greater bargaining leverage against their employers. Admired on both sides of the negotiating table, Gompers often gave testimony in Congress, joined civic groups, and became a member of President Wilson’s Council of National Defense during World War I. He attended the Versailles Peace Treaty negotiations as a member of the Commission on International Labor Legislation.

Billy Graham (b. 1918). Evangelical revival preacher. Raised on a farm in North Carolina, Billy Graham attended a series of Bible colleges and earned a reputation for magnetic preaching. With Youth for Christ International, he spoke at youth rallies in the later days of World War II and gained national recognition among evangelicals for his preaching gifts. Henry Luce’s decision to publicize his Los Angeles revival in 1949 made him famous beyond the evangelical subculture and, throughout the rest of the century, he remained one of the most famous men in America. Unlike many fundamentalist contemporaries, he preached love, compassion, and understanding more than fire and brimstone. He deplored divisions among the Protestant churches and tried to diminish them rather than insist on theological purity. President Truman thought him a charlatan, but every subsequent occupant of the White House cultivated Graham—he was a particular favorite of Presidents Eisenhower and Nixon. When other evangelical preachers, such as Jim Bakker and Jimmy Swaggart, were damaged by sex and money scandals, Graham remained unblemished. The end of the Cold War enabled him to take his revival meetings even to Russia.

Herbert Hoover (1874–1964). Thirty-first president whose heroic reputation was destroyed by his inability to halt the Great Depression. Hoover, born in Iowa but raised by relatives in Oregon, graduated from Stanford in 1891 as a mining engineer. He spent most of his 20s and 30s in China, Australia, and other parts of the developing world, becoming rich and widely respected as an engineer. He was in Europe when World War I began and supervised the evacuation of Americans from France. During the war, he worked to bring famine relief to Belgians caught between the lines, and when the war ended, he organized emergency food supplies to the starving people of Germany, central Europe, and Russia. Highly regarded as a philanthropist, businessman, and

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statesman, he occupied senior cabinet positions under Presidents Harding and Coolidge, becoming the Republican Party’s presidential candidate in 1928. He won easily over America’s first major-party Catholic candidate, Al Smith, but soon after his inauguration, was confronted by the Wall Street Crash and the slide into economic depression. Hoover believed strongly in the traditional American virtues of self-discipline and self-help and was reluctant to get the federal government involved in poverty relief. The scale of the Depression, however, made his remedial alternatives seem ineffective to the point of insensitivity, and he was swept out of office in the election of 1932, disliked and discredited. Poor shantytown dwellers nicknamed their hovels “Hoovervilles.” He became an outspoken critic of the New Deal’s statist policies in the 1930s and was an isolationist in the early years of World War II but returned to favor in the late 1940s and early 1950s as chair of a commission to rationalize the government’s executive departments.

**Martin Luther King, Jr.** (1929–1968). Leader of the nonviolent phase of the Civil Rights movement, and a Nobel Peace Prize winner. King, son and grandson of Atlanta ministers, was educated at Morehouse College near his home, then at Crozer Theological Seminary (Pennsylvania) and Boston University. Accepting a call to the ministry at Dexter Road Baptist Church in segregated Montgomery, Alabama, he arrived in 1954 and, a year later, became leader of the Montgomery bus boycott. Its success, and his eloquence as spokesman for the movement, catapulted him to national fame. Skilled in the manipulation of the media, he knew how to provoke racist law-enforcement officials into attacking his peaceful demonstrations and was willing to suffer assault and imprisonment to gain the moral high ground. In 1963, Bull Connor, public safety chief of Birmingham, Alabama, met King’s marchers with fire hoses and attack dogs. King was arrested but won an immense public relations victory there, not least through publication of his “Letter from a Birmingham Jail.” Later that year, his “I have a dream” speech in Washington marked a climax of his career, and he received worldwide recognition with the Nobel Prize the following year. Urban riots after 1964 and challenges to nonviolence from Black Power advocates troubled King’s later years, and he began to devote energy to the anti-Vietnam War movement, as well as to civil rights. He was assassinated by James Earl Ray in Memphis, where he had gone on behalf of striking black garbage workers, in 1968.

**Sinclair Lewis** (1885–1951). Satirical novelist and America’s first Nobel Prize winner for literature. Lewis was born in Sauk Center, Minnesota, to a doctor’s family. Fascinated by books from the beginning of his life, he graduated from Yale in 1908 and went to work in the New York publishing business, devoting every spare moment to writing of his own. His first book appeared in 1912, but his first great success came with *Main Street* (1920). From then on, he had a mass audience throughout his life and won all the major literary prizes open to him, including the Pulitzer (1926) and Nobel (1930) Prizes. Among his most famous works are *Babbitt* (1922), about a midwestern businessman’s shallow self-confidence, consumerism, and inability to think outside the crowd, and
Arrowsmith (1925), on the heroic asceticism of a true scientist. His works from
the 1920s paint a vivid picture of an America becoming urban and prosperous
but often backward-looking and foolish.

A Harvard graduate in the Progressive era, Lippmann worked first for the
muckraker Lincoln Steffens. His first book, A Preface to Politics (1913), won
him an editorial job at The New Republic. He wrote extensively on the problems
democracy in an age of specialists and expertise and was among the century’s
most effective critics of utopianism. Woodrow Wilson asked his advice on the
peace treaty that ended World War I and brought him to Versailles as an
advisor. Born to a Reform Jewish family, Lippmann nevertheless contributed to
a Harvard policy of restricting Jewish admissions in the 1920s. By the New Deal
era, he was the most influential columnist and commentator in the nation.
Presidents were careful not to cross him if they could avoid it, and he knew all
of them, from Franklin Roosevelt onward. His book The Public Philosophy
(1955) endorsed natural law theories of politics and showed that the Cold War
had made him more conservative. Nevertheless, he became an outspoken critic
of President Johnson’s escalation of the Vietnam War in the 1960s.

John D. Rockefeller (1839–1937). Oil business entrepreneur who became the
richest man in America. Born on a farm in upstate New York, Rockefeller
moved as a teenager to Cleveland and became an oil refiner during the early
days of the Pennsylvania oil rush. Shrewd, sober, and a Baptist Sunday-school
teacher, but also with a flair for good investments and profitable entrepreneurial
risks, he rapidly increased his share of the refining business until, in 1870, his
company, Standard Oil, was the largest in the trade. Oil in those pre-automobile
days was used as lamp fuel, and Rockefeller specialized in creating high-quality
lamp kerosene, which was sold nationwide in distinctive red cans. After passage
of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890, Standard was prosecuted and broken up
by order of the Ohio courts because it had monopolized the business. It moved
to New Jersey and, through Rockefeller’s ingenious management, was rapidly
reassembled, though it succumbed to another prosecution in 1911. Rockefeller
himself, retiring from the everyday running of the business in 1896, turned his
attention to philanthropy, giving tens of millions of dollars to educational,
church, and missionary charities. Among his biggest bequests was $35 million
to the University of Chicago, founded with his encouragement and supervision
in 1890. His name was a byword for financial power; he was widely hated for
his hard business approach, but he contributed as much as anyone to the creation
of the 20th century style of big business.

Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919). Twenty-sixth president. Born to a rich New
York family in 1858, Roosevelt regretted that he was too young to fight in the
Civil War. Overcoming childhood illnesses and physical weakness, he learned to
box and challenged himself in arduous outdoor activities, becoming an advocate
of the “strenuous life.” Roosevelt graduated from Harvard and began a career in
New York state politics, where he defied the corrupt Tammany Hall Democratic
regime on behalf of honest Republican principles. The death of his wife and his
mother on the same day in 1884 led to a nervous breakdown. Roosevelt recovered by spending several months hunting on his ranch in the Dakota Badlands, about which he wrote two excellent books. Remarried in 1886 and continuing a rapid political ascent, he became Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the McKinley administration after the election of 1896. He gave up this post when America went to war against Spain in 1898, creating the famous “Rough Riders,” a troop of cavalry made up of friends from Harvard and cowboy friends from the West. Becoming a hero for seizing San Juan Hill, he returned in glory to America and won the governorship of New York later that year. McKinley selected him as his running mate in the election of 1900, and Roosevelt became president a few months after the inauguration, when McKinley was assassinated by an anarchist. As president (the youngest in the nation’s history to that point), he prosecuted abusive monopolies and took a more active and interventionist role in the economy than his predecessors. Popular and widely admired, he was reelected in 1904 but left the White House after the 1908 election. Even an African safari was insufficient to keep his attention after that, and in 1912, he tried to regain the Republican nomination from his successor, William Howard Taft. Thwarted, he ran for president as a Progressive “Bull Moose” candidate, split the Republican vote, and enabled the Democrat Woodrow Wilson to prevail instead.

**Booker T. Washington** (1856–1915). Black educator and the most influential African American in the early 20th century. Washington was born in slavery to a Virginia family and was six years old at the time of Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation. Eager for education, he worked his way through Hampton Institute and admired the philanthropic whites, led by Hampton’s General Samuel Armstrong, who attempted to improve the lives of freedmen in the Reconstruction South. In 1881, he became principal of the Tuskegee Institute, a college dedicated to basic literacy and preparation for the practical careers that most African Americans could expect. He raised money for the school through successful speaking tours, mainly among such northern industrialists as John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie. Washington did not welcome the racial segregation system of the post-Reconstruction era, but in a famous speech at the Cotton States Exposition, Atlanta, in 1895, he argued that blacks could accommodate to it while earning whites’ respect and trust. His autobiography, *Up from Slavery* (1901), was hailed at the time and contributed to President Theodore Roosevelt’s much-criticized decision to invite him to dine at the White House. W. E. B. DuBois and other black leaders of less accommodationist views deplored what looked to them like Washington’s acceptance of second-class status.

**Malcolm X** (1925–1965). Black Muslim missionary and Black Power advocate. Malcolm Little grew up in the predominantly white community of Lansing, Michigan, but witnessed racist violence when the family home was burned down and when his father was murdered. Moving to Boston as a teenager, he became a petty criminal. Arrested and imprisoned for burglary, his life was transformed when he joined the Nation of Islam ( NOI) in 1946. Its members preached black
pride and dignity; they believed that whites were genetically engineered mutants and devils. Released in 1952, Malcolm (who took the name “X” to stand for his family’s African name, which had been stolen by slavery), became the NOI’s leading spokesman. His mesmerizing stage presence, eloquence, and apparent fearlessness inspired a generation of black activists. Scornful of Martin Luther King’s advocacy of integration through Christian nonviolence, he argued for racial separatism and violence when necessary in self-defense. In the early 1960s, however, he made the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca, which prompted a reorientation of his beliefs to a more orthodox form of Islam. He parted on bad terms from NOI, whose leader, Elijah Muhammad, resented his success. Soon after a series of meetings with the writer Alex Haley that formed the basis of his book *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, Malcolm X was assassinated by three members of the NOI.
Bibliography

General Works

Specialized Works
Some of the following books may be out of print. Internet sites such as www.abebooks.com and www.amazon.com may be helpful in locating copies.


Cox, Harvey. *Religion in the Secular City*. New York: Simon and Schuster/Touchstone, 1984. Harvey Cox is the most likable liberal Protestant in America and the author whose dozen books on the subject, from 1960 to the present, are approachable and entertaining.


Hounshell, David. *From the American System to Mass Production*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984. Irresistibly fascinating account of how things actually got made and how hard it was to make identical parts for successful mass production.


Marsden, George. *Fundamentalism and American Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. Fundamentalists are intellectuals, Marsden shows; it’s just that they have directed their intelligence down different paths than their antagonists.


Moody, Anne. *Coming of Age in Mississippi*. New York: Doubleday, 1968. I-was-there memoir about Freedom Summer, the sit-ins, freedom rides, and gradual disillusionment of a nonviolent black student activist.


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