

Big Ideas in U.S. History

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INTRODUCTION

This PowerPoint®-based unit presents a survey of the concepts, ideals, policies, and plans which have had a significant impact upon American history. It's not exactly an "intellectual history"—often, that term makes people think of bone-dry, overly academic books about maddeningly abstract theories presented largely outside their larger social and historical context. Instead, *Big Ideas in U.S. History* approaches the subject from a simpler standpoint, looking at what ideas have motivated Americans in the past to take action and have also made a lasting impression in the public consciousness. The presentation thus focuses on the "big" part more than the "idea" part, examining historical motivation and impact rather than the finer points and nuances of each concept.

Each slide in the presentation contains a suggested lecture script that introduces the idea, puts it in its proper historical context, describes important events or developments related to the idea, and explains the idea's importance in American history. Use this script as a starting point for what you want to convey to your students; hopefully, it should be easy enough to adapt to your specific teaching objectives.

The unit proceeds chronologically from the American Revolution to the Bush Doctrine. You can integrate this unit into your curriculum in a number of ways; here are a few suggestions:

- Use it as a semester or year-end review unit. This would work especially well for AP U.S. History students soon before the exam.
- Pick out a section of 10–15 slides at a time to augment, introduce, or wrap-up a particular curriculum unit you already use.
- Position the unit as a short-term project by having students rotate through a computer station and go through the presentation on their own. You can then assess students either by using the multiple-choice test included with the unit or by having them give oral presentations on a single idea, a cluster of ideas, or several ideas that are related thematically but aren't chronologically adjacent to one another.
- You can also use *Big Ideas* to motivate students to dig deeper; the presentation can function as a jumping-off point for a more in-depth research project.

This unit is not intended to be comprehensive: in all likelihood, you'll probably wonder why some ideas were left out and why others were included. Again, feel free to adapt the presentation to your own specific needs—skip some slides, add a few of your own, change around the order of the slides, or anything else you think will help your students. Ultimately, the most important of the ideas in this unit is that of the "big idea" itself because it offers a compelling and thought-provoking approach to both conceptualize and study U.S. history. Good luck!

Kerry Gordonson
Editor

What Is a “Big Idea”?

- A “historical motivator”
- Offers a solution to a pressing problem
- A completely original concept or a novel and innovative way to use existing concepts
- Big ideas are not necessarily “good” or “bad”



Ideas can be many things: a thought or opinion, how people conceptualize something, an imaginary ideal, or a concrete plan. In history, a “big idea” is something that captures people’s imaginations, excites them, and influences their what they do and how they behave. A big idea is a “historical motivator”: it spurs people to take action; it provides a solution to an important or urgent problem; it sets a precedent or example that others may choose to follow. Big ideas can either be completely original, or they can take existing concepts and use them in a novel and innovative way. Big ideas are not necessarily “good” or “bad,” and can function in a variety of ways. They can work to benefit society as a whole, they may work to benefit a certain group or individual, or they can work to the detriment of a certain segment of the population. Above all, big ideas make a deep impression and cause people to think in ways they may not have before.

Why Study Big Ideas?

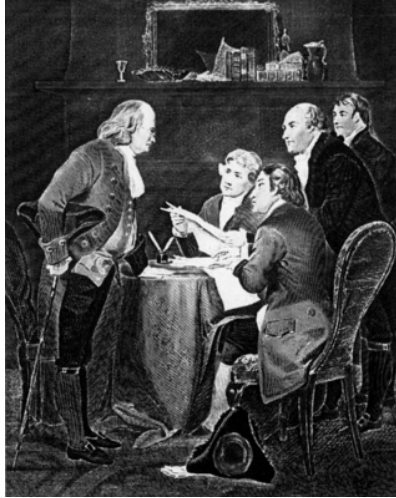


People of the past

- What were their everyday lives like?
- What did they think and believe?
- What really mattered to them?
- What motivated them to take out-of-the-ordinary actions?

History is not just the study of events, nor is it a collection of names, dates, and places. An important part of history involves understanding why things in the past happened as they did. To accomplish this, a historian needs to be able to see the past as people at the time saw it: the conditions in which they lived, what their daily life was like, and what society's norms and rules were. For the vast majority of people in the past, life centered around earning a subsistence in order to survive: farming, factory work, trading, hunting, and other such occupations took up most of their time, energy, and thought. It took something major, something really important to get them to divert their effort and attention away from putting food on the table and putting roofs over their heads. Studying big ideas lets us know what really mattered to these people. It shows us the ways in which they thought. It identifies things they considered important enough to alter—and even risk—their lives for. Finally, it provides insight into that elusive concept of “national character” and reveals ideals and values that many label as distinctly “American.”

Moving Toward Independence



- Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*
- Richard Henry Lee: "...free and Independent States."
- Continental Congress creates a "Committee of Five"

Bullet #1 In early 1776, Thomas Paine published *Common Sense*, which presented several arguments in favor of independence. It became a runaway bestseller soon after publication. Many claim that Paine's work did not necessarily develop new arguments for independence; however, it did present arguments in a manner that was easy to understand for many less-educated persons.

Bullet #2 The pamphlet also began to stir up sentiment in favor of independence within the Continental Congress. In the spring of 1776, Richard Henry Lee, a Continental Congressman from Virginia, moved that the "United Colonies are, and as a right ought to be, free and Independent States".

Bullet #3 By the summer of 1776, Congress was ready to vote for independence, but needed to develop a suitable statement to declare their intentions. To that purpose, a "Committee of Five" was appointed to investigate and draft a formal declaration of independence. The committee included Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson. While Adams seemed the likely choice to write the Declaration, he decided to defer to Jefferson.

Declaration of Independence

- Both a formal statement of independence and a declaration of war
- Jefferson “borrowed” ideas from Enlightenment thinkers
- Three purposes



Bullet #1 The Declaration of Independence was not just a formal statement in which the colonies asserted the right to govern themselves; it was also a declaration of war against Great Britain.

Bullet #2 The Declaration borrowed heavily from the ideas of several Enlightenment philosophers and writers, including John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Jefferson focused in particular on the notion of a “social contract,” noting that “whenever government becomes destructive of these ends (for which it was created), it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it.” Jefferson also asserted that people have “natural rights”, including, “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

Bullet #3 Basically, the Declaration had three specific purposes. The first was to provide a statement of human rights and a philosophical discussion about when and why people have a right to break away from one form of government and replace it with another form. It is in this part that Jefferson made his famous (and controversial) assertion that “all men are created equal.” The second was to give a list of specific complaints, or grievances, against King George, spelling out the reasons why the colonies sought separation from England. The third purpose was a formal declaration of war, to which the colonies pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their “sacred honor.”

Land Ordinance of 1785

- Intended to provide a fair way to divide land in the Northwest Territory
- “Townships” and “sections”
- Other provisions
- High initial land costs • Speculators



Bullets #1–3 One of the most important pieces of legislation passed by the U.S. government under the Articles of Confederation was the Land Ordinance of 1785, which provided for the division and sale of the land in the territory west of the Appalachian Mountains. Land was divided into six square-mile areas called “townships”, and were further divided into 36 one square-mile “sections.” One section (Section 16) was set aside for schools and school support. Other sections were set aside for revenue for the national government.

Bullet #4 While the Ordinance did spell out a equitable way for the land to be distributed, the price Congress demanded was steep for that time period—\$1 per acre, or \$640 per section. Few settlers had that kind of money, and consequently, speculators ended up buying much of the land, which they then divided into smaller parcels and sold at a hefty profit.

Northwest Ordinance of 1787

- Allowed for the creation of new states in the Northwest Territory
- Also called for creation of territorial and state governments
- Forbade slavery
- Public education
- Fair dealings with Indians



Bullets #1–5 While the Land Ordinance allowed for the distribution and sale of the land in the Northwest Territory, the Northwest Ordinance provided for the formation of states, allowing for three to five new states to be created. Eventually, five states were carved out from the land in the territory: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan. The Ordinance also called for a territory to be created when population in an area reached 5000, and for the territory to be eligible for statehood when population reached 60,000. Other provisions forbade slavery, encouraged public education, and mandated fair dealings with Indians.

Many claim that the Northwest Ordinance made the nation more democratic because of its provisions calling for fair dealings with Indians as well as abolition of slavery in the new territories and states. It was extremely difficult, however, for the government to enforce these provisions.

Weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation

- No national unity, just 13 separate state governments
- No ability to tax
- No ability to regulate foreign or interstate commerce
- Each state had only one vote in Congress, regardless of population
- Support of nine of 13 states needed in Congress to pass important laws
- Support of all 13 states needed to revise Articles
- No executive branch
- No national court system



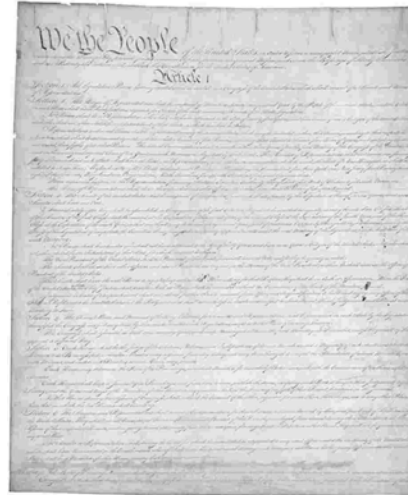
Even before the end of the Revolutionary War, the Continental Congress struggled with the framework of the new government that would need to be created after an American victory. The Congress wanted to avoid a government that concentrated power in the hands of one man, which they felt could lead to “tyranny” or even a new monarchy. Consequently, they purposely made central government under the Articles very weak and ensured the sovereignty of each state.

[Note to teacher: Briefly go over the points listed in the slide.]

While Congress did manage to pass some important legislation under the Articles (including the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787), events such as national economic collapse and Shays’s Rebellion convinced many that the central government needed to be stronger so it could effectively deal with national issues and emergencies. A convention was scheduled in Philadelphia in 1787 to revise the Articles. It soon became apparent to the delegates, however, that they would need to write an entirely new document.

Framing of the Constitution

- Most delegates were wealthy
- Did the Constitution truly reflect democratic political ideals?
- Madison's role



Bullets #1–2 Delegates met in the Philadelphia State House during the summer of 1787. Many of the delegates were wealthy planters, lawyers, and merchants. Because none of the delegates truly represented the “common man,” scholars have debated whether the Constitution reflected democratic political ideas or the economic and social interests of the wealthy delegates.

Bullet #3 By unanimous vote, George Washington was elected presiding officer of the convention. Because of his careful notes and analysis of the convention and its debates, James Madison is considered by many as the “Father of the Constitution”; historians, legal experts, and other scholars have often used Madison’s writings to interpret the views and goals of the framers.

Different Views on Representation

Virginia Plan

- Proposed by Madison
- Protected large states' interests
- Allowed for a bicameral (two-house) legislature
- Number of delegates in Congress based on a state's population
- Lower house would elect the upper house



New Jersey Plan

- Proposed by Paterson
- Protected small states' interests
- Allowed for a unicameral (one-house) legislature
- Each state would have a similar number of delegates

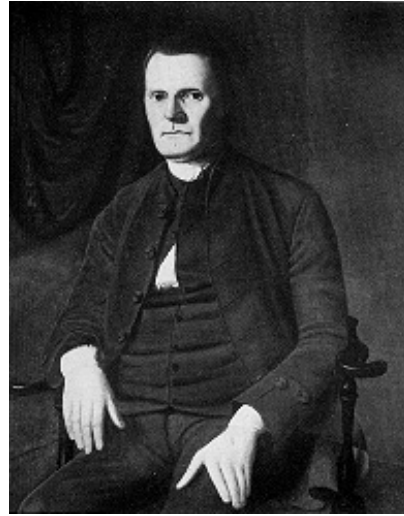
One of the first issues facing the delegates was that of representation; how should they determine the number of delegates each state would have in the legislative branch? James Madison proposed what became known as the “Virginia Plan,” which gave more power to the large states by providing them with more delegates to the Congress. Voters would be given some political power in as much as they would elect the lower house. The upper house, however, would be selected by the lower house.

The alternative was the “New Jersey Plan,” proposed by delegate William Paterson. In this plan, small states' interests would be protected by a unicameral, or one-house legislature, with each state having an equal number of votes.

An impasse developed over the issue of representation, and it seemed for a while that the delegates wouldn't be able to come to an agreement.

The Great Compromise

- Bicameral legislature: the House of Representatives and the Senate
- House representation based on population
- Senate—each state allowed two votes
- Length of terms for each
- Senators selected by state legislatures



Roger Sherman

Bullets #1–3 Connecticut delegate Roger Sherman offered a compromise to break the deadlock. The compromise included a bicameral (two-house legislature), with one house called the House of Representatives, and the other, the Senate. Sherman’s plan would protect the rights of both large and small states: representation in the House would be based on population (which favored the larger states), and each state would have two representatives in the Senate (which favored the smaller states).

Bullets #4–5 In addition, by allowing only a two-year term for House members in comparison to a six-year term for Senators, the framers afforded some measure of “aristocracy” for members of the “upper house.” States’ rights advocates were also satisfied because of a provision that stipulated that state legislatures would select the state’s senators. This would allow the state legislatures to have an important say in the running of the national government.

“Three-fifths” Compromise

- How slaves should be counted for representation and taxation purposes
- The compromise: $\frac{3}{5}$ ^{ths} of the number of slaves would be counted for both representation and taxation
- National government forbidden to interfere with the slave trade until 1808



Bullets #1–2 Southern delegates felt that slaves should be counted toward representation in Congress but not for taxation. Northern delegates felt that slaves should be counted for taxation purposes, but not representation. The “Three-fifths” Compromise solved the issue by providing that $\frac{3}{5}$ ^{ths} of the number of slaves would be counted for both representation and taxation. Ironically, the compromise never mentioned the word “slave.” Instead, it merely referred to the three-fifths as applying to “other persons.”

Bullet #3 Southern slaveholders were also concerned about the provision in the Constitution which gave the national government the power to regulate trade. They feared that non-slave states could someday use this provision to abolish the institution. In order to pass the compromise and allay the fears of Southerners, the convention delegates added to the Constitution a provision that forbade Congress to interfere with the slave trade for 20 years. Some historians have speculated that the reason Northerners accepted this part of the compromise was because many presumed that the “peculiar institution” of slavery would gradually die out and be extinct by 1808.

Governmental Power in the Constitution

- Division of power
- Separation of powers
- Checks and balances



Bullet #1 The framers determined that the Constitution should limit the national government in its power, but that the national government should have sufficient power to carry out necessary acts. In addition, the framers wanted to ensure that no single individual or part of the government should be more powerful than the other parts. In order to accomplish this, the framers first created the idea of “Federalism”, or “division of power.” In a federal system, the national government has certain powers “delegated” by the constitution (sometimes called “enumerated powers”). Some powers are “reserved” for state governments. Other powers are held concurrently by both state governments and the national government. Division of power guaranteed that national government would have the ability to do things like regulate commerce and respond to military threats, but it also ensured that state governments would retain some sovereignty.

Bullet #2 The idea of “separation of powers” came from Baron de Montesquieu’s 1748 work, *The Spirit of the Laws*. In this book, Montesquieu noted that the best form of government would be one in which the government is divided into three branches. A legislative branch would make laws, an executive branch would enforce the laws, and a judicial branch would interpret the laws.

The framers also created a system of “checks and balances” to further ensure that no branch of government could gain power over the other two. Each branch was given certain powers that allowed it to “check” the actions of the other two. For example, the president has the power to enter into treaties with other nations, but those treaties only become law with “the advice and consent” of the U.S. Senate.

Federalists & Anti-Federalists

Federalists



Alexander Hamilton

- Supported the Constitution
- Included many framers (Washington, Hamilton, Madison)
- Strongest in urban areas
- Supported by those in favor of a strong central government
- Supported by merchants, skilled workers, laborers

Anti-Federalists

- Opposed the Constitution
- Included Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, Richard Henry Lee
- Strongest in rural areas
- Opposed a strong central government
- Concerned the Constitution didn't include a bill of rights



Patrick Henry

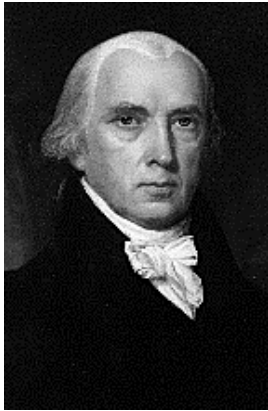
Nearly immediately after the Constitutional Convention concluded its work and the delegates submitted it to the states for ratification, supporters and opponents of the document engaged in a series of spirited debates.

Supporters of the Constitution, also known as **Federalists**, praised the strong central government it would create as well as the concepts of separation of powers and federalism (which divided the power of government between the federal and state levels). Some of the more well-known Federalists were Alexander Hamilton (pictured above), George Washington, and James Madison. The Federalists tended to be concentrated more in cities and included many skilled workers and laborers.

The opposition, also known as **Anti-Federalists**, distrusted the idea of having a strong central government. Some of the more well-known Anti-Federalists were Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, and Richard Henry Lee. The Anti-Federalists were also concerned that the Constitution did not include a Bill of Rights. Anti-Federalists tended to be concentrated in rural areas and included both small farmers and large plantation owners.

In an effort to gain public support, Hamilton, Madison, and John Jay published a series of essays in favor of the Constitution, titled *The Federalist*. The essays provided an in-depth analysis of the Constitution, including separation of powers, specific provisions, and its guarantee of majority rule balanced with sustaining minority rights. The Anti-Federalists countered with *Letters from the Federal Farmer*, written by Lee, which argued that the Constitution needed a bill of rights that would protect individual civil liberties such as freedom of expression and the right to a trial by jury.

The Bill of Rights



James Madison

- Written by James Madison
- Important ratification issue
- Madison submitted 17 amendments; Congress reduced number to 12, 10 were ratified
- First Amendment guarantees “freedom of expression”
- Second and Third Amendments protect against military control
- Fourth through Eighth Amendments assure due process of law
- Ninth and Tenth Amendments protect popular control over government

The Federalists had considered the idea of a statement of individual liberties (a “Bill of Rights”) as unnecessary because state constitutions already included similar statements, and the framers did not wish to encroach on state power and authority.

The Anti-Federalists, however, wanted some sort of statement protecting individual liberties from abuses by a strong national government; as a concession, the Federalists added a bill of rights to the Constitution. In actuality, the Bill of Rights is a “bill of limits”: instead of “giving” individuals fundamental rights such as freedom of speech, press, and due process, the Bill of Rights limits the government’s ability to restrict those rights. The U.S. Supreme Court has the final say on interpreting exactly where individual liberty ends and government authority begins.

The task of writing the Bill of Rights fell mainly to James Madison. Already renowned as the “Father of the Constitution,” Madison had to review thousands of suggestions from state legislatures for amendments; he eventually narrowed the field to 17. Congress revised Madison’s proposals, combining them into 12 amendments; 10 of the 12 were eventually ratified.

Hamilton vs. Jefferson

Hamilton

- Strong federal government
- Rule by elite
- Loose interpretation of Constitution
- Favored national bank
- Favored paying state debts
- Supported merchants, landowners, investors, wealthy
- Tended to support Britain in foreign affairs
- Followers formed the Federalist Party, which eventually became the Republican Party

Jefferson

- Limited national authority
- Believed in ability of farmers and common people to rule themselves
- Strict interpretation of Constitution
- Favored payment of national debt, not state debts
- Opposed national bank
- Tended to support France in foreign affairs
- Followers formed the Democratic-Republican Party, which eventually became the Democratic Party

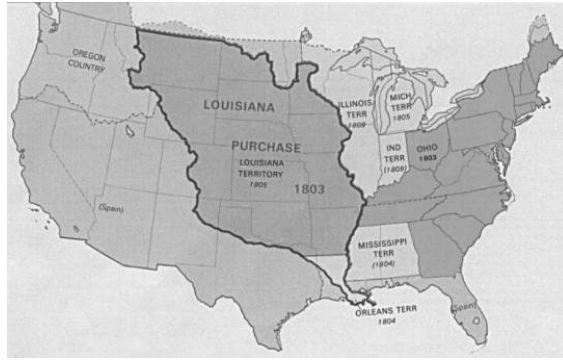
After the ratification of the Constitution, a philosophical feud developed between two of the leading architects of the Revolution and new nation: Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. In George Washington's administration, Hamilton served as Secretary of the Treasury and Jefferson served as Secretary of State. Hamilton favored a nation ruled by "elitists," whom he considered better educated and therefore better suited to lead. Jefferson, on the other hand, believed that the "common man"—meaning farmers and tradesmen—were best suited to rule.

Part of this feud grew from Hamilton's financial plans as Treasury secretary. In particular, the two men clashed over Hamilton's plan to create a national bank, which he hoped would provide for a uniform currency, stabilize the nation's weak economy, and encourage economic growth and development—especially the development of manufacturing. While Hamilton believed the national bank was constitutional under the so-called "elastic clause" (which allowed Congress to make any laws that were "necessary and proper" for the government to function effectively), Jefferson held a stricter interpretation of the clause and asserted that the only way to create a national bank was by constitutional amendment.

Hamilton and Jefferson's feud laid the groundwork for what eventually became the nation's first political parties: the Federalist Party arose around Hamilton and his followers, and the Democratic-Republican Party supported Jefferson and his followers.

Louisiana Purchase

- Purchased from France in 1803
- Purchase price: \$15,000,000 (three cents per acre)
- Doubled the size of the U.S. to that point (800,000 more square miles)
- Gave the U.S. complete control of the Mississippi River



Spain's decision to cede the Louisiana Territory back to France in the early part of the 19th century caused a great deal of concern for Americans, who worried about French intentions in the area. Jefferson, fearful that this public concern could potentially lead the U.S. into an alliance with Great Britain, dispatched Secretary of State James Monroe to negotiate a treaty with Napoleon to purchase the port at New Orleans as part of West Florida.

After a slave revolt in the French colony of Santo Domingo (Haiti), however, Napoleon decided to abandon his dream of a North American empire and sell all of Louisiana to the U.S. Jefferson knew that the territory would be a tremendous bargain, but the sale of Louisiana left him with a major philosophical dilemma.

In Jefferson's view, the Constitution did not give the government the specific power to acquire new territory nor to establish new states. Jefferson was a proponent of keeping the country out of debt; not only would the purchase increase the national debt by \$15,000,000, but Jefferson felt such an acquisition might be unconstitutional as well. He felt that the advantages of purchasing Louisiana far outweighed his misgivings, however, and he made an exception to his beliefs about the national debt and strict interpretation in order to buy the territory.

***Marbury v. Madison* Establishes Judicial Review**



Chief Justice John Marshall

- Marbury—a “midnight judge” to whom Jefferson denied a commission
- Marbury sued under the Judiciary Act of 1789
- U.S. Chief Justice John Marshall rules Marbury’s claim was invalid
- Case established the concept of “judicial review”

The text of the Constitution says very little about the judicial branch, and it doesn’t define in detail the powers and duties of the court system.

Bullets #1–2 The case of *Marbury vs. Madison* changed that concept. In this case, William Marbury, who had been appointed as a federal judge in the last days of John Adams’s presidency, did not receive his commission. The outgoing Federalist Party had given many such commissions in its final days in an attempt to pack the judiciary with Federalist-leaning judges. When Thomas Jefferson became president, he learned about these “midnight judges” and instructed Secretary of State James Madison not to deliver any of the commissions. Marbury sued the Jefferson Administration, seeking a “writ of mandamus” (a court order) forcing Jefferson to release the commission under the terms of the Judiciary Act of 1789, which created the federal court system.

Bullet #3 Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall faced a difficult task. If he ordered Madison to deliver the commission, Jefferson might cite his constitutional authority to name all federal judges and then simply refuse the order. If Marshall ruled in Jefferson’s favor, however, it would seem that the Court was merely bending to the president’s wishes, which would set a precedent and reduce the Supreme Court’s authority. Instead of merely choosing one of these two options, Marshall came up with a different solution. He stated that while Marbury WAS entitled to his commission, the section of the Judiciary Act which allowed for writs of mandamus was unconstitutional.

Bullet #4 More importantly, the Court’s unanimous opinion in the case asserted that only the Supreme Court could declare laws and actions unconstitutional, a concept now known as “judicial review.” Though *Marbury* greatly augmented the power and importance of the Supreme Court, Justices in the years since the decision have exercised this power infrequently on the federal level. In most cases involving judicial review, the Supreme Court has upheld the constitutionality of federal and state government laws and actions. The Court has declared acts of Congress to be unconstitutional only approximately 150 times since *Marbury vs. Madison*.

Monroe Doctrine

- Part of President Monroe's 1823 Message to Congress
- Warned European powers not to interfere with Western Hemisphere affairs or overthrow independent republics there
- Promised the U.S. wouldn't interfere with European affairs or colonies
- Roosevelt Corollary



In the early part of the 19th century, several former colonies of Spain and Portugal rebelled and won their independence. Meanwhile, several European countries had formed an alliance to stop Napoleon Bonaparte and France. After Napoleon's final defeat, it looked as if this alliance of countries might be willing to help Spain reestablish its empire in Latin America.

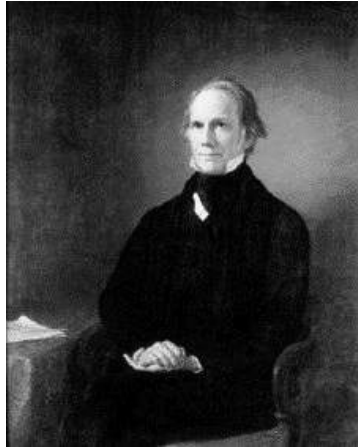
President James Monroe saw this as a direct threat to U.S. security; meanwhile, England believed that its lucrative trade in the Western Hemisphere would suffer if Spain regained its Latin American colonies. The U.S. and England therefore decided to issue a joint statement that guaranteed the independence of the new Latin American nations.

Bullets #1–3 Monroe, however, decided to go even further. In his 1823 Message to Congress, he not only warned European powers not to overthrow any of the newly independent Latin American republics, he also stated that they shouldn't even "interfere" with the affairs of any country in the Western Hemisphere. In effect, Monroe declared the Western Hemisphere "off limits" to new colonization or exploitation. In return, he promised that the U.S. wouldn't interfere with any existing European affairs or colonies.

While Monroe's proclamation appeared to be made from a position of strength, the United States was far from capable at that point of militarily enforcing the provisions set forth in the doctrine. The real force of the doctrine came when the British endorsed it, backing their support of the document with the most powerful navy in the world at the time. The British thus provided *de facto* enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine.

Bullet #4 In the early part of the 20th century, President Theodore Roosevelt added a "corollary" to the Doctrine, noting that any "disorder" in Latin American might force the United States to "exercise an international police power"; in other words, the United States would use military force to protect its economic interests in the Western Hemisphere. The Monroe Doctrine was used to define and protect American interests in the Western Hemisphere several times in the 20th century, including European aggression in the West during World War II, and the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis.

The American System



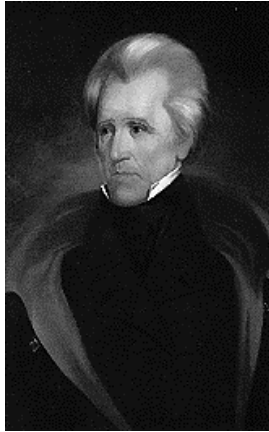
Henry Clay

- Proposed by Senator Henry Clay
- High tariffs on imports
- New transportation systems and internal improvements
- Never completely implemented

Bullet #1–3 In 1815, Kentucky Senator Henry Clay proposed a system to enhance the nation's economy as well as to unite various regions of the country. Clay's plan became known as the "American System." The plan included raising tariffs on imports in order to protect manufacturers, and developing better transportation by building new roads, canals, and bridges. Clay believed that the American System would promote a unified national economy, with the North providing industrial goods and the South and West providing cotton and food products. Better transportation would facilitate the flow of agricultural products to markets in the cities. In theory, the American System would make the U.S. economically independent of Great Britain and other European nations.

Bullet #4 Congress never fully implemented the American System, however, largely because of objections from Southern states. Southerners felt the plan was biased in favor of Northern manufacturers; they also didn't want to pay for improvements in transportation because most of the states in the South could use rivers to move goods from one location to another.

Jacksonian Democracy



- 1820s: changes in voting requirements, selection of presidential electors

- 1824 presidential election and the “corrupt bargain”

1828 presidential election

- Mass campaigning techniques
- Jackson as a “man of the people”; Adams as an “aristocrat” and an “elitist”
- Jackson wins handily
- The idea of “Jacksonian democracy”

Bullet #1 During the 1820s, political changes took place that laid the groundwork for the phenomenon known as “Jacksonian Democracy.” State constitutional reforms repealed property requirements for voting and holding office, and the number of people who voted in presidential elections quadrupled between 1820 and 1828. In addition, a majority of the states began choosing presidential electors according to the popular vote, rather than allowing the state legislatures to select them, as had been the practice in the past.

Bullet #2 In the election of 1824, neither Whig candidate John Quincy Adams nor Democratic candidate Andrew Jackson won a majority of the electoral votes, although Jackson was the clear winner of the popular vote. Therefore, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, where Henry Clay held a large amount of power. Clay did not think Jackson had the ability to be president, and lacked political experience. Through Clay’s influence, Adams won the election in the House. In what Jackson termed a “corrupt bargain,” Clay became Adams’s secretary of state.

Bullets #3–5 By the time of the 1828 presidential election, Jackson supporters were primed to avenge their 1824 defeat. For the first time in American history, mass campaigning techniques were used, particularly fliers and “broad­sides” that were printed and distributed by the thousands. Jackson’s campaign portrayed Adams as a wealthy “aristocrat” who didn’t have the true interests of the people at heart; Jackson, who came from a much humbler background than Adams, was held up as the champion of the “common man,” a “fighter” who could get things done. Jackson won handily, and thousands of his supporters swarmed to Washington to celebrate his inauguration; however, a huge crowd of people swarmed the president’s house after the inauguration. A chaotic scene resulted: much of the china was broken, some revelers made off with the all the punch and refreshments, and several people were injured.

Bullet #6 Jackson’s election was seen as a watershed at the time. Many in the lower and middle classes felt that for the first time they had “one of their own” as president; on the other side, many of those in power saw their worst fears about the expansion of the franchise to many middle-class and lower-class people coming true. To them, Jackson’s election looked like the beginning of “mob rule.”

The Bank of the United States

First Bank of the U.S.

- Created by Hamilton in 1791 to spur economic growth
- Would provide for a “sound uniform currency”
- Would act as a central bank for smaller state banks
- Would provide a depository for tax money
- Would issue paper money
- Hamilton used the “elastic clause” to justify the Bank
- Opposed by Jefferson, Madison, and other “strict constructionists”

Second Bank of the U.S.

- Chartered in 1816
- Charter to expire in 1836; in 1832, Clay and Webster try to get it re-chartered early
- Jackson vetoes the charter
- “Pet banks”
- Nicholas Biddle

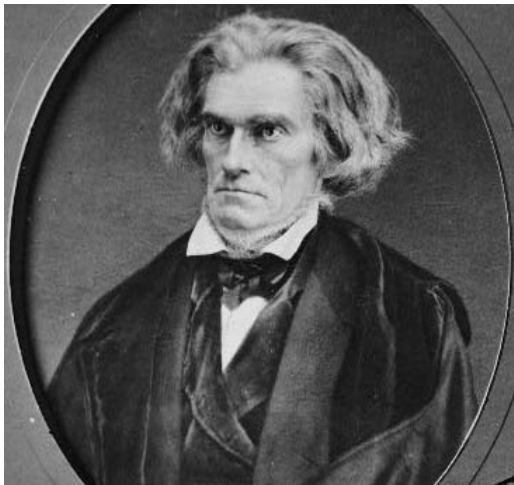


Alexander Hamilton was responsible for the first national bank in American history. He intended for the bank to fulfill many key functions: provide for a “sound uniform currency,” act as a central bank for smaller state banks, stabilize the nation’s weak economy, serve as a depository for tax money, and encourage economic growth and development—especially the development of manufacturing. Hamilton believed the national bank was constitutional under the so-called “elastic clause” of the Constitution, which allowed Congress to make any laws that were “necessary and proper” for the government to function effectively. Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and other opponents of Hamilton held a stricter interpretation of the clause and claimed that the Constitution did not give Hamilton the authority to create a national bank. Eventually, Hamilton and his supporters convinced Congress to authorize a national bank with a 20-year charter. The First Bank of the United States began operating in 1791. It wasn’t very popular, however, and Congress let its charter lapse in 1811.

The Second BUS had been chartered in 1816 to help solve problems from financing the War of 1812. However, many felt the BUS had too much power and was dominated by Northeastern merchants. Jackson personally viewed the BUS as unconstitutional because it did not benefit the “common man” and thus failed as a public institution: the national government deposited all tax money in the Bank, yet only the Bank’s stockholders benefited from the profits this produced. Many Americans agreed with Jackson and opposed the Bank as a “privileged institution” that had an unfair advantage over other banks.

In 1832, Senators Henry Clay and Daniel Webster introduced a bill to re-charter the bank early, hoping to make it a campaign issue in 1832; they thought Jackson would veto the bill and undermine his own support. After Congress renewed the Bank’s charter, Jackson did indeed veto it. Clay and Webster’s plan backfired because the veto was hailed by many in the lower and middle classes. Jackson then announced that federal funds would no longer be deposited in the BUS, but would go instead into twenty-odd “pet banks” in various states. In an effort to preserve the bank and force Jackson to accept the re-chartering, Nicholas Biddle, the head of the BUS and a longtime opponent of Jackson, severely restricted credit and caused early foreclosure on many loans, causing an economic downturn. When business leaders appealed to Jackson for assistance, his reply to them was to ask Biddle. Finally, pressure forced Biddle to change the Bank’s loan policies; however, the damage had been done. Biddle unsuccessfully fought to keep the Bank alive as a private institution, and it ceased to exist after 1841.

Nullification



South Carolina Senator John Calhoun

- Idea that states can refuse to enforce or obey federal laws
- 1828 “Tariff of Abominations”
- South Carolina “nullifies” the tariff
- The “Force Bill”

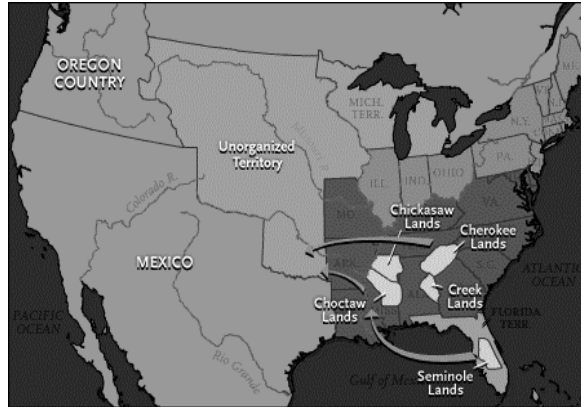
Bullet #1 During the 1820s and 1830s, tensions arose between the North and South that centered largely around issue of how much power the federal government had to enforce laws, and how much power the states retained for themselves. Southerners during this time felt that measures being passed in Congress tended to favor the North at the expense of the South. Many Southern leaders started to espouse the doctrine of “nullification”—the idea that a state could refuse to enforce or obey a federal law if they felt that law was unfair or unconstitutional.

Bullets #2–3 The Tariff of 1828 significantly raised the rate on manufactured goods, so much so that Southerners took to calling it the “Tariff of Abominations.” Many Southerners felt the tariff was unconstitutional since it seemed to blatantly favor the North at the expense of the South. Southerners hoped that the tariff would be revised in their favor under a Jackson presidency, but in 1832, Congress passed a bill that only made small changes in the existing tariff. Southerners were enraged, and the South Carolina legislature passed a bill “nullifying” the tariff and threatening to secede from the Union if Jackson tried to enforce it. South Carolina Senator John C. Calhoun then published the *South Carolina Exposition*, in which he explained and justified the doctrine of nullification.

Bullet #4 Jackson responded by having Congress pass a “Force Bill” that authorized him to use federal troops to collect the tariff in South Carolina, if necessary. The crisis was eventually defused when South Carolina senator John C. Calhoun worked with Kentucky senator Henry Clay to create a “Compromise Tariff” which slowly lowered duties over time. The ideas of “nullification” and secession would arise again in the 1860s as the nation headed toward the Civil War.

Indian Removal

- Jackson orders removal of Indians to the west
- 1830: Indian Removal Act
- Jackson uses military force to move certain tribes
- The Trail of Tears



During Jackson's term, many whites had differing opinions about how to handle Native American tribes. White land speculators, farmers, and entrepreneurs believed that the U.S. should take over Indians' land and resources in order to maximize the economic potential of these "assets" by "developing" them. Others believed that Indians should be converted to Christianity, taught agricultural skills and trades, and absorbed into American society.

Bullets #1–3 Jackson personally believed that the Indians could not be assimilated, and he favored moving them out to the country's western frontier. Many in Congress shared this view, and in 1830, the Indian Removal Act was passed. The act empowered the president to negotiate removal treaties with Indian tribes living east of the Mississippi. Little "negotiation" actually took place; instead, the government strongly pressured many Indian tribes to accept these treaties and move west. Jackson eventually used the military to enforce removal for certain tribes.

Bullet #4 Jackson's successor, Martin van Buren, continued the policy of removal. Perhaps the most tragic incident in the sad history of removal occurred when Van Buren ordered General Winfield Scott to remove the Cherokee and take them to western territories. Scott and the army led the Cherokee on a brutal march that came to be called the "Trail of Tears." Over one-quarter of the number of Cherokees that started the forced march died en route to the new reservations; those who survived found that their new lands in the west were markedly inferior to those from which they had been removed.

Ultimately, five southeastern Native American nations were forcibly relocated west, opening up 25 million acres of land for whites.

Abolitionism



- Roots: the Quakers
- American Revolution
- Early 1800s: Slavery ends in the North
- Colonization movement

Bullets #1–3 American abolitionism’s roots lie largely with the Quakers, who believed that it was a sin for a human being to own another human. The Quakers’ view on slavery gained support in the North during the 17th and 18th centuries. The Declaration of Independence—with its focus on individual rights, freedoms, and the idea that “all men are created equal”—also played a part in undermining slavery in the North. In addition, because large-scale agriculture wasn’t really economically viable in the North, the region had less demand for slaves. By the early 19th century, all the mid-Atlantic and New England states had either ended slavery or made provisions to do so in the near future.

Bullet #4 Some in the abolitionist movement supported emancipation only if it was accompanied by “colonization,” a plan in which freed slaves would be sent to an independent colony to be established in Africa. Many saw colonization as a way to end the evil of slavery without having to deal with the thorny issue of establishing the freedmen in society on equal footing with whites. In 1822, President Monroe helped the American Colonization Society found the nation of Liberia in west Africa. Though a number of ex-slaves did indeed migrate to Liberia, most black people had little connection to the Africa of their ancestors. They considered themselves Americans and rejected the idea of colonization.

Abolitionism (continued)



Garrison's *The Liberator*

William Lloyd
Garrison



- Gradual vs. immediate emancipation
- Garrison and *The Liberator*
- Southern reactions

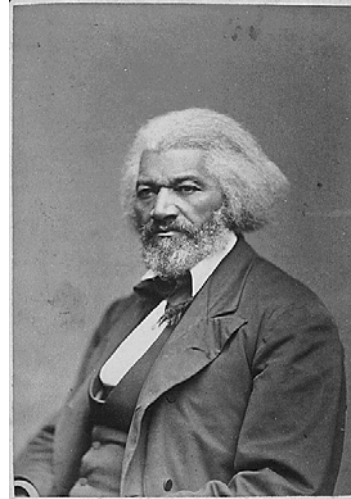
Bullet #1 Abolitionists tended to fall into one of two camps. “Gradual emancipationists” believed that slavery—if kept confined to the South and not allowed to spread to new states in the west—would eventually die out. Some believed that compensated emancipation—paying slave owners to free their slaves—would facilitate this process. The more radical “immediate emancipationists” rejected compensation and other “compromise” ideas, pushing for an end to slavery everywhere at once.

Bullet #2 One of the most radical of the antislavery leaders in the North was William Lloyd Garrison, who founded the New England Anti-Slavery Society as well as the National Anti-Slavery Society. He also published the most prominent of the anti-slave newspapers: *The Liberator*. Many blacks supported Garrison’s radical views: nearly 75% of the membership of his Anti-Slavery Society were African American. Garrison’s fervor for the abolitionist cause attracted many followers, but it also alienated many moderate whites. Many shied away from him because he criticized churches and the federal government for not doing more to condemn slavery.

Bullet #3 Though most abolitionists were moderates, the radical views received the most attention—especially calls for a slave revolt, as advocated by ex-slave David Walker. A slave uprising was the South’s greatest fear, since blacks in the region outnumbered whites significantly. Slave owners responded to the strident proclamations of the radicals by defending their “peculiar institution” more and more strongly. Ultimately, the abolitionist movement succeeded more at outraging Southerners than converting Northerners to the cause. Although only a minor part of the population in the North were actively involved in the abolitionist movement, they had an important effect on the nation as a whole. The abolitionists increased the debate over slavery and polarized opinions about it; in the end, their efforts ended up exacerbating the tensions between North and South and helped lay the groundwork for the Civil War.

Frederick Douglass

- Born as a slave in 1817
- Taught to read and write by the wife of his owner
- Escaped from slavery
- A leading abolitionist speaker
- Founded his own anti-slavery newspaper, *The North Star*



Bullets #1–3 Unlike the vast majority of slaves, Frederick Douglass had been taught to read and write as a child and went on to become a voracious reader. Because of his education and natural intelligence, Douglass's master allowed him to train to be a ship caulker and then hired him out in Baltimore. Although Douglass held a privileged position compared to other blacks in the South (he wasn't in the Deep South, he had a job as a skilled laborer, and he lived in a city instead of on a plantation), he was still a slave and wasn't allowed to keep his wages or live his life the way he wanted. He managed to escape in 1838, then moved to New York and soon became a leading spokesman for the abolitionist movement.

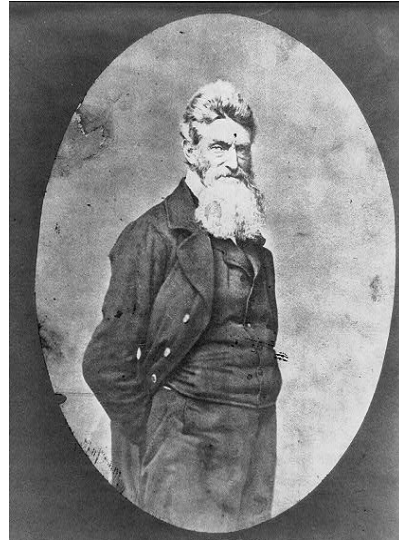
Bullet #4 Douglass was a powerful speaker and usually made a lasting impression on the audiences to which he spoke, and huge crowds flocked to hear him speak. In addition, the fact that a black man and ex-slave could be well-read and articulate challenged the common view that slaves were inferior or sub-human. Southern supporters of slavery even tried to use Douglass's intelligence to undermine his public image, claiming that Douglass was too well educated and well spoken to have ever been a slave. In 1845, the American Anti-Slavery Society helped publish *The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*. Though the autobiography proved a potent tool for abolitionists, Douglass feared that the notoriety it brought him increased the risk that he might be abducted and returned to slavery. He decided to go to England and lecture to audiences there; while he was away, supporters raised enough money for Douglass to buy his freedom.

Bullet #5 While some supported more radical and sometimes violent views regarding abolition, Douglass preferred using political actions to combat slavery. Unlike Garrison, he did not view the Constitution as a "pro-slavery document," believing instead that it could "even be wielded in behalf of emancipation."

Douglass not only provided one of the strongest voices in the abolitionist movement, but also became a role model for both ex-slaves and free blacks. He helped recruit black soldiers during the Civil War, campaigned after the war for full civil rights for African Americans, and later served as the U.S. minister to Haiti. He died in 1895.

John Brown

- Radical abolitionist
- Led bloody anti-slave raids in Kansas
- Sought to arm slaves to start a rebellion against white masters
- Failed plot to seize arsenal at Harpers Ferry
- Put on trial for treason; eventually found guilty and hanged
- Became a potent symbol for both Northerners and Southerners



Bullet #1 While abolitionist leaders such as Garrison used fiery language and rhetoric to support their anti-slavery agenda, others advocated much more extreme measures. Though not considered a leader in the abolitionist movement, John Brown's incendiary antislavery acts raised him and the movement to the forefront of the public's consciousness. Perhaps more than any other abolitionist, Brown helped light the powder keg that would explode in civil war.

Bullet #2 Brown had come to believe that he had been divinely appointed to lead a "holy war" to end slavery at all costs. He began to build his reputation as the most radical of abolitionists when he and five of his sons jumped into the conflict between pro- and anti-slavery forces in "Bleeding Kansas" in 1855. The Browns conducted bloody raids at Lawrence and Pottawatomie Creek, slaughtering several proslavery settlers—actions that shocked many in both the North and the South. His abortive raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, would prove even more shocking.

Bullets #3–4 Brown believed that if he could conduct raids in the South in which he would free and arm small groups of slaves, it would eventually spark a massive slave rebellion. He devised a plan to attack the U.S. armory at Harpers Ferry, which he hoped would provide the spark that would incite slaves to revolt; he also hoped to distribute the armory's weapons to his incipient slave army. In 1859, Brown and a group of about 20 followers attacked and seized the armory. The slave rebellion never materialized, however, and two days later, federal troops retook the armory.

Bullets #5–6 Brown was put on trial for treason, insurrection, and murder. The proceedings received national press coverage and captured the attention of people in both the North and the South. An unrepentant Brown stated that he felt "no consciousness or guilt" over what he had done. He was found guilty and hanged on December 2, 1859. By the time of his execution, many northerners had come to regard Brown as a visionary; he was immortalized in song in "John Brown's Body," which Union troops often sang during the Civil War. On the other hand, Southerners became fearful that every northerner shared Brown's views and goals, and regarded every move made by the North with even more suspicion than they had in the past. Ultimately, Brown's raid led to increased sectionalism and antagonism and accelerated the country's slide into civil war.

Early Women's Rights Movement

- Grew out of the abolitionist movement
- Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton
- Sojourner Truth

Lucretia Mott



Elizabeth Cady Stanton



Sojourner Truth

Bullets #1–2 Many of the people who supported abolition also supported greater rights for women. Women's rights remained in the background, however, until the 1840s, when Quakers Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton traveled to London for an international anti-slavery convention. Infuriated that women were not allowed to speak at the meetings there, Mott and Stanton vowed to start a "society to advocate the rights of women" when they returned to America.

Bullet #3 Meanwhile, an escaped slave who had taken the name "Sojourner Truth" was becoming a popular speaker at abolitionist conventions. Her anti-slavery talks also touched on women's rights issues, most notably in her famous "Ain't I a Woman?" speech in which she declared:

"Look at me! Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man—when I could get it—and bear the lash as well! And ain't I a woman? I have borne thirteen children, and seen most all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And ain't I a woman?"

As the incipient women's rights movement grew, its supporters wanted Truth to shift her focus away from slavery. Truth refused, however, and earned the enmity of many women's rights advocates. While Truth never learned to read or write, she did dictate her autobiography, *The Narrative of Sojourner Truth: A Northern Slave*, which was published in 1850.

Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments

- Brainchild of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott
- Closely modeled on the Declaration of Independence
- Called for equality for women
- Resolution calling for women's right to vote passes narrowly during convention



Bullets #1–2 In 1848, under the guidance of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, a women's rights convention was held in Seneca Falls, New York. One of the focal points of the convention was the adoption of a "Declaration of Sentiments" advocating equality and rights for women. Stanton based the "Declaration of Sentiments" closely on Jefferson's words in the Declaration of Independence, stating, "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal..." Stanton also compiled a list of "injuries and usurpations" (also echoing the Declaration of Independence) that had been committed "on the part of man against woman."

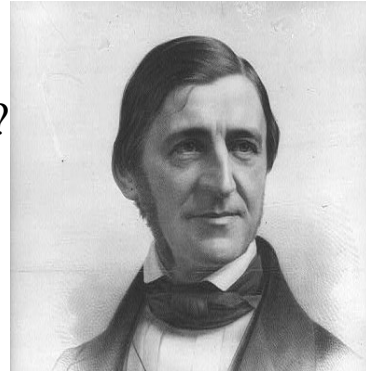
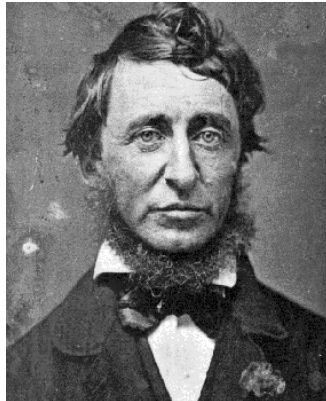
Bullets #3–4 In addition, Stanton included 11 resolutions that addressed reform issues for which women had worked for years, including equality with men, equal employment opportunities, and moral equality. The convention passed all the resolutions unanimously except the ninth, which called for women's right to vote. Stanton shocked the convention with this resolution, which reached much further than most women's rights advocates at the time intended; even a surprised Mott told her, "Why, Lizzie, thee will make us ridiculous." A contentious debate ensued, but Frederick Douglass (who resided in nearby Rochester, where *The North Star* was published) made an eloquent speech in favor of the resolution. In the end, it passed narrowly.

While the Seneca Falls Conference and Declaration of Sentiments represented an important first step, the struggle for women's rights and equality would still be long and difficult. Women didn't obtain the right to vote until more than 70 years after the Seneca Falls Convention, and many feel that women have yet to attain full political, economic, and social equality.

Transcendentalism

- What was Transcendentalism?
- Emerson
- Thoreau

Henry David
Thoreau



Ralph Waldo Emerson

Bullet #1 Transcendentalism was a philosophy that greatly influenced American literature and thought from about 1830 to 1850. It grew in part out of the religious revivalism of the Second Great Awakening, which had introduced the idea that each individual has the power to change himself or herself for the better.

Transcendentalists would use this focus on the individual as a basis for a larger worldview that stressed spirituality and self-insight. In their view, collective happiness would result if each person achieved this sort of self-realization, “transcending” the lower, physical impulses of everyday life in order to achieve a larger spiritual awareness.

Bullet #2 Transcendentalism found perhaps its best expression in the works of authors Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. Emerson, a Massachusetts writer and lecturer, was a leader in the Transcendentalist movement. In one of his best-known pieces, “Self-Reliance,” Emerson urged readers to avoid two things that keep us from trusting in ourselves: conformity and consistency. Of the former, he said, “Whoso would be a man must be a nonconformist....Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of your own mind. Absolve you to yourself, and you shall have the suffrage of the world.” As for consistency, Emerson felt that it hindered thinking because it tied people to statements they had made and thoughts they’d had in the past. He believed that people strive to remain consistent because of social expectations they believe others have of them, and thus it limits them. This part of “Self-Reliance” contains some of Emerson’s best-known quotes, including, “A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds,” and “To be great is to be misunderstood.” Emerson goes on to discuss a number of other topics in the essay, but ultimately “Self-Reliance” tries to get readers to stop worrying about what society thinks, claiming, “Nothing can bring you peace but yourself.”

Bullet #3 Thoreau, a friend and neighbor of Emerson’s, is probably best known for his book *Walden*. He wrote it while living in a small cabin he built for himself at Walden Pond; he ended up spending two years there in which he was mostly alone. This period of introspection and reflection more or less represented an extreme version of “self-reliance” during which Thoreau gave up what he called the “gross necessities of life”—the material things he felt society focused on too much. He felt that the everyday reality that most people experienced was superficial and distracted them from what was truly real. In *Walden* he explained, “I perceive that we...live this mean life that we do because our vision does not penetrate the surface of things. We think that that is which appears to be.” Thoreau saw truth as something that “eludes verbalization, escapes discourse...because words, no matter in what clusters we organize them, can never represent a final, absolute, non-questionable non plus ultra of the ‘truth’.”

Manifest Destiny

- Belief that the United States was destined to expand and control the North American continent
- Often used to justify territorial expansion
- Impact on the westward movement
- Conflicts



Bullets #1–2 In 1845, journalist John L. O’Sullivan wrote, “It was the nation’s manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government entrusted to us.” O’Sullivan had meant to extol the superiority and benefits of American democracy; however, the concept of “manifest destiny” came to be used mostly as a justification for territorial expansion.

Bullet #3 Manifest destiny helped fuel the westward movement, providing a philosophical impetus and a sense of mission to the dream of economic opportunity that motivated many to make the journey west. It also helped people rationalize the acts they committed in order to settle the West: subjugation, relocation, and even the murder of native tribes; despoiling the environment by exploiting its natural resources; and disrupting a region’s ecology by damming rivers, introducing non-native crops, and hunting species such as the bison to the point of extinction.

Bullet #4 Manifest destiny also sometimes led to large-scale conflicts. In some instances (such as American acquisition of the Oregon Territory) disputes were settled without war or bloodshed. In other instances (the annexation of Texas, the seizure of Mexican territories after the Mexican-American War, wars with the Indians), the U.S. found itself employing military force to achieve the idea of Manifest Destiny.

Nativism

- “America for Americans only”
- American Republican Party
- “Know-Nothing” Party
- Irish immigration, 1845-1854
- Decline of the Know-Nothings



Membership certificate for a Philadelphia nativist organization

Bullet #1 While America often prides itself on being a “nation of immigrants,” proud of the multiethnic heritage of its citizens, historically many people have not been accepting of immigrants who come to the United States to live. The idea that “America is for Americans only” is also known as nativism. During the 1840s and 1850s, nativism was common in American culture and also significantly influenced the presidential campaigns of that era.

Bullets #2–3 Organized nativism first appeared in secret societies in the 1820s. Nativism as an organized political force didn’t happen until the 1840s, when the American Republican party started to come to national prominence. The party’s main goal was to limit the increasing political influence of Catholics and immigrants in urban areas. The party maintained the secrecy of the nativist societies from which it sprang, a fact that became obvious when it evolved into the “Know-Nothing” Party in the mid-1840s. “Know-Nothing” referred to the fact that, when asked about their political affiliation or views on nativism, party members would only say that they “knew nothing.”

Bullet #4 The potato famine of 1845–1846 led to increased Irish immigration to the U.S.; by 1854, some two million had come to America. Not only nativists viewed Irish immigration as a major threat: Protestant clergymen, laborers who faced competition for jobs from the new immigrants, and people who thought that Democratic political machines would use the Irish to overwhelm the votes of “real” Americans also felt threatened. In addition, many had become disenchanted with both the Democrats and the Whigs because of their increasing focus on slavery on sectional issues. As a consequence, the “Know-Nothings” gained strength, and in 1854, the party made strong national political gains.

Bullet #5 The Know-Nothings began to split over the issue of whether to formally condemn abolition—something many members were loath to do because of growing crisis over slavery. During the next few years, the party gradually lost members to the recently formed Republican Party, and by the late 1850s, the Know-Nothings had all but disappeared. The nativist impulse, however, did not disappear: in the late 19th century and early 20th century, many laws were passed that made citizenship requirements more stringent and placed quotas and limits on the number of people that could immigrate from certain regions of the world.

Rise of the Republican Party

- Slavery splits Whig Party
- Abolitionist Whigs drawn to Liberty Party, later to Free Soil Party
- Republican Party founded in 1854 in Wisconsin; opposes Kansas-Nebraska Act and expansion of slavery in territories
- Fremont loses in 1856, but Republicans prove a viable party



John C. Fremont

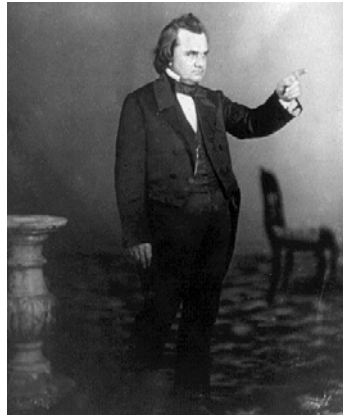


Bullet #1 By the mid 1850s, many Whigs had become frustrated with the party's consistent flip-flop on the issue of slavery. Some leading party members, such as newspaper publisher Horace Greeley, began to look for an alternative political organization that had a stronger anti-slavery platform. That would be the Republican party.

Bullet #2 The Republican Party evolved from smaller political organizations such as the Liberty Party that made anti-slavery a central credo. While the popular vote for the Liberty Party in the 1844 election was small, many abolitionists saw those gains as encouraging. By 1848, the Liberty Party was replaced by the Free Soil Party, which nominated former President Martin Van Buren as their candidate. Van Buren ran on a platform of "free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men"; though he didn't win the election, he did garner enough votes to influence the result of the election by throwing his support behind the Democratic candidate, Zachary Taylor. By 1852, however, the Free Soil Party had splintered: it did not have an impact in that year's presidential race, and many members began to look elsewhere for a party to represent their views and ideals.

Bullets #3–4 In 1854, a group of disaffected Whigs, Free Soilers, and Democrats formed the Republican Party. The major platform of the new party was to oppose the expansion of slavery into both new states and territories acquired by the U.S. "Bleeding Kansas" and the resulting contested territorial election there heightened public concern about the expansion of slavery and helped raise the Republicans to national prominence. In the 1856 presidential election, the Republicans nominated John C. Fremont, a popular former explorer and general nicknamed "the Pathfinder." The Democrats picked James Buchanan, a former congressman and Secretary of State who was currently serving as minister to Great Britain. Buchanan was morally opposed to slavery, but felt that the issue should be decided by individual states rather than the federal government. Although Buchanan won the election, Fremont came in a strong second, establishing the Republican Party as a viable force in U.S. politics. Fremont's showing also helped the party gain legitimacy, paving the way for the election of Abraham Lincoln four years later.

Popular Sovereignty



Illinois Senator
Stephen A. Douglas

Cartoon caption: "Liberty, the fair maid of Kansas in the hands of the 'border ruffians'"



- Idea that residents of a new territory should have the right to choose whether slavery would be legal or illegal there
- Douglas and the Kansas-Nebraska Act
- "Bleeding Kansas"

Bullets #1–2 Popular sovereignty—the idea that residents of a new territory should have the right to choose whether slavery would be legal or illegal there—provided a way for North and South to compromise over a potentially explosive issue. In the early 1850s, the disposition of the Nebraska Territory posed yet another threat to sectional harmony. In 1854, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois crafted legislation he hoped would resolve the issue. Douglas proposed splitting the vast territory in two and letting the issue of slavery in the territories be decided by popular sovereignty. Douglas's proposal, known as the Kansas-Nebraska Act, satisfied many and managed to pass in Congress. Many Northerners, however, felt betrayed by the act because the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had banned slavery in territory north of 36° 30'—which included both the Kansas and Nebraska territories.

Bullet #3 Instead of peacefully resolving the issue, the act turned Kansas into a violent battleground. Pro-slavery forces such as the "Border Ruffians" attacked anti-slavery settlers; anti-slavery forces would then respond in kind by attacking pro-slavery settlements. Perhaps the most shocking act came when abolitionist John Brown and his sons slaughtered proslavery settlers at Pottawatomie Creek. By late 1856, the territory had earned the nickname "Bleeding Kansas."

The events in Kansas showed the limits of popular sovereignty. While it could work as the basis for compromise in some situations, it proved inadequate to handle an issue as large and inflammatory as slavery.

The Lincoln- Douglas Debates and the “Freeport Doctrine”



- Abraham Lincoln challenges Stephen A. Douglas for Illinois Senate seat
- “Freeport Doctrine”: comes up in the second debate
- Douglas alienates Southern Democrats but wins the Senate seat
- 1860 presidential election

A few months after James Buchanan was elected president in 1856, several events intensified the tensions between North and South over the issue of slavery. First, in the case of *Dred Scott vs. Sanford*, the Supreme Court ruled that slaves were not citizens; the Court’s decision also declared that the Missouri Compromise, which had barred slavery in territory north of 36° 30', was unconstitutional. Later in the year, Buchanan endorsed Kansas’s pro-slavery Lecompton Constitution.

Bullet #1 In 1854, Senator Stephen A. Douglas found himself in a battle for reelection that year against Abraham Lincoln. While Lincoln was known in central Illinois, he had to combat Douglas’s national reputation and backing. He therefore challenged Douglas to a series of debates around the state. Lincoln and Douglas differed the most in their views on slavery. Douglas believed that slavery would die out because of popular sovereignty: the majority of people would eventually realize that slavery wasn’t an effective labor system, and it would die on its own. Lincoln, on the other hand, believed that if slavery were extended to new territories, it would never die out. He felt that the only way to stop slavery would be to pass legislation outlawing its spread into the territories.

Bullets #2–4 In the second debate between Lincoln and Douglas, held in the town of Freeport, Lincoln asked his opponent a simple, yet essential question regarding his views on the idea of popular sovereignty in light of the recent *Dred Scott* decision. Lincoln already knew how Douglas would answer, but he wanted him to state his response publicly. Douglas did exactly as Lincoln hoped, responding that even with the *Dred Scott* decision, slavery could not exist anywhere that the population did not wish it to exist—the essence of popular sovereignty. While Douglas’s statement most likely won him support in Illinois, it did serve to worsen the split between the northern and southern wings of the Democratic Party. In 1860 when Douglas ran for president, Southern Democrats left and formed their own “Constitutional Union” party, nominating Vice President John C. Breckinridge. This division proved fatal: in the November election, Republican candidate Abraham Lincoln won with less than 40% of the popular vote. Lincoln did not carry any states in the south, and Douglas won just two states—Missouri and New Jersey.

Secession



- Idea that individual states retained the right to withdraw from the Union
- South Carolina nullification crisis, 1832
- Lincoln's election/Southern states secede
- The Civil War

Bullet #1 The concept of secession raised a major question about the basic nature of the United States: was America a confederation of independent states or was it a single, unified nation? Secessionists held the former view and claimed that the U.S. was akin to an alliance between countries. "Sovereign" states had entered into the Union because it was mutually beneficial; when a state no longer felt that the arrangement worked to its benefit, it retained the right to withdraw from the Union. Anti-secessionists held a different view: when a state joined the Union, it placed itself under the power of the federal government and gave up its "sovereignty." Consequently, any attempt at secession would be illegal.

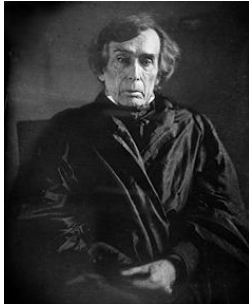
Bullet #2 Though the concept of secession had been around since the beginning of the nation, no state had felt the need to use it until the "nullification" crisis of 1832. Congress had passed a tariff bill that the state of South Carolina felt was unfair and detrimental to the state's interests. The state legislature passed a resolution "nullifying" the tariff and refused to enforce it. Nullification and secession both stem from the same basic idea: individual states have the power to defy federal law if they feel it goes against their best interests or is unconstitutional.

Bullet #3 Many in the South believed that Abraham Lincoln's election in 1860 meant their region would no longer have a voice in the federal government. In December of that year, South Carolina became the first state to secede. Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas soon followed. These states held a convention in early 1861 and formed the Confederate States of America, choosing Jefferson Davis of Mississippi as its first president.

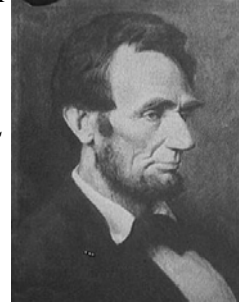
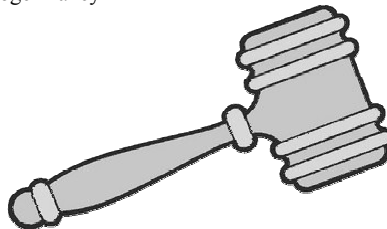
Bullet #4 From today's perspective, it seems clearly apparent that the Civil War was fought over the issue of slavery, but many people at the time did not view it that way. Before the South seceded, a significant portion of the North remained uncomfortable with the idea of fighting a war to end slavery; in fact, many people had no problem with the idea of keeping blacks in bondage. However, many Northerners found they could support the Civil War without taking a position on slavery: in they were fighting to "preserve the Union," not to abolish slavery. Similarly, many Southerners felt that they were fighting not for slavery but to assert their inalienable rights in the face of a "tyrannical" government bent on subjugating them—just as the Founding Fathers had in the American Revolution.

Suspension of *Habeas Corpus* during the Civil War

- *Habeas corpus*: a person cannot be held in jail indefinitely without formal charges being filed against them
- “Copperheads”/“Peace Democrats”
- *Ex parte Merriman*
- Long-term effects of suspending *habeas corpus*



Chief Justice
Roger Taney



Bullet #1 One of the most basic principles of American law is the idea of *habeas corpus*, a Latin term which literally means, “you have the body.” The principle refers to the idea that a person held in jail must be brought before a court to determine why they’re being held. In other words, a person cannot be held in jail indefinitely without the government filing formal charges against them.

Bullet #2 Not all of the North supported the war. Many Democrats (especially in the Midwest) felt that Lincoln had overreached his power and was trying to use the war as a means to eventually enforce racial equality. They called themselves “Peace Democrats”; their opponents called them “Copperheads” because they sometimes wore copper pennies on their coats to identify themselves. During the Civil War, Lincoln feared that actions of the Copperheads might cause disloyalty and undermine the Union cause.

Bullet #3 Lincoln ended up suspending *habeas corpus* and detained more than 10,000 Copperheads (including the most prominent leader of the movement, Ohio Congressman Clement Vallandigham) without trial in order to quell dissent in the Midwest. Some of those arrested sued the federal government because they had been denied a writ of *habeas corpus*. The issue eventually came before the Supreme Court. In the ruling for *ex parte Merriman*, Chief Justice Roger Taney (who had issued the Court’s opinion in the *Dred Scott* case) wrote for the majority and said that Lincoln had overstepped his constitutional powers. Lincoln simply ignored the ruling.

Bullet #4 After the war, the Supreme Court restored the principle of *habeas corpus* in the case of *ex parte Milligan*. Lincoln’s action had greatly expanded his power as President and commander in chief; other presidents would later follow his lead and suspend *habeas corpus* during times of national crisis or war.

Conscription and the Draft Controversy

- First military draft in U.S. history (1863)
- Exceptions: substitutes, slave owners
- New York City draft riots
- Other drafts in American history



Bullets #1–2 There had never been a draft law in U.S. history prior to the Civil War. During the conflict, both North and South eventually resorted to conscription. Government officials hoped that many would see the draft as the “great equalizer” because conscription would mean that men from all social classes would fight together in war. Several loopholes, however, allowed for the wealthy or those who were slaveholders in the South to avoid military service. In the Union, a man wishing to avoid military service could pay a substitute \$300 to take his place. In the Confederacy, all slaveholders owning more than 20 slaves received an automatic exemption. Some men accepted roles as substitutes, only to desert, change their names, and collect a substitute fee from someone else. Many who were unable to avoid military service soon began to call the Civil War “a rich man’s war, but a poor man’s fight.” By the end of the war, only approximately 40,000 men in the army were actually draftees, while the rest—more than 90% of the total—had volunteered.

Bullet #3 Many immigrants and poorer whites in Northern cities opposed the war because they disliked blacks and feared that abolition would result in a huge influx of ex-slaves coming to the North and competing with them for jobs. In July 1863 in New York City, anti-draft sentiment boiled over and major riots erupted. White workers took out their anger over the draft by attacking free blacks and rich whites who had avoided the draft by paying for substitutes. After the smoke had cleared, nearly 100 persons had been killed and millions of dollars in property damage had occurred.

Bullet #4 The draft was later used in both World War I and World War II; no huge outcry resulted either time and people tended to accept conscription as a necessity. During the Korean War, however, opposition to the draft developed. By the Vietnam War, the draft had become a major point of controversy. Protesters in the 1960s echoed some of the arguments that immigrants and lower-class whites had made during the Civil War: it was wrong to force people to fight in a conflict they opposed, and the unfairness and inequality of the draft. Many richer families were able to protect their sons from military service by procuring hard-to-get alternatives for them: student deferments, National Guard and Coast Guard posts, and more. The army that ended up fighting in Vietnam drew largely from the lower classes and included a disproportionate number of African Americans.

Transcontinental Railroad • Homestead Act

- Both enacted in 1862 during the Civil War
- Both encouraged western expansion and settlement
- Pacific Railway Acts
- Homestead Act



Bullets #1–2 Even during the war years, the government embarked on plans to make it easier for settlers to migrate westward and to fairly distribute lands in the West. The mainstays of these plans were the construction of a transcontinental railroad and the passage of the Homestead Act.

Bullet #3 Under the Pacific Railway Acts, the federal government promised large grants of land to the companies that would build the transcontinental railroad: for every mile of rail they built, each company would give alternate sections of land on each side of the railroad. Two competing corporations won the contracts to build the transcontinental railroad: the Union Pacific Railroad would go westward with one line, while the Central Pacific Railroad would build eastward from California with the other. The railroad eventually reached completion when the Central Pacific's and Union Pacific's lines tracks were joined in May 1869 at Promontory Point, Utah.

Bullet #4 The Homestead Act was an attempt to equitably distribute land in the West. Anyone could claim a one-quarter section (160 acres) of land in the west if they fulfilled the following conditions: within a five year period, they had to construct a house on the land, dig a well, plow 10 acres of the land, fence some of it in, and actually live on it. While many favored the Homestead Act, it did cause some controversy. Homesteaders' fences ended up cutting off some of the land that ranchers had long used for free grazing of cattle, leading to conflict—and sometimes all-out violence—between homesteaders and ranchers, such as the Johnson County War in Wyoming.

The Emancipation Proclamation



- Lincoln initially didn't intend to abolish slavery
- He came to see political and military advantages in emancipating slaves
- Proclamation issued after Battle of Antietam
- It only freed slaves in the rebel states

Bullet #1 Before his election as president, Abraham Lincoln did not support the total and immediate abolition of slavery. Instead, he believed that slavery should be accepted in the states and territories where it already existed, but it should not be allowed to spread into new territories acquired by the United States. He held this view even after the start of the Civil War, when he said, "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery."

Bullet #2 By 1862, however, Lincoln had come to believe that the goal of simply saving the Union wasn't enough to motivate many Americans. He needed to keep up morale in the North, and he felt that one way in which he could do that was by issuing an order freeing the slaves. In addition to political concerns, Lincoln also saw a military advantage emancipation could provide the North. In the South, slaves did most of the work, freeing white Confederates to fight in the war. Emancipation could possibly inspire slaves to leave and thus undermine the economy of the South. Also, it appeared more and more likely that the British might enter the war on the side of the Confederacy in order to maintain cotton supplies. If Lincoln announced the emancipation of slaves, the British, who had recently outlawed slavery in the British Empire, might be less likely to side with a nation that supported slavery. Emancipation could therefore potentially achieve the following: increasing unity in the North, creating disorganization in the South, and keeping Britain out of the war.

Bullet #3 Lincoln knew that he needed the Union army to achieve a significant victory before he could issue the Emancipation Proclamation; otherwise, the announcement might come off as an act of desperation. The bloody battle at Antietam was by no means a clear-cut victory for the North, but Lincoln decided that it was enough of a win to allow him to issue the proclamation. The document stated that Lincoln would free the slaves of any state still in rebellion as of January 1, 1863. He didn't free all the slaves because he needed to keep the support of "border states" such as Missouri, Delaware, Kentucky, and Maryland, all of which allowed slavery but weren't part of the Confederacy. While many saw the Emancipation Proclamation as a watershed event, it wasn't until the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865 that all the slaves in the United States became free.

Post-Civil War Amendments



Poster celebrating the 13th Amendment

- 13th (1865):
Ended slavery
- Black codes/Civil Rights Act of 1866
- 14th (1868):
Defined citizenship;
“equal protection of the laws”

Bullet #1 Three amendments to the Constitution were designed to put an end to the physical and political subjugation of African Americans in the U.S. Approved by Congress and ratified by the states (except for those still in the Confederacy) near the end of the Civil War in 1865, the 13th Amendment states: “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or anyplace subject to their jurisdiction.” This amendment outlawed slavery.

Bullet #2 After the war, President Andrew Johnson wanted to restore the Southern states to the Union as soon as possible. He favored a plan that would allow state governments to quickly get up and running again; accomplishing this goal, however, meant that ex-Confederates would have to play a key part in the new state governments, since they were often the only people in the state who had the appropriate experience and expertise. Johnson ended up pardoning many of these ex-Confederates, and they soon regained control of the state governments and began to enact laws that became known as “black codes.” Allegedly intended to help blacks make the transition from slavery to freedom, the laws instead placed burdensome restrictions on African Americans through measures such as curfews, vagrancy laws, land restrictions, labor contracts, and more. Republicans in Congress responded by passing the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which outlawed the black codes. Johnson vetoed the Act, but Congress overrode his veto.

Bullet #3 Even though they had managed to enact the Civil Rights Act, Congress wanted to ensure that it would survive any judicial challenges as well. Republicans, led by Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens, thus drafted the 14th Amendment; section one of the amendment stated that “All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.” Ratified in 1868, the amendment not only made the black codes unconstitutional, but it also overturned the *Dred Scott* decision and, for the first time in U.S. history, defined the meaning of citizenship.

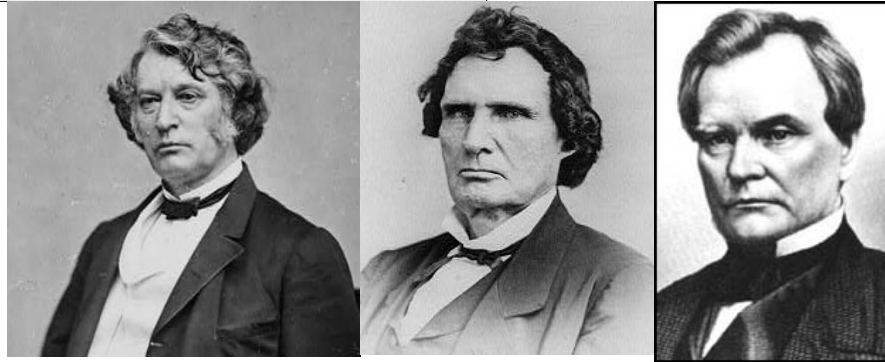
Post-Civil War Amendments (continued)

- 15th Amendment (1870): Gave blacks the right to vote



While the 13th Amendment abolished slavery and the 14th Amendment gave freedmen “equal protection of the laws,” the 15th Amendment focused on guaranteeing black males the right to vote. Ratified in 1870, the amendment stated: “The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” While the amendment represented an important step forward for African Americans, Southern whites searched for other methods to keep blacks from voting, such as literacy tests, “grandfather clauses,” and “poll taxes.” In addition, many women felt somewhat slighted by the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment. While many women had helped lead the abolition movement, they had also hoped that freeing slaves and giving blacks equality would lead to granting women the right to vote. They would have to wait until the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment 50 years later to gain the right of suffrage.

Reconstruction



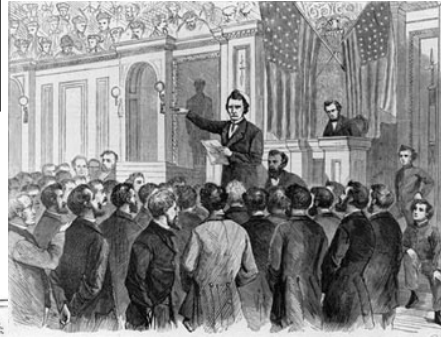
- Lincoln's "Ten Percent Plan"
 - Radical Republicans • Wade-Davis Bill
- "Radicals" Charles Sumner, Thaddeus Stevens, and Benjamin Wade

Bullet #1 In 1864, President Lincoln began to consider what a policy of "reconstruction"—returning the former Confederate states to the Union—would involve. He felt that the best way to deal with returning the Confederate states to the Union was to provide lenient terms, to "let 'em up easy", as he put it. In his view, the Civil War was a revolt by individuals, not by states. He believed the states had never actually left the Union. He also believed that responsibility for reconstruction should fall to the executive branch, and the president should use his Constitutional power of the pardon to restore the Union. In his "Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction," which became known as the "Ten Percent Plan," the government would recognize a former Confederate state once ten percent of its citizens who had voted in the 1860 presidential election signed a loyalty oath swearing that they would never again take up arms against the United States. Only the highest Confederate officials and any suspected of war crimes would not receive pardons.

Bullet #2 While Lincoln favored "executive reconstruction" as well as lenient terms for the former Confederate states, a group of Congressional Republicans known as "Radicals" supported much more stringent terms for these states to return to the Union. The Radicals felt that since the South had left the Union, those states had extremely limited political rights; furthermore, since the South had lost the war, Radicals viewed the former Confederate states as "captured provinces." The Radicals also suggested that only the legislative branch could effectively return the Southern states to the Union. In the summer of 1864, the Radicals engineered the passage of the Wade-Davis Bill, which outlined a much harsher plan for reconstruction. The bill only allowed a state to reenter after a majority of the number of voters who voted in the 1860 election signed the loyalty oath—a far greater number than the ten percent Lincoln had wanted. The Wade-Davis Bill also excluded anyone who voluntarily took up arms against the Union from receiving a pardon. In essence, the bill showed that the Radicals were not that eager for the former Confederate states to rejoin the Union; instead, it seemed that the bill really aimed to punish the South. Lincoln decided to exercise a "pocket veto" for the bill, and failed to either sign or veto it before the end of the Congressional term. This angered the Radicals, and the possibility of a major battle between the White House and Congress became more and more likely. Lincoln was assassinated in April 1865, and Andrew Johnson became president.

Reconstruction (continued)

- Johnson's plan
- Reconstruction Act of 1867 • impeachment

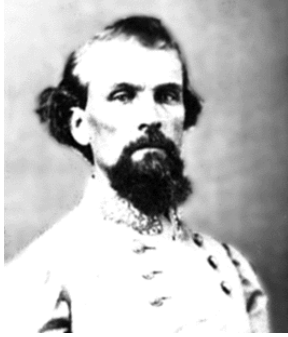


Thaddeus Stevens closing the debate on Johnson's impeachment

Bullet #1 Johnson, a Democrat from Tennessee, opposed slavery and supported the 13th Amendment. His reconstruction plan made ratification of the amendment a key requirement for Southern states to reenter the Union. He did not share the Republicans' desire to deny pardons to ex-Confederates. Johnson wanted the Southern states back in the Union as soon as possible, and for that to happen, many ex-Confederates needed to be pardoned. Johnson also believed that freedmen did not deserve equal rights or the right to vote; consequently, he had no problem when the ex-Confederates he pardoned started enacting black codes in Southern states. This angered the Radicals; they became further incensed when Johnson gave speeches opposing ratification of the 14th Amendment.

Bullet #2 In 1867, Republicans pushed the Reconstruction Act through Congress. The act divided the South into five military districts, each of which would be governed by a Northern general; it ordered Southern states to hold new elections and write new state constitutions; it required the states to allow African American men to vote; it temporarily took away the right to vote from ex-Confederates; it mandated that the states ensure equal rights for all their citizens; and it required the states to ratify the 14th Amendment. The act also inflamed the conflict between Johnson and the Radicals; relations between the president and congressional Republicans quickly went downhill and ultimately resulted in the House of Representatives drafting articles of impeachment against Johnson. Meanwhile, the Union army began to register freedmen to vote in the South, and in 1870, several African Americans were elected to state legislatures. Radical Reconstruction had a dramatic impact on the South, and it stayed in place until the disputed presidential election and subsequent Southern "Redemption" of 1876.

The Ku Klux Klan



Former Confederate general Nathan Bedford Forrest, the first Grand Wizard of the KKK



- Originally organized as a social club for Confederate veterans
- Top goal became assuring white supremacy
- Violent tactics
- Enforcement Acts of 1870 and 1871 • decline of the KKK
- Revivals in the 1920s, 1950s and 1960s

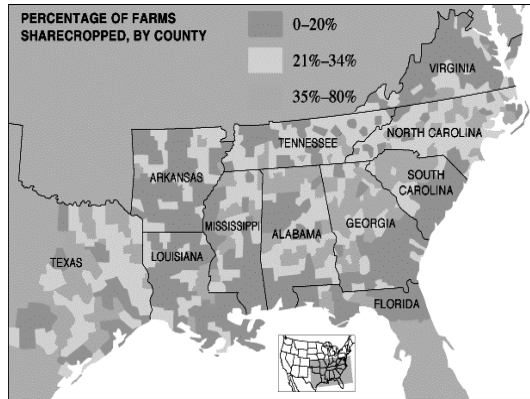
Bullets #1–3 The Ku Klux Klan actually began in Tennessee in 1866 as a fraternal organization for Confederate veterans; however, it soon evolved into a violent organization that used intimidation, murder, arson, and other tactics to keep freedmen from exercising their political rights. The KKK murdered thousands of African Americans who wished to vote, hold office, or campaign for equality; the Klan also set fire to blacks' homes, schools, churches, and crops. The KKK also targeted Southern whites who sympathized with the cause of the blacks or who tried to assist blacks by teaching them to read and write, renting land to them at reasonable prices, or buying their crops. Klan members wore white hoods and robes in order to keep their identities hidden; thus, blacks and those who aided them were never totally sure who was (or who wasn't) a member of the KKK.

Bullet #4 In many Southern states the work of the Klan had its intended effect: black voter turnout in state and national elections dropped dramatically. The federal government responded by passing two Enforcement Acts specifically designed to curb Klan activity. The acts made it a criminal offense to try to obstruct blacks from voting, receiving equal protection under the law, or serving on juries. On occasion, President Grant sent federal troops to Southern states to guarantee enforcement of the laws. These actions greatly weakened the KKK, and by 1872, the Klan had lost a great deal of its power.

Bullet #5 In the early part of the 20th century, a former preacher named William J. Simmons revived the KKK. This new incarnation of the Klan operated in a more sophisticated manner, using modern fundraising techniques and public relations tactics to gain members and create a better public image. By 1924, the new KKK had managed to spread beyond the South, and some have estimated that the organization boasted over four million members by this time. The Klan also shifted its focus, placing more of an emphasis on "defending white culture" against immigrants, Catholics, and Jews, and other groups they viewed as "non-Nativist." The KKK declined once again when a prominent Indiana leader was convicted of rape and murder. In the 1950s and 1960s, many small groups labeling themselves as KKK briefly appeared, primarily to oppose the civil rights movement. None of these groups, however, were able to rally public support and wield significant political power like the first two incarnations of the Klan had.

Sharecropping

- Many freedmen couldn't afford their own land
- Sharecropping: landholders divided their property into plots and provided farmers on each plot with seed and farm implements to work the land
- The sharecropper used a portion of his crop to pay the landholder
- Landholders often abused the system

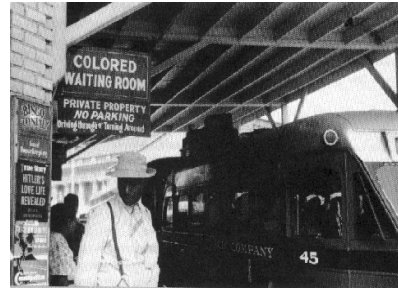
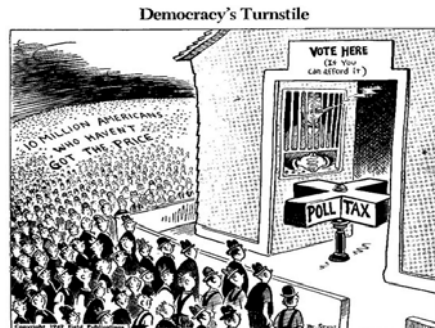


Bullet #1 Though freed from slavery after the Civil War, many African Americans in the South could not purchase land for farming, which meant that they couldn't grow crops to sell or to feed their families. A system called "sharecropping" arose in response to this problem.

Bullets #2-4 In sharecropping, landowners divided their property into plots and gave each sharecropper the seeds and tools needed to grow a small crop. The sharecropper usually paid the planter by giving him a certain percentage of the crops he grew. In theory, sharecropping seemed equitable; in practice, however, it rarely worked out this way. Sharecroppers often fell behind in their payments because of low prices on the open market for their crops. Many landowners would then charge substantial fines or apply high interest rates to the balance owed. The net result was that many sharecroppers found it more and more difficult to gain financial independence. Stuck in a vicious cycle of increasing debt, many freedmen found that sharecropping was essentially a return to slavery.

Jim Crow Laws

- Named after a popular minstrel show song
- Laws that limited black voting
- Laws that instituted racial segregation



Bullet #1 As the Reconstruction era continued, Southern states prevented African Americans from attaining full equality by devising legal ways to bypass the Constitution and federal officials. Collectively, the measures passed became known as “Jim Crow laws,” named after a popular minstrel show routine.

Bullet #2 While the Fifteenth Amendment had given African Americans the right to vote, its language only listed three conditions which could NOT be used to deny the vote to someone: “race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” Southern whites soon came up with alternative ways to legally keep blacks from exercising their right to vote. Among these were literacy tests, poll taxes, “grandfather clauses,” and “white primaries.” Many states instituted “literacy tests” as a requirement for voting. Frequently these tests involved reading excerpts from legal documents or the Constitution, followed by comprehensive questions about those documents. Even if a black applicant for registration could “correctly” answer a question, the directions stated that the questions had to be answered to the satisfaction of the person administering the test, which made it even more difficult to pass. With a poll tax, voters had to pay a certain sum when they registered. Ostensibly, this tax would help local governments pay the cost of elections; in actuality, since the African American population in the South was mostly poor, the poll tax ended up preventing blacks from exercising their right to vote. Though the South had its share of poor whites as well, rich whites would often pay their poll taxes or find some way to grant them exemptions. “Grandfather clauses” stated that only people eligible to vote were those whose grandfathers had been eligible to vote on January 1st, 1867—before the 15th Amendment gave blacks the right to vote. In “white primaries,” southern Democrats asserted that their primary election was a “private” election by invite only. Needless to say, African American voters did not receive and invites.

Bullet #3 Jim Crow laws also created a system of institutionalized segregation. Throughout the South, whites and blacks had separate schools, hospitals, public waiting rooms and restrooms, seats on buses and trains, sections and theaters, and many more. Usually, the facilities designed for blacks were far inferior to those used by whites.

Plessy v. Ferguson



- Involved a Louisiana African American man arrested for refusing to leave a “whites only” train car
- Supreme Court rules against Plessy
- “Separate but equal”

Bullet #1 Although segregation in the South clearly favored whites, it was not until 1896 that any legal challenge to segregation reached the Supreme Court. The case arose when Homer Plessy, a person of mixed race, took a seat in the “Whites Only” section of a Louisiana train and refused to move when ordered. He was arrested and convicted for violating Louisiana’s segregation law. In the lower courts, Plessy lost, so he appealed to the Supreme Court.

Bullet #2 Although the 14th Amendment guaranteed equal protection under the law, by the end of the 19th century, the Supreme Court had consistently narrowed the idea of the intent of the amendment, consistently ruling that it dealt only with abuses by the federal government, and that the private citizens were exempted from the terms of the amendment. In *Plessy*, the Supreme Court again had to rule on the validity and scope of the amendment. The Court ruled against Plessy; Justice Henry B. Brown, writing the opinion for the 8-1 majority, stated that, “Laws permitting, and even requiring, their [the races’] separation in places where they are to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other.” In essence, Justice Brown stated that as long as the facilities provided were “equal,” it was legal to segregate by race.

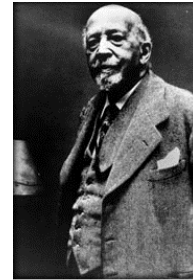
Bullet #3 The *Plessy* decision provided a legal basis for segregation, and the phrase “separate but equal” became ingrained in the public consciousness. “Separate but equal” remained the law for nearly half a century to overturn, until the Court ruled in the 1955 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that segregation was inherently unequal.

Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois

- Differing ideas on how blacks could best achieve full equality and on African American education
- Washington: felt that blacks should achieve economic success before trying to gain political equality
- Du Bois: blacks should strive to achieve immediate equality with whites in all aspects of American life



Booker T. Washington



W.E.B. Du Bois

Bullet #1 Around the turn of the 20th century, the debate over how African Americans could best achieve full equality gained new vigor. The two most prominent spokesmen on the issue were Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois. Each offered a vastly different vision of the course blacks should take.

Bullet #2 Washington, a former slave who had become one of the nation's leading educators and founded the highly regarded Tuskegee Institute, believed that blacks could best gain equality by first proving themselves in farming and domestic careers. He felt that blacks needed to move gradually, slowly gaining respect from whites. He urged African Americans to focus on becoming successful economically rather than on trying to achieve political equality. Washington felt that if blacks could first accomplish the former, the latter would soon follow. Washington garnered a great deal of fame and popularity; in particular, whites who worried about blacks becoming too "equal" found his vision reassuring.

Bullet #3 Du Bois, on the other hand, saw things in an entirely different way. He was the first African American to earn a Ph.D. from Harvard and a co-founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Persons (NAACP). Du Bois flatly rejected Washington's ideas, insisting instead that blacks could not attain economic equality until they achieved political and social equality. He founded what became known as the "Niagara Movement," a group of prominent African Americans who called for complete civil and political liberties. To this end, Du Bois urged blacks to focus on gaining a liberal arts education rather than settling for the vocational training that Washington advocated. Du Bois hoped that not only would such an education assist blacks in their quest for equality, but it would also produce well-educated African American leaders.

The Ghost Dance

- Westward expansion—Indians gradually lose their lands
- The “Ghost Dance”
- Sitting Bull and the Sioux
- Wounded Knee



Bullet #1 Throughout the 19th century, westward expansion had produced tensions and conflict between whites and Indians. Methods of resolution were varied: sometimes treaties were established, sometimes Indians accepted a move to a reservation, and sometimes bloodshed occurred. Despite occasional successes, Native Americans remained unable to stop the westward advance of the United States. By the end of the century, many Native Americans had come to realize that their way of life was endangered.

Bullet #2 In a last attempt to save their culture, many Indians looked for a spiritual rebirth; self-proclaimed religious prophets began to proliferate and provide “forecasts” of the Indians’ uncertain future. One such prophet, a Paiute mystic named Wokova, promised that if Indians performed certain ceremonies and rituals, they would be able to regain the lands they had lost and could restore a traditional life free of white people. In the most popular ritual, known as the “Ghost Dance,” people would join hands in a circle then whirl and dance frenetically. (Note: The picture in this slide shows a Ghost Dance dress, which Indians believed would keep whites’ bullets from harming them.)

Bullets #3–4 The Ghost Dance proved especially popular among the Sioux, who chafed under the restrictions of life on their reservation in South Dakota. The great Sioux chief Sitting Bull strongly encouraged his people to practice the Ghost Dance, which they did with unrestrained energy. U.S. government authorities became alarmed, and feared that an armed uprising was imminent and sent in the Seventh Cavalry. Hoping to clamp down on the crisis before it erupted into full-scale conflict, Indian police officers went to arrest Sitting Bull. When he hesitated, the officers shot and killed him. His followers surrendered and some 350 of them were rounded up at a creek Wounded Knee. The surrender seemed to be proceeding smoothly, but then someone fired a shot. The soldiers of the Seventh Cavalry opened fire; after the smoke had cleared, more than 300 Sioux had died. The massacre at Wounded Knee marked the end of the “Indian Wars” of the 19th century.

The Grange



A. The Patrons of Husbandry, the Grange, idealized farmers and farm life in this lithograph of 1873. Originally a social and cultural organization, by 1873 the Grange was actively mobilizing voters for politicians, Republicans and Democrats, who supported its demands for regulation of railroads.

- Helped farmers form cooperatives
- Fought unfair practices of railroad companies
- Farmers' Alliances



Bullet #1 Founded in 1867 by Oliver Hudson Kelley, the Grange (more formally known as the Patrons of Husbandry) was one of the first attempts by farmers to organize into a cooperative group. Grangers at first sought to educate farmers about new agricultural techniques, as well as to provide a social club for farmers. They also sought to provide a benefit to their members through the use of cooperative stores. In this system, sales of goods were limited to Grangers. Since they bought as a group, they could obtain products much more cheaply than if they bought retail.

Bullet #2 Soon, however, the Grangers found themselves fighting against what they considered to be unfair practices by railroads; Grangers were particularly incensed by the illegal rebates railroads gave preferred customers while forcing farmers to pay higher rates to ship their crops. The Grangers put pressure on state lawmakers to remedy the situation; in the process, the Grange started to become a political force.

Bullet #3 The Grange was popular, but not all farmers joined. Some formed groups known as "Farmers' Alliances" which were more political and didn't try to establish cooperatives. Many of these alliances worked together to fight the railroads and other businesses they saw as "monopolies." The Grange and the Farmers' Alliances represent the first successful efforts at organizing farmers into a potent political bloc.

Jane Addams and Hull House

Jane Addams



Immigrant children at Hull House



- Jane Addams
- “Settlement” houses/Hull House
- Provided activities and services for poor immigrants

Bullets #1–2 In 1888, American Jane Addams visited Toynbee Hall in London, a “university settlement” where some students from Oxford and Cambridge would spend their summer break working to help the poor in the area. Inspired by this example, Addams returned to her native Chicago and along with her friend Ellen Gates Starr founded the first “settlement house” in America. As she later wrote, Addams viewed a “settlement” as “an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern conditions of life in a great city.” Addams and Starr rented an abandoned mansion that had formerly belonged to wealthy businessman Charles Hull. The neighborhood around what became known as “Hull House” was populated primarily by poor immigrants, mainly from Italy and Germany. Though Addams and Starr began by offering cultural events at Hull House, they soon found out that the community desperately needed facilities for child care and education. Hull House opened a kindergarten; its spaces filled up almost immediately, with dozens of others put on a waiting list.

Bullet #3 Hull House gradually began to provide more group activities for children, including a boys’ club and sewing classes. Addams, however, did not want Hull House to focus strictly on children, so she created more and more activities for adults. Eventually, these activities included a coffeehouse/public kitchen, a gymnasium, classes on hygiene, cooking demonstrations, academic lectures, concerts, and nights devoted to German and Italian food, music, and culture. Hull House also began to attract the attention of social reformers, including Socialist Labor Party activist Florence Kelley. Kelley helped bring a larger social and political consciousness to Addams’s and Starr’s efforts, and Hull House soon hosted a weekly “Workingman’s Discussion Club” and also developed a dedicated cadre of reformers devoted to supporting working-class causes such as trade unions and better working conditions. Settlement houses soon spread to other cities, and Hull House itself grew until it ultimately included 13 buildings that occupied an entire block. Addams went on to become a leader in other reform efforts, including the suffrage movement and the NAACP (of which she was a founder). She also led a pacifist movement in the U.S. during World War I.

The Populist Party

- Founded in 1891
- Goals
- 1892 election: Populist candidate James Weaver carries 10% of vote
- 1896 election: William Jennings Bryan's defeat kills Populist Party



William Jennings Bryan

Bullets #1–2 In 1891, a coalition of Farmers' Alliances formed the Populist Party. An 1892 party convention called for wide-sweeping economic, governmental, and social reforms, including increasing the money supply, implementing a graduated income tax in which the rich would pay a higher percentage of taxes than the middle and lower classes, creating a federal loan program for farmers, placing systems of communication and transportation under government control, instituting an eight-hour workday, and limiting immigration. They also supported direct election of U.S. senators and limiting presidents to a single term in office.

Bullet #3 Farmers and disgruntled workers flocked to the new party. The party was also one of the first to draw support from both African Americans and whites. In the 1892 presidential election, more than a million people voted for Populist candidate James B. Weaver, garnering him 22 electoral votes. The Democratic Party, seeing the success of the Populists, adopted many of their reform ideas into their own platform.

Bullets #4–5 By 1896, the party had reached a crossroads. Populists liked Democrat nominee William Jennings Bryan so much that they also nominated him for president. Though Bryan campaigned tirelessly all over the country, he still lost the election. In the end, neither Bryan nor the Populists managed to successfully appeal to people in urban and industrial sections of the nation; thus, Populism never really expanded much beyond its rural base. Bryan's loss in the 1896 election signaled the collapse of the Populist movement.

Gilded Age Business Practices

- Combinations
- Vertical and horizontal integration
- Trusts
- Holding companies



Andrew Carnegie

John D. Rockefeller



Bullet #1 In the years following the Civil War, a spurt of industrial growth changed the American landscape and gave rise to many new industries. These new industries required a significant amount of capital not only to fund research and development, but also to provide services and products to consumers on a large scale. Some industrial leaders saw “combinations” as a solution to their problems: if several businesses joined together they would be able to provide goods and services more efficiently and effectively. Many criticized these combinations, however, and labeled the men who ran them as “robber barons.” Critics believed that the combinations served to only push out the “little guy” and raise prices by eliminating fair competition.

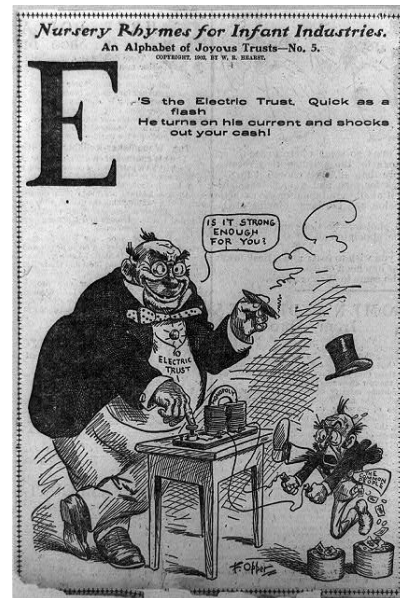
Bullet #2 Andrew Carnegie began his business career in railroads, but soon became one of the leaders in the steel industry. He accomplished this through a business strategy known as “vertical integration.” In vertical integration, an entrepreneur attempts to control as much of each aspect of a product’s development as possible. For example, in steel production Carnegie set out to control the mining of raw materials needed to make steel, the steel mills, and the transportation needed to deliver the steel to markets. Vertical integration allowed Carnegie to drastically reduce the costs of production. John D. Rockefeller, another of the great “robber barons” of the Gilded Age, gained control of the oil industry by employing a related strategy known as “horizontal integration.” In horizontal integration, an entrepreneur focuses on trying to gain control of a single aspect of a product’s development by buying out all competitors. For example, Rockefeller purchased competing oil refineries so that he could have total control of that part of the oil production process. Horizontal integration allowed him to significantly lower production costs as well.

Bullet #3 Entrepreneurs used a device known as a “trust” in order to gain a virtual monopoly over a particular industry. Rockefeller’s Standard Oil Trust provided the model: First, stockholders in competing oil companies would “entrust” their shares of stock to the Standard Oil Board of Directors. The stock would technically still belong to the stockholders, but it would be controlled by Standard Oil. Therefore, Standard Oil would gain control of competing oil companies. Within a ten-year span, Standard Oil controlled approximately 90% of the oil business. Because no actual merger or takeovers occurred, the trusts technically didn’t violate legal restrictions on monopolies.

Bullet #4 Another way entrepreneurs could create a virtual monopoly was by setting up a business known as a “holding company,” which did not engage in production of goods on its own. Instead, it bought up the stocks of smaller companies in order to gain control of them. While holding companies were considered legal by the

The Sherman Anti-Trust Act

- Attempted to combat “illegal restraint of trade”
- Flaws
- Didn’t truly become effective until the early 1900s

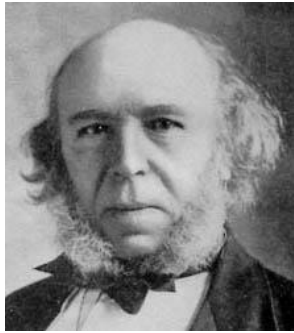


Bullet #1 Increasing complaints about monopolies led the federal government to act to combat abuses regarding restraint of trade and big business. The key piece of legislation on this issue was the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890. Based on the constitutional power of the federal government to regulate interstate commerce, the Sherman Act banned any business combinations whose practices resulted in an “illegal restraint of trade.” It also stated that persons engaged in “illegal restraint” were guilty of criminal activity, could be fined up to \$5000, and could receive a sentence of one year in prison.

Bullet #2 The act had serious flaws. Because it did not adequately define “illegal restraint of trade,” “monopoly,” or “trust,” companies under investigation could evade penalties simply by reorganizing. Many cases prosecuted under the Sherman Act were eventually dismissed in the United States Supreme Court.

Bullet #3 The Act remained largely ineffective until the “trustbusting” years of Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft in the early 1900s, when the government enjoyed more success at prosecuting those who violated the act.

Social Darwinism



Herbert Spencer



William Graham Sumner

- Natural selection
- Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner
- “Survival of the fittest” as applied to the business world
- *Laissez-faire*

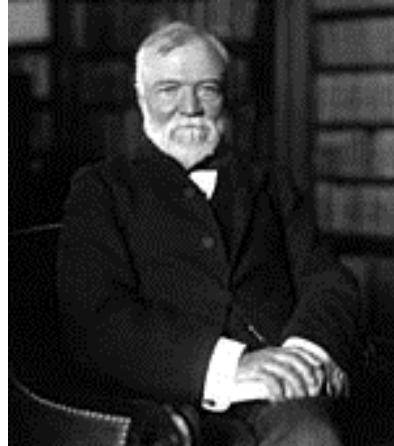
Bullet #1 The “theory” of Social Darwinism took some of Charles Darwin’s ideas from his landmark work *The Origin of the Species* and applied them to the business world. In particular, Social Darwinists adapted the concept of “natural selection.” Darwin had stated that some members of a particular species survive because they have traits best suited to survival; they then pass these traits on to their offspring. In other words, the “stronger” members of a species to flourish while the weaker ones die out.

Bullets #2–3 The two most prominent Social Darwinist theorists were British philosopher Herbert Spencer and American sociologist William Graham Sumner. Both used Darwin’s ideas to explain the evolution of human society, arguing that unfettered competition and natural selection would allow the “fittest” to attain success. As the “fit” thrived, the “unfit” would become “extinct” and as a result, American society would become stronger. “Robber barons” and entrepreneurs saw Social Darwinism as justification for their business practices and their success. In their view, poor people were simply inferior rather than victims of forces beyond their control.

Bullet #4 Social Darwinism dovetailed nicely with economist Adam Smith’s notion of *laissez-faire* (a French phrase that roughly translates as “let things be”). Both concepts opposed government regulation of business: *laissez-faire* capitalism asserted that a free, unregulated market would produce the greatest general good because it naturally discouraged inefficiency; Social Darwinism viewed government regulation as harmful because it interfered with the “natural order” of things. Ultimately, Social Darwinism functioned more as a rationalization for entrepreneurs’ behavior than as a comprehensive explanation of the underlying workings of the economy.

The Gospel of Wealth

- Based on an essay written by Andrew Carnegie
- Carnegie believed that acquisition of wealth was beneficial to society
- Viewed the rich as “trustees” of money
- He wrote that the man who “dies rich, dies disgraced”
- Portrayed philanthropy as a moral duty for the wealthy



Bullets #1–3 The idea of the “Gospel of Wealth” was actually an offshoot of the Social Darwinism movement. Based in part on an essay written by steel tycoon Andrew Carnegie in 1889, the Gospel of Wealth asserted that acquisition of wealth was beneficial to society. It portrayed the rich as trustees of money and wealth who were duty-bound to hold onto the riches they had accumulated until they could find suitable public projects to fund.

Bullets #4–5 In other words, Carnegie and the Gospel of Wealth enshrined philanthropy as a moral imperative for the rich. Carnegie wrote, “This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of Wealth: First, to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and after doing so to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial result for the community—the man of wealth thus becoming the sole agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer—doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves.” While many industrial giants of the era did not follow the Gospel of Wealth, Carnegie did. He provided funding for more than 2800 public libraries across the United States, and by the time of his death in 1919, he had given more than half of his fortune to charities and philanthropic causes.

Horatio Alger

- Popular Gilded Age children's author
- Wrote books on how “down and out” boys could achieve the “American Dream” and become wealthy through “pluck and luck”
- Social Darwinism



Bullets #1–2 Millions of American boys and girls growing up in the “Gilded Age” read Horatio Alger’s books, which inspired dreams of becoming wealthy and successful. Alger’s “Ragged Dick,” “Pluck and Luck,” and “Tattered Tom” series frequently told stories of young boys and girls who managed to rise above their poverty and become success stories. While none of Alger’s works could be considered top-flight literature for this period, at the time of their release, sales of his “dime novels” rivaled the popularity of other well-known authors, including Mark Twain.

Bullet #3 The basic “rags to riches” story Alger told over and over again represents a Social Darwinist fairy tale of sorts. The idea that a great deal of hard work and a little luck could not only help a child overcome poverty but also become wealthy fits with the Social Darwinist idea that a person’s drive and “talent” were the main factors that determined a person’s success or failure—not the economic situation in which they had been raised.

“Trustbusting”



- 1898: U.S. Industrial Commission
- TR decides aggressively file antitrust actions
- TR’s reforms
- Taft continues TR’s policies



Bullet #1 Though President William McKinley had pursued a mostly *laissez-faire* economic policy during his first term, he did authorize the creation of the U.S. Industrial Commission in 1898. The commission was charged with a number of tasks, including investigating railroad pricing policy, researching how immigration affected the U.S. labor market, and taking a deeper look at the effects of combinations and trusts. What the commissioners discovered about trusts gravely concerned them, and in their report to the President and Congress, they recommended that the government regulate trusts much more closely.

Bullet #2 After McKinley was assassinated in 1901, Vice President Theodore Roosevelt took over. Roosevelt found the U.S. Industrial Commission’s report alarming and decided to have his attorney general aggressively pursue those who had violated antitrust laws. The Roosevelt administration ended up filing 42 antitrust cases. Many of the trusts targeted in the lawsuits were eventually forced to break up or reorganize. Business leaders were furious with TR’s policy, and they publicly accused him of trying to destroy all big businesses and undermine the U.S. economy. In TR’s view, however, the goal was not to smash big business but rather to provide regulation of it.

Bullet #3 TR also instituted other changes that had an impact on business. He created the Department of Commerce and Labor, a cabinet-level entity that allowed the government to increase its ability to monitor business and labor relations. In addition, a “Bureau of Corporations” was empowered to find companies and individuals that had violated existing antitrust laws.

Bullet #4 Although TR is the president most associated with trustbusting, more prosecution of trusts actually occurred during William H. Taft’s administration. After Taft succeeded TR, he continued TR’s policies; during his term, some of the largest trusts succumbed to government regulation—including Rockefeller’s Standard Oil.

Early Labor Unions

Terence V. Powderly



Samuel Gompers

- National Labor Union
- Knights of Labor
- American Federation of Labor (AFL)



Bullet #1 While “captains of industry” became more and more wealthy during the latter part of the 19th century, factory workers frequently found themselves getting poorer. Most workers put in more than 12 hours during a normal work day, and the average work week was six days. In addition, workers were not entitled to vacation time, sick leave, unemployment compensation, or workman’s compensation. Because working conditions were so poor, employees sought to form labor unions, which they hoped would help them gain benefits, protect their rights, and improve working conditions. The first American labor union, known simply as the “National Labor Union,” focused on trimming the size of a normal workday to eight hours. The union managed to achieve an eight-hour workday for government employees, providing an important first step for unions in general.

Bullet #2 Another union known as the “Knights of Labor” had an ambitious goal: organize all workers—skilled and unskilled, men and women—into a single, powerful union. Led by a former machinist named Terrence V. Powderly, the Knights also took on an ambitious agenda: they strove to expand the eight-hour day to all workers, to ensure “equal pay for equal work” between men and women, and to abolish child labor. As for tactics, the Knights generally favored arbitration of labor disputes rather than strikes; however, after they had to resort to a strike to wring concessions from railroad mogul Jay Gould, they started to use the tactic more often. Things went downhill from there, as most of the Knights’ subsequent strikes failed miserably and some of them turned violent, causing damage to the Knights’ public image. The union lost many members, and by 1890, the Knights of Labor were no longer a significant force.

Bullet #3 Samuel Gompers formed the American Federation of Labor in order to provide workers with an alternative to the “open” membership of the National Labor Union and the Knights of Labor. The AFL required members to be craft workers, and the union favored the use of strikes and collective bargaining (workers negotiating with employers as a group) to achieve their goals. By the 1890s, the AFL had greatly increased its membership and become a national force. Up until the start of World War I, the union managed to consistently increase average pay for its members while decreasing the work week.

Immigration: “Melting Pot” or “Tossed Salad”?



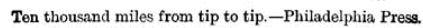
- Conflicted American attitudes toward immigration
- “Melting pot”: assimilation
- “Tossed salad”: multiculturalism

Bullet #1 Americans have traditionally had a conflicted attitude toward immigration. On one hand, the U.S. is a “nation of immigrants”: except for the Native Americans, all of our ancestors at one time immigrated to North America from someplace else. On the other hand, some U.S. citizens have often looked upon increasing immigration with alarm. Although immigrants throughout U.S. history have suffered ills ranging from persecution and poverty to ridicule and social stigmas, for the most part the country has come to accept immigrants as vital parts of the American economy and society. Questions then arise: How do immigrants truly become “Americans”? What does it mean to be an “American”? Two powerful metaphors have emerged to describe the process of Americanization: the “melting pot” and the “tossed salad.”

Bullet #2 The “melting pot” metaphor envisions the U.S. as a large foundry. Immigrants come to America and get “melted down” into molten metal; the metal is then recast and the immigrant emerges as an “American.” In other words, immigrants lose their native culture and become distinctly American in their beliefs, ideals, and even behavior. This metaphor enshrines assimilation as an ideal.

Bullet #3 The “tossed salad” metaphor, on the other hand, rejects the melting pot notion of a single American character or identity. In this metaphor, immigrants don’t need to give up their native culture in order to become Americans. America gets likened to a salad; new immigrants represent another ingredient to add to the salad. Ultimately, a greater number of different ingredients produces a tastier salad. In other words, the richness of American culture comes not from assimilating immigrants but from allowing them to incorporate the best parts of their native cultures into our own. The “tossed salad” metaphor thus takes multiculturalism as an ideal.

- **Imperialism:** strong nations extend their influence (economic, political, military) over other territories or nations
- Proponents
- Anti-Imperialists



Bullet #2 In 1890, the U.S. census chief had reported that the country no longer had a discernible frontier, a finding that unsettled many people. For decades, conquering the frontier had provided an important part of America's identity; without a frontier, some felt the nation might stagnate and decline. Proponents of imperialism argued that it could serve to open new frontiers and keep the country vital; it would also open up new markets for U.S. manufacturers. Others saw imperialism as a "mission": the U.S. had a duty to "civilize" and democratize the world. Still others wanted to use imperialism as a way to display the country's military might and prove to Europe that the U.S. was a force to be reckoned with.

63

Imperialism (continued)



Senator Orville Platt

- The Philippines
- Cuba: Teller and Platt Amendments

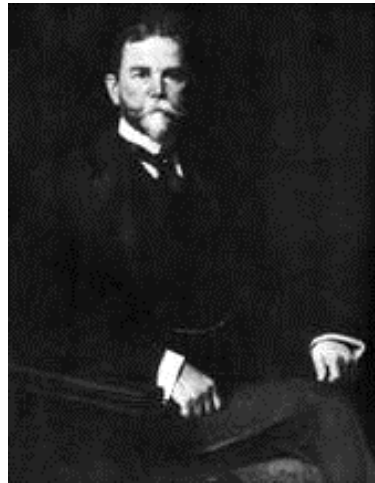


Bullet #1 At the end of the 19th century, the United States emerged from the Spanish-American War in possession of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and the island of Guam. Filipinos had fought with U.S. soldiers against Spain during the war with the expectation that an American victory would lead to independence for the Philippines. When they realized they would merely be exchanging colonial masters, an insurrection broke out. Fierce fighting lasted nearly three years; more than 4000 American soldiers and thousands of Filipinos died before the uprising could be quelled. The Philippines did not gain their independence until 1946.

Bullet #2 Right before the Spanish-American War, Congress had passed the Teller Amendment to a resolution against Spain. The amendment promised that the U.S. wouldn't annex Cuba; however, the U.S. continued to oversee and control the Cuban government even after the war had ended. The Cubans wanted the Americans out: the price the island nation had to pay was outlined in the Platt Amendment. The amendment stated that the U.S. would withdraw its troops from Cuba if three conditions were met: Cuba would not make any formal pacts or treaties with other nations, the U.S. would be allowed to set up naval bases in Cuba, and America would have the right to intervene in Cuba whenever it was "necessary." Cuba grudgingly accepted the conditions, and the Platt Amendment stayed in place until 1934.

The Open Door Policy

- Turmoil in China
- “Open Door” policy formulated by U.S. Secretary of State John Hay
- No nations formally accepted Hay’s proposal, but they didn’t counter the Open Door policy’s provisions either
- Boxer Rebellion, second Open Door notes



Secretary of State John Hay

Bullet #1 At the end of the 19th century, China was in political and social turmoil. Many nations wanted to capitalize on China’s unsettled situation, including Japan, Russia, Britain, France, and Germany. These nations wanted to create “spheres of influence” in the region—that is to say, they wanted to gain virtual control over economics and politics in China. While the United States did not necessarily seek a “sphere of influence” in China, it did have a prosperous trade with the nation. In addition, the acquisition of the Philippines meant that the United States now had a greater interest in far Eastern affairs.

Bullets #2–3 President William McKinley’s Secretary of State, John Hay, sent a series of “open door notes” to various nations, proposing that they all “share” their Chinese trading rights while also guaranteeing the territorial integrity of China. Hay’s proposals were meant not only to assure that no nation would monopolize trade with China, but also to prevent other nations from partitioning China. None of the other nations interested in China particularly liked the Open Door policy and none formally endorsed it, but they also didn’t take any actions that ran counter to the Open Door policy’s provisions

Bullet #4 After the Boxer Rebellion, Hay feared that other nations would use the uprising as an excuse to appropriate Chinese territory. He sent a second set of “Open Door Notes” which stated in stronger terms that the United States planned to safeguard the idea of equal trade with all parts of China. The statement underlined America’s determination to keep trade open and also ensured that the United States would play a greater role in Far Eastern affairs.

The Roosevelt Corollary



- Latin American nations had borrowed heavily from European banks
- Roosevelt Corollary: addition to the Monroe Doctrine
- U.S. as an international police power

Bullet #1 It was becoming increasingly obvious to President Theodore Roosevelt that European influence in the affairs of Latin American nations posed a greater and greater threat to the U.S. Nations in Latin America had borrowed large amounts from European banks in order to build railroads and factories, and if they couldn't repay these loans, European nations might intervene by sending troops into Latin America to protect investments made by European banks and businesses.

Bullet #2 Roosevelt, who had based his foreign policy on the West African proverb, "Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far," was determined to prevent Europe from gaining influence in Latin America. He declared that the Monroe Doctrine mandated that European nations stay out of the affairs of Latin American countries. In a message to Congress in December of 1904, he added the "Roosevelt Corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine, stating that "disorder" in Latin America might "force the United States to the exercise of an international police power." In other words, the U.S. would resort to military action to keep European powers from intervening in Latin American affairs. The Roosevelt Corollary set the stage for several U.S. interventions in the 20th century; however, these interventions tended to breed increasing anti-American sentiment in many countries in Latin America.

Progressivism



Demonstration against child labor

Upton Sinclair



- What was Progressivism?
- Collection of reform movements
- “Muckrakers”
- Achievements

Bullet #1 The period from approximately 1890 to 1920 is often referred to as the “Progressive Era.” Rather than a single, unified philosophy, “Progressivism” encompassed a wide range of social and political reformers and movements that shared a devotion to creating a more humane and fair society. Progressives also tended to rely on scientific research and field work to formulate their ideas and programs.

Bullets #2–3 Some of the groups often labeled as “Progressive” included the union movement, the modern suffrage movement, socialists, and urban reformers. In addition, Progressivism included a certain type of journalists who brought alarming situations to the public’s attention; these journalists came to be known as “muckrakers” (a term coined by Theodore Roosevelt). The best-known muckraking effort came from Upton Sinclair, whose novel *The Jungle* focused on immigrant workers in Chicago’s meat-packing industry. Though ostensibly a work of fiction, Sinclair’s book was in reality an often graphic and stomach-turning exposé of the filthy, haphazard, dangerous conditions in the packing houses. Other muckrakers like Lincoln Steffens and Jacob Riis shone light on the pitiful, desolate conditions in which the urban poor had to reside.

Bullet #4 Progressives did manage to achieve several victories, including the institution of minimum wage laws and laws prohibiting child labor, the Pure Food and Drug Act and the Meat Inspection Act, the development of welfare programs in many cities, and workplace protections. In addition, Progressivism also helped spur a rise in charitable giving created a larger general awareness of social and political problems.

Progressive Political Reforms

- “Fighting Bob” LaFollette’s “Wisconsin Idea”
- Referendum, initiative, recall



Senator Robert “Fighting Bob” LaFollette

Bullet #1 In the early 20th century, Progressives pushed for a variety of political reforms. Robert (“Fighting Bob”) LaFollette, first as governor then later as senator of Wisconsin, sought to provide reforms that would make state government more responsive to the will of the people and less susceptible to corruption. His “Wisconsin Idea” included a plan that allowed for direct election of senators as well as a primary election in which voters rather than party bosses would select candidates for office. It also called for a progressive tax system that would levy taxes on people according to their ability to pay, rather than having the same rate for everyone.

Bullet #2 Other political reforms Progressives championed included the ideas of “referendum”, “recall”, and “initiative.” Referendum would allow voters to approve or reject a bill that had been passed by their state’s legislature. With recall, under certain conditions the voters of a state could remove a public official from office, or force a special election to remove that official from office. Initiative gave citizens of a state the right to propose suggestions for bills that the legislature would then be required to consider. By 1920, 20 states had enacted at least one of these measures.

Income Tax

- Nation's first income tax had been instituted during Civil War, but was declared unconstitutional
- Underwood Tariff Act of 1913
- Sixteenth Amendment

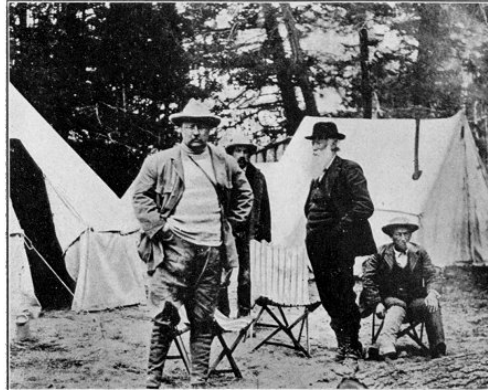


Bullets #1 During the Civil War, the North had implemented an income tax to raise funds. The Civil War-era tax was progressive in nature, meaning that citizens with higher incomes also paid a higher tax rate. In 1894, however, the Supreme Court declared a progressive income tax (also known as “graduated” income tax) unconstitutional.

Bullets #2–3 In 1913, the government looked to the idea of a graduated income tax again. The Underwood Tariff Act passed that year mandated a reduction in tariff rates. To make up for the shortfall of revenue the tariff reduction would cause, President Wilson signed into law an act authorizing a federal income tax. Since the Court had declared such a tax unconstitutional, however, an amendment would be needed. In 1913, the nation ratified the Sixteenth Amendment, which allowed the federal government to tax incomes. The first tax law passed after the Sixteenth Amendment was ratified called for a small tax rate for families with incomes over \$4000, to a maximum of six percent for incomes over \$500,000. Current tax rates run up to 35% for individuals reporting more than \$300,000 in income. The government probably did not realize what an impact the tax system would have. By 1917, the government was receiving far more money from income taxes than it ever had from tariffs. Currently, the government receives the bulk of its revenue from income taxes on individuals and corporations.

Conservationism

- First national park:
Yellowstone, 1872
- Theodore Roosevelt:
First conservationist
president
- U.S. Forest Service



TR (left) and John Muir (center, with beard)

Bullet #1 As the United States became an industrial power, it was accepted policy for Americans to exploit as much of the natural environment as they needed. Many looked on with pride as more and more timber was cut for wood or as smokestacks billowed black smoke into the atmosphere. Ranchers allowed their cattle to overgraze, and coal companies stripped thousands of acres of land. Things began to change, however, as people such as naturalist John Muir and renowned explorer John Wesley Powell began to urge the government to preserve unspoiled parts of the environment. In 1872, Congress established Yellowstone (located in Wyoming) as the first national park. Presidents Harrison and Cleveland also began to set aside millions of acres as national forest land.

Bullet #2 Theodore Roosevelt was the first president to make conservation of the environment a primary concern. During his administration, he preserved 150 national forests, along with 51 bird sanctuaries, four national game preserves, five national parks, and 18 national monuments. While Roosevelt sought to preserve large areas of land for conservation, others such as John Muir believed in complete preservation of the wilderness. Roosevelt took a more pragmatic approach, keeping some areas for wildlife and natural resource protection, while taking other areas to develop them for the common good.

Bullet #3 In 1905, Roosevelt authorized the creation of the National Forest Service, appointing forester Gifford Pinchot (who had coined the term “conservation”) to head the new agency. Like TR, Pinchot sought to strike a balance between preservation and productive land usage; to this end, he developed a plan to allow some forests to be developed by private companies for a fee. Still, Pinchot urged TR to step up preservation. Though Pinchot’s approach ended up angering both preservationists and business interests, he did help establish the National Forest service as an important government entity.

Wilson's Fourteen Points

- Proposed by President Woodrow Wilson in 1918
- Included his ideas for a peace treaty to end World War I
- “League of Nations”
- Versailles Treaty



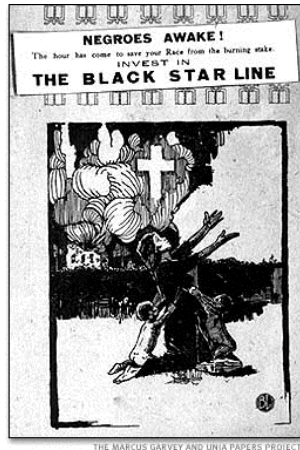
Bullet #1 While the United States entered World War I much later than the other allied participants, President Woodrow Wilson still felt that he should take a leading role in developing the peace treaty as well as in helping to shape the post-war world. In his view, the countries that fought in World War I needed to strive for a “peace without victory” and work to make the “world safe for democracy.” To that end, in January 1918, Wilson issued his “Fourteen Points,” a proposal to fairly and equitably end the war.

Bullet #2 Wilson realized that another world war could erupt without some sort of guarantee that the conditions that had led to World War I would not occur a second time. His “Fourteen Points” included several ideas to ensure this, including prohibition of secret treaties, freedom of the seas, reduction of tariffs and trade barriers, arms limitation, and revamping of policies regarding colonies, including self-determination of peoples.

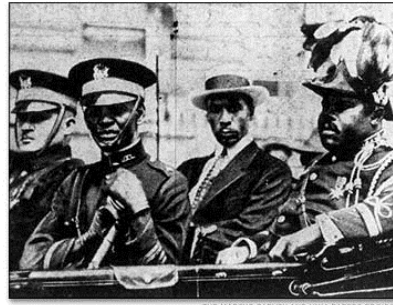
Bullet #3 Wilson’s most notable proposal came in point #14, in which he suggested “A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike....” This “League of Nations” would provide nations with a forum in which they could debate issues and solve problems before they led to all-out war.

Bullet #4 Unfortunately, the other Allied leaders—Clemenceau of France, Lloyd-George of Britain, and Orlando of Italy—did not see things the way Wilson did. They had borne the brunt of the war for four years and demanded a vindictive peace which would punish Germany for starting the war. The resulting Versailles Treaty was much more harsh than Wilson intended. To compound his troubles, prominent Senate leaders (including Henry Cabot Lodge and Hiram Johnson) worried about obligations the U.S. would be bound to fulfill as a member of the League of Nations. Wilson embarked on a speaking tour of the country to drum up support for the treaty, but he collapsed from a stroke after 23 days and became an invalid. In the end, the Senate refused to ratify the Versailles Treaty.

Marcus Garvey and the UNIA



Marcus Garvey
(far right)



- Founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)
- Suggested that blacks return to Africa
- Forerunner of “Black Separatist” movement of 1960s

Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican immigrant, propounded some provocative ideas that ran counter to those of the NAACP and black leaders of the day. Rather than work to gain equality with whites, Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association sought to build black pride by encouraging blacks to return to Africa; once there, they would help native Africans defeat and drive out their colonial oppressors, then create a black nation. While Garvey managed to win a large number of supporters in the United States and in Caribbean nations, his popularity declined when he was convicted on a charge of mail fraud. Still, his movement struck a chord with many African Americans and sparked an interest in black pride and a newly discovered reverence for Africa during the 1920s. Many consider Garvey and the UNIA as the forerunners of the “black separatist” movement of the 1960s.

Prohibition



Al
Capone

- The “noble experiment”: the 18th Amendment
- Underground market for liquor emerges
- Rise of “gangsters” and “bootleggers”
- Repealed in 1933 with the passage of the 21st Amendment

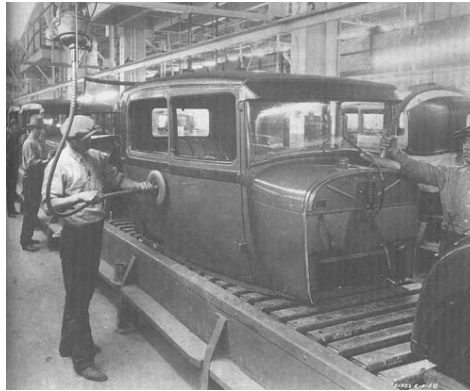
Bullet #1 Long before passage of the 18th Amendment, groups such as the Anti-Saloon League and the Women’s Christian Temperance Union had pushed for the prohibition of alcoholic beverages. They met with little success until World War I. Grain was needed during the war to feed soldiers fighting in Europe, and many viewed the production of whiskey, beer, and other alcoholic beverages as wasteful and unnecessary. By the end of the decade, prohibitionists had gathered enough public support to start what some called a “noble experiment.” With the passage of the 18th Amendment in 1919, prohibition became law.

Bullets #2–3 Legislation known as the Volstead Act set penalties for those who violated prohibition, but it proved difficult to enforce. Prohibition ended up giving rise to a lucrative underground market for liquor and illegal bars popularly known as “speakeasies”; many cities consequently experienced an upsurge in crime and corruption. Prohibition became the era of “bootleggers” (people who smuggled alcohol into the U.S.) and “gangsters” such as Al Capone who ruthlessly employed extortion, bribery, blackmail, and murder to control valuable markets for illicit liquor in Chicago.

Bullet #4 The stock market crash and the Great Depression signaled the beginning of the end for Prohibition. Many came to realize that the “noble experiment” had become a dismal failure because of the crime and corruption it had spawned. The 21st Amendment put an end to national prohibition; however, state and city governments could still prohibit the sale of alcohol through “local option.” Only eight states chose to keep prohibition after the passage of the 21st Amendment.

Henry Ford's Assembly Line

- A “great car for the great multitude”
- First assembly line running by 1913
- Assembly line adapted to other industries



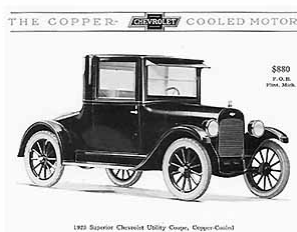
Bullet #1 In the early 1900s, automobile manufacturer Henry Ford wanted to develop a “great car for the great multitude”—one that would be sturdy, cheap to produce, and affordable for the average consumer. Targeting “ordinary” people rather than the rich set Ford apart from other automakers, who still marketed cars as luxury items for the wealthy. Ford realized, however, that in order to achieve his goal, he would have to find a way to build as many cars as easily as possible. The answer was the assembly line.

Bullet #2 Ford hired “scientific management” guru Frederick Winslow Taylor to examine each individual task involved in building a car and determine exactly how many minutes and seconds would be needed to complete that task. Ford eventually came up with four specific principles necessary for assembly of his vehicles: interchangeable parts, continuous flow, division of labor, and reducing wasted effort.

Bullets #3–4 By following these steps and using the assembly line, Ford was able to reduce the price of the automobiles he manufactured and increase production. By 1927, Ford had manufactured more than 15,000,000 Model T's. In addition, Ford recognized that his own workers were also potential customers, so he sought to keep them happy by reducing their workday to eight hours and increasing their wages to \$5 per day. Ford's assembly line technique was soon adopted by other industries. By demonstrating the benefits of breaking down the assembly of a “big ticket” item into smaller tasks, Ford revolutionized American labor practices.

Consumer Credit in the 1920s

- The “installment plan”—“buy now and pay later”
- Credit pitfalls for customers, merchants, manufacturers
- 1929 crash



Bullet #1 During the 1920s, a wealth of new products became readily available to mainstream consumers. Washing machines, radios, refrigerators, and automobiles all had a great deal of appeal for the average consumer, but few had enough available cash to purchase them. The answer to this was the practice of buying on credit, or as it was called in the '20s, “the installment plan.” Consumers would buy the item with a relatively small down payment, then would make regular payments to the department store or dealer until the item was paid for. Many merchants charged high rates of interest for outstanding balances, but the allure of the new products and goods became too enticing, and many consumers bought well beyond their means. Many Americans in the 1920s thus appeared to be living well, but they were overextended financially.

Bullet #2 The rise in buying on credit had two major negative effects. First, while merchants saw sales of their goods on the upswing, the profits from these sales only existed on paper. As a result, merchants who made credit widely available for their customers operated with increasingly smaller reserves of cash. Second, as people bought more and more, manufacturers stepped up their production to meet demand. As many consumers began to realize they were over their heads in debt, however, they scaled back their overall level of purchasing. Manufacturers came to find that they had a surplus of goods that they could not get rid of.

Bullet #3 The 1929 stock market crash caused a chain reaction that eventually exposed the shaky economic foundations of buying and selling on credit. Banks began to call in loans to both consumers and businesses, but few had the cash to pay off the loans. Some banks failed as a result, and their customers often lost their entire savings. Consumer spending dropped off precipitously, and manufacturers who had gone into debt to increase production found themselves in big trouble. Many businesses responded by cutting down on production and firing employees. In all, the rise in credit during the 1920s ended up playing a major role in creating the Great Depression of the 1930s.

The New Deal

- “Hundred Days” and the “bank holiday”
- “Alphabet agencies”
- “Relief, Recovery, Reform”



Bullet #1 Almost immediately after Franklin D. Roosevelt took office, he sent a flurry of bills to Congress designed to combat the problems caused by the Great Depression. This three-month period, known as the “Hundred Days,” saw extensive revamping of the economic system as well as the role of government in people’s lives. The first major crisis that FDR faced was to restore faith in America’s banking industry. Soon after taking office, he declared a “bank holiday,” closing banks so that federal regulators could check on each one’s solvency. This short-term solution helped calm nervous customers; a later long-term solution involved the creation of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), which insured individual bank accounts up to \$5000 and set new rules under which banks could invest depositors’ money.

Bullet #2 Agencies such as the NRA, TVA, CCC, PWA, WPA, SEC, HOLC, and many more became part of the national lexicon and were nicknamed the “alphabet agencies.” Many centered around innovative and unprecedented ideas. The NIRA (National Industrial Recovery Act) allowed workers to collectively bargain for better wages and benefits. Public works programs provided work for the unemployed. Examples included the CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps), which put millions of young, unmarried men to work preserving and maintaining national parks, forests, and coastlines; and the CWA (Civil Works Administration), which put men to work constructing and maintaining buildings, roads, parks, and more. The AAA (Agricultural Adjustment Administration) attempted to raise agricultural prices by providing subsidies to farmers who reduced crop production. The TVA (Tennessee Valley Authority) built dams to provide cheap electric power and flood control to rural areas.

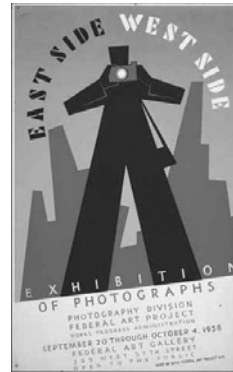
Bullet #3 Each of the alphabet agencies addressed at least one basic purpose of the New Deal—“relief, recovery, reform.” Relief agencies such as the CCC were designed to provide immediate relief by putting people back to work. Other measures such as the AAA or the National Industrial Recovery Act were meant to restore a particular aspect of the U.S. economy to the way it had been prior to the stock market crash. Finally, some measures, such as the the Social Security Act and the creation of the Securities and Exchange Commission were intended to ensure that the conditions that caused the depression (such as risky stock practices and poor distribution of wealth) would never occur again.

The New Deal (continued)

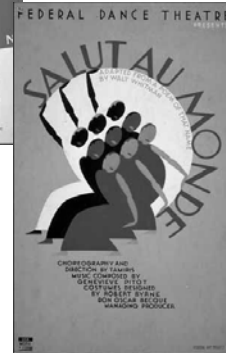


Former slave
Emma
Crockett,
participant in
the WPA's
slave
narratives

- The New Deal and the arts
- Effects/
accomplishments



Posters for federally-
sponsored arts
exhibitions and
performances



Bullet #1 The New Deal also provided assistance for the arts through programs such as the Federal Theater Project, the Federal Writers Project, The Federal Arts Project, and the Federal Music Project. Many famous artists and performers of the time become involved with these projects; eventually, the projects resulted in accomplishments such as groundbreaking theater productions, incredible murals and sculptures in public spaces, and oral histories of the lives of thousands of former slaves.

Bullet #5 The New Deal did not end the Depression, but it did alleviate some of its harsher effects. It also worked to restore many people's faith in government and provided many with a sense of hope that helped them get through hard times. As for its legacy, many New Deal programs and agencies still exist today, as do many things built by public works projects.

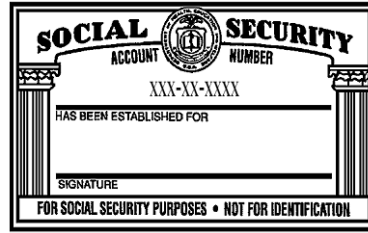
FDR's “Fireside Chats”



- Weekly radio addresses
- Designed not only to inform, but also to calm Americans' fears and concerns
- Other presidents have used fireside chats, but with limited success

One way that Roosevelt sought to gain support for New Deal programs was through the use of “fireside chats”—informal radio broadcasts in which he would discuss important issues and the steps his administration planned to take in order to solve problems. The key to these chats was the down-to-earth way in which FDR addressed the radio audience. He addressed listeners as “my friends,” and explained complex issues in very simple terms. When FDR discussed the bank holiday in one of his first fireside chats, humorist Will Rogers joked that the President “explained the banking industry in a way that even the bankers could understand.” Roosevelt continued his fireside chats throughout his three-plus terms as president. Later presidents would try to duplicate FDR’s success, first in radio and later on television. Few chief executives, however, were able to utilize the media as effectively as FDR did.

Social Security



- Townsend Plan
- FDR adapts Townsend Plan
- Critics: “Creeping socialism”
- Legacy

Bullet #1 Of all the New Deal programs, Social Security probably had the most impact on the largest number of people in the United States. Nearly 75 years after its passage, Social Security remains important both as a social program and as a political issue. Ironically, it began as a direct response to the “Townsend Plan” proposed by Dr. Francis Townsend, a strident opponent of the New Deal. Townsend wanted the government to provide a monthly pension for every American 60 years of age and older; the pensions would be funded by a national sales tax.

Bullet #2 FDR supported Townsend’s idea, but with some adjustments. The New Deal version of the program not only would provide pensions for the elderly beginning at age 65, but would also offer unemployment compensation, aid to families with dependent children, and financial assistance for the disabled. FDR’s proposal called for the plan to be paid for by a payroll tax. Employers would be required to match contributions by employees.

Bullets #3–4 While some characterized Social Security as “creeping socialism” and claimed that it would lead the country down the road to a welfare state, it largely accomplished its goals of protecting retirees and those unable to work. No one, however, could have predicted the future crises that would arise over Social Security. Since the program’s inception, the number of people who would eventually receive financial assistance under the Social Security law increased tremendously, while fewer and fewer people contributed to the system. At the dawn of the 21st century, it looked as if Social Security might go bankrupt in the not-too-distant future.

The “Court Packing” Plan

- Supreme Court declared several New Deal laws unconstitutional
- FDR asks Congress for permission to appoint one new justice for every current justice over 70
- Plan sparks controversy
- Results



Bullet #1 While FDR enjoyed popular support for much of the New Deal, the Supreme Court proved to be a major stumbling block to implementing his agenda. In 1935, the Court ruled the NIRA was unconstitutional; soon after, the Court ruled that the Agricultural Adjustment Act was unconstitutional as well.

Bullet #2 Concerned that the conservative court might dismantle the entire New Deal, FDR came up with a plan. Taking advantage of the fact that the Court was made up of older judges, Roosevelt proposed that he be given authority to add one new justice for each justice over 70 years of age, up to six new judges. While FDR publicly claimed that his plan would aid aged justices who were tired and overworked, he obviously had an ulterior motive.

Bullet #3 FDR's proposal unleashed a storm of controversy. Many thought he was trying to circumvent the Constitution and destroy the principles of judicial review and separation of powers. Others even suggested FDR wanted to gain dictatorial power. In the end, Congress refused to grant Roosevelt the power to add more justices to the Supreme Court. Several of the older justices did retire, however, and FDR eventually appointed seven new judges.

Bullet #4 The court-packing fight more or less ended in a draw. FDR lost because Congress shot down his plan, and he did lose some popular support as well. The Supreme Court justices also took a great deal of criticism and were somewhat shaken by FDR's brazen attempt to undercut them. Some older members retired rather than subject themselves to another bruising fight; others became more conciliatory toward the White House. As a result, the Court as a whole became less conservative and it did uphold many major pieces of New Deal legislation.

Lend-Lease

- 1940: British desperately need aid
- U.S. law: illegal to sell weapons to “belligerents”
- FDR comes up with “lend-lease”



Bullets #1–2 By late 1940, the British were on their last legs financially. With little money to pay for weapons in their war against the Germans, they were desperate for assistance. FDR wanted to aid the British, but U.S. law didn't allow sales of weapons to “belligerent nations” (i.e., nations at war). In addition, FDR knew that getting Congressional approval to aid Britain would be a long, drawn-out process, and that even if Congress did grant approval it would probably come too late for Britain.

Bullet #3 To solve this dilemma, FDR came up with a daring plan that came to be known as “lend-lease.” Rather than selling weapons to allies that needed them, the U.S. would allow those nations to “borrow” them. Roosevelt likened lend-lease to helping a neighbor in need: “You have a neighbor whose house is on fire. And the neighbor comes running to you and shouts over the garden fence, ‘Neighbor, neighbor, my house is on fire, help me out, lend me your garden hose.’ Well of course you're a good neighbor, you lend the garden hose to your neighbor and he puts out the fire and then he gives you the hose back.” While everyone knew that the British obviously could not return the majority of this “borrowed” equipment, FDR still succeeded in selling the idea of “lend-lease” to the public. Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act early in 1941, and the U.S. eventually used it to provide assistance to several nations in Europe and Asia, including Britain, the USSR, and China.

The Atlantic Charter

- Signed by FDR and Churchill while at sea off the coast of Newfoundland
- Joint declaration of war aims
- Agreement provided the basis for cooperation between the “Allies” during WWII



Bullets #1–2 Although the United States in 1941 was not technically at war against Nazi Germany, FDR still believed the U.S. needed to put together a joint agreement on war aims with the country’s principal ally, Great Britain. In August of 1941, FDR and British Minister Winston Churchill secretly met on a warship off the coast of Newfoundland and composed what became known as the “Atlantic Charter.”

The two leaders emphasized the following war aims:

- renunciation of territorial aggrandizement
- opposition of territorial changes made without the consent of the people concerned
- restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those forcibly deprived of them
- access to raw materials and easing of trade restrictions
- improved social and economic conditions for all
- freedom from fear and want
- freedom of the seas
- abandonment of the use of force, as well as disarmament of aggressor nations

Bullet #3 The agreement became the basis for the “Declaration of the Allied Nations,” which formalized cooperation between the 26 nations collectively known as the “Allies” during World War II.

Rationing & Victory Gardens



- The Office of Price Administration institutes rationing
- Gasoline, coffee, sugar, meat, other goods are rationed
- “Victory Gardens” and other adjustments

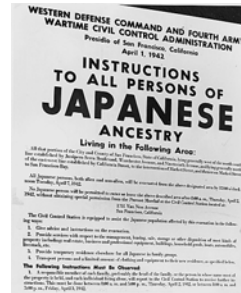
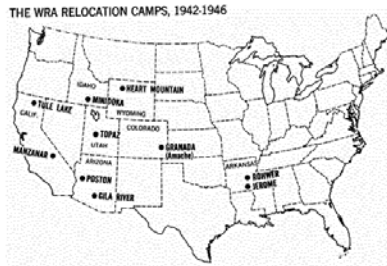


Bullet #1 Americans on the home front found that they also could contribute to the war effort by giving up many of the conveniences and goods that they had been used to getting in unlimited supply. The Office of Price Administration, which had the responsibility for fixing tax rates and preventing wartime price gouging, also was charged with the extremely difficult task of setting up a system of rationing.

Bullet #2 The OPA placed limits on the amount of gasoline, coffee, sugar, meat, other goods people could buy. Americans seemed to have the most difficulty limiting their consumption of gasoline. Even Eleanor Roosevelt noted that for some people living in the far West, saying they weren't able to use their cars meant that they might not be able to see friends and neighbors for weeks, or even to take a sick person to the doctor.

Bullet #3 Many eased the pain of rationing by growing their own fruits and vegetables in backyard “Victory Gardens.” Others carpooled or rode bicycles in order to reduce gasoline consumption. Many donated metal to scrap drives, and even more bought war bonds and (children would buy “war stamps”) to support the government financially. The government encouraged all these efforts by issuing colorful posters that reminded people of the importance of their activities. While rationing may have made life inconvenient for many, it did give many Americans on the home front a sense of purpose and kept morale up by helping people feel that they were making valuable contributions to the war effort.

Japanese American Internment



- Impact of Pearl Harbor on attitudes towards Japanese Americans
- Executive Order 9066
- Nearly 110,000 relocated to camps
- Relocation upheld in *Korematsu v. United States*

Bullet #1 After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, people became very suspicious of people of Japanese descent living in the U.S. Although many Nisei (second-generation Americans of Japanese descent) had never even been to Japan, they still were often regarded as potential spies, saboteurs, and traitors.

Bullets #2–3 President Roosevelt acted on the “threat” posed by Japanese Americans by issuing Executive Order 9066. Characterizing Japanese Americans as “enemy aliens,” the order authorized the relocation of thousands of Japanese Americans from the west coast of the United States to camps further inland. Most “evacuees” were only allowed to take a few possessions with them, and the relocation ultimately caused them to lose most of their assets. Though conditions in the relocation camps were often harsh, internees tried their best to build cohesive communities there. Despite what the government thought, most internees considered themselves loyal Americans, and thousands of Nisei men even enlisted in the armed forces, serving with distinction.

Bullet #4 Many Nisei felt the relocation order had violated their constitutional rights and ended up suing the U.S. government. No real resolution occurred until the 1983 case of *Korematsu v. U.S.*, in which the Supreme Court ruled that the relocation order had been justified on the basis of “military necessity.” The government eventually acknowledged the injustice of internment, however, and President Ronald Reagan authorized a cash payment of \$20,000 to every Japanese American who had been sent to a relocation camp.

The Nuremberg War Crimes Trials

- 24 surviving Nazi leaders tried for “war crimes”
- Questions of legality: some crimes did not exist in law prior to the trials
- “Following orders”
- 12 sentenced to death; majority of rest given prison terms



Bullet #1 Near the end of World War II, liberating Allied forces made a gruesome discovery—concentration camps established by Nazi Germany had exterminated nearly 13,000,000 Jews, political prisoners, dissenters, gypsies, and other “undesirables.” The horror of these discoveries prompted the victorious Allies to put surviving Nazi leaders on trial for “war crimes.” The proceedings took place in the German town of Nuremberg. Twenty-four former Nazi leaders went on trial, the most notable of which was Hermann Goring, the head of Hitler’s air force. Each defendant was indicted on at least one of the following charges:

- “Crimes against the peace” (planning and waging aggressive war)
- “War Crimes” (acts against the customs of warfare, including killing of hostages and prisoners, plundering of private property, destruction of population centers)
- “Crimes against humanity” (murder, extermination, deportation, enslavement of civilians)

Bullet #2 Even before the trials began, controversy arose over the legality of the proceedings. Many of the defendants were on trial for crimes that did not exist in law prior to the end of World War II. Also, many who were suspected of participating in the atrocities were not added to the list of defendants.

Bullet #3 More than anything else, the trials established one important rule of law: combatants were responsible for their own actions, even during wartime. Claiming innocence because one was “just following orders” no longer remained valid as a defense. Since the Nuremberg Trials, international tribunals on several occasions have prosecuted military and political leaders suspected of war crimes.

Bullet #4 In the end, 12 of the defendants were sentenced to death by hanging. Goring cheated the executioner by committing suicide in his cell hours before his scheduled hanging. Several other defendants received long prison terms.

The United Nations



- International peacekeeping organization
- FDR was the “principal architect” of the UN
- Goals
- Successes and failures

Bullets #1–2 Although the League of Nations had failed to prevent armed conflict in the years leading to World War II, world leaders after the war still recognized the need for an international organization dedicated to maintaining peace. To achieve that goal, the United Nations was created. Franklin Roosevelt was the “principal architect” of the United Nations and had even coined the phrase “united nations” to describe the 26 nations that allied together to fight the Axis Powers during World War II. Roosevelt died prior to the first meeting of the UN. His wife, Eleanor Roosevelt, became member of the first UN delegation, which met in the summer and fall of 1945 in San Francisco.

Bullet #3 The purposes of the United Nations included keeping the peace, encouraging respect for human rights, creating conditions under which justice and respect for international laws and treaties could be achieved, and promoting social progress and better standards of living throughout the world.

Bullet #4 Though the UN has proved much more successful than the League of Nations, it has not always been able to act with the authority it would like. The organization has accomplished much with its humanitarian efforts and have enjoyed some peacekeeping successes; however, it has not been able to prevent large-scale armed conflicts (such as the Vietnam War), nor has it always been able to keep “superpower” nations (such as the United States, Russia, and China) from taking unilateral action when they disagree with UN positions on an issue.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights



- Response to horrors of WWII
- UN Commission on Human Rights chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt
- Articles of the Declaration
- Importance and legacy

Bullets #1–2 After the horrors of World War II, the international community placed an increased emphasis on guaranteeing basic human rights. The charter of the recently created United Nations mentioned human rights five times, but UN member nations felt that a more detailed statement of human rights and freedoms was needed. In 1946, the UN created a Commission on Human Rights to come up with a draft and appointed Eleanor Roosevelt to chair the commission. The resulting Universal Declaration of Human Rights represented the first time in history that such a comprehensive assertion of human rights had been compiled and widely accepted.

Bullet #3 The Declaration’s preamble stated that the “inherent dignity of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.” The document then presented 30 articles, each of which dealt with a different aspect of human rights. Some of the first articles laid out general principles: Article 1 asserted that “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood”; Article 3 asserted that “Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.” Some articles described specific rights to which all people were entitled, including equality before the law, the right to a public trial, the right to marry, the right to own property, the right to work and join unions, the right to a free education, and the right to “rest and leisure.” Other articles focused on specific freedoms, including freedom of movement both inside and outside of one’s home country, freedom of peaceful assembly and association, and freedom of thought, conscience, religion, opinion, and expression. Still others forbade things such as slavery, torture, and arbitrary arrest and imprisonment.

Bullet #4 While the Declaration made great inroads in linking individual rights with prosperity and freedom, the United Nations still recognizes that these goals are not universally respected, and that more needs to be done to ensure that human rights are guaranteed worldwide.

The Marshall Plan



- Europe's economy in shambles after World War II
- Marshall proposed aid to "all European countries who needed it"
- Plan also worked to keep communism from spreading to western Europe

Bullets #1–2 After World War II, many once-thriving nations in western Europe lay in ruins. The war had not only damaged nations' physical infrastructures but had destroyed their economies as well. A large segment of the European population remained homeless, and food shortages were common. In 1947, U.S. Secretary of State George C. Marshall proposed a comprehensive plan to save western Europe from starvation and reconstruct their economies. The "European Recovery Program" (later simply called the "Marshall Plan") was designed to help nations to rebuild and also provided for former enemy nations (such as West Germany) to receive aid from the United States. Even the Soviet Union and Soviet bloc nations were initially invited to share in the financial aid from the plan.

Bullet #3 Requirements for use of the money were simple. Basically, European countries had to use the money to purchase American-made goods which would be shipped in American vessels. In addition, any material purchased had to be used only for rebuilding and not for military purposes. The Marshall Plan became an international success. Sixteen nations used the aid to rebuild, receiving a total of some \$13 billion dollars. The plan also ended up providing a political benefit: after its implementation, no European nation fell to the communists.

The Truman Doctrine • Containment

The Truman Doctrine

- Came about as a result of Soviet-backed insurgencies in Greece and Turkey
- Truman stated that the U.S. would support any “free” people who resisted Soviet influence



- George F. Kennan
- Proposed confining Soviet influence to its current boundaries
- Kennan asserted that containment would result in a breakup or “mellowing” of Soviet influence and power



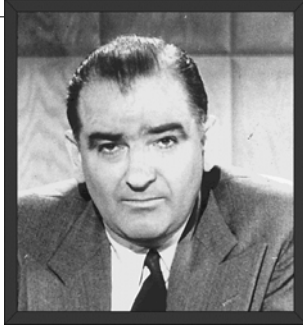
Containment

While the United States and Soviet Union had been allies during World War II, the two nations had remained skeptical and suspicious of each other. After the war ended, the United States wanted to create a new world order in which each nation in Europe could chart its own destiny. The U.S. saw reuniting Germany as crucial to this plan: a reunited Germany would be more productive, and thereby make Europe more secure. The Soviets, on the other hand, saw things much differently. Devastated by the German invasion in World War II, the USSR wanted to utilize resources in nations it had liberated in Eastern Europe to rebuild. It also wanted to use those nations as a “buffer zone” to protect the USSR from an invasion from the west.

In an effort to keep Soviet aggression in check, President Harry S Truman formulated what became known as the “Truman Doctrine.” The governments of Greece and Turkey were on the verge of collapse due to communist insurgencies, and Truman proposed to assist those nations with financial aid. He also noted that, in his view, communism was an evil system that the United States had an obligation to resist.

The Truman Doctrine was a good example of the policy of “containment.” First proposed by George F. Kennan, an American diplomat at the U.S. embassy in Moscow, the policy basically suggested that the United States should take any measures necessary to limit (contain) Soviet or communist rule to its current boundaries. Kennan also suggested that stalling the advance of Soviet influence would eventually lead to a breakup or “mellowing” of Soviet influence. Kennan, who outlined his theory in a story for *Foreign Affairs* magazine under the pseudonym “X,” viewed the Soviets as more of a political threat than a military one. Though other U.S. foreign policy experts disagreed with Kennan’s ideas, the U.S. essentially pursued a policy of containment until the breakup of the Communist bloc in the late 1980s.

McCarthyism



- Wisconsin Senator McCarthy, concerned about reelection, made subversion in the U.S. government by communists an issue
- McCarthy's "witch hunt"
- The Army-McCarthy hearings
- Senate censure



Bullet #1 In 1950, Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, looking for an issue to ensure his reelection to the Senate, decided to make a name for himself by attacking "communists" in the U.S. government. In a 1950 public address at Wheeling, West Virginia, McCarthy asserted he had in his hand a list of 205 State Department employees who were known members of the Communist Party. He never actually had any evidence that any of these persons *were* communists. Later, when pressed for details, McCarthy reduced the number to 57; it eventually came to light that McCarthy had no such list at all in Wheeling and had simply waved an unrelated sheet of paper just for effect.

Bullet #2 Nevertheless, the Korean War had made the American people more suspicious and fearful of communism, so McCarthy's ploy struck a nerve with the general public and many accepted his claims. He won reelection and soon became the chairman of a permanent investigations committee. McCarthy and his committee began by targeting the State Department, but soon turned to other areas of government. He came to wield so much power that even a mere accusation could spell doom for the target; McCarthy ended up personally ruining the careers of many government employees based on flimsy, spurious, or even nonexistent evidence. Few dared to speak out against him, but some who did likened his anticommunist crusade to the hysteria-fueled "witch hunts" Puritans had held in colonial Massachusetts. During this time, playwright Arthur Miller wrote his famous play *The Crucible*. Ostensibly, the play was about the Salem Witch Trials of the late 1600s; in reality, Miller used the historic example to make a veiled attack on McCarthyism.

Bullets #3–4 McCarthy's downfall began when he decided to take on the U.S. Army in 1954, claiming that communists had even infiltrated the military. When he accused officers at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, of espionage, the army countered that McCarthy and chief aide Roy Cohn had asked for special treatment for a former McCarthy staffer who was now an army private. The Senate decided to hold televised hearings on the dispute. The hearings garnered a wide audience, and many got to have a firsthand look at McCarthy's brutal tactics and flimsy accusations. The hearings caused him to lose a great deal of support and credibility, and the Senate censured him for "conduct that tends to bring the Senate into dishonor and disrepute." McCarthy tried to continue his anticommunist attacks, but he had lost much of his influence. He died from alcoholism shortly afterwards.

John Foster Dulles's Foreign Policy

- Eisenhower's Secretary of State
- Proposed "roll back" of Soviet influence in Europe instead of "containment"
- "New Look" foreign policy; "brinksmanship"



John Foster Dulles with General Douglas MacArthur

Bullet #1 John Foster Dulles had a storied career in American government as a foreign policy expert, from his appointment as legal counsel to the United States delegation to the Versailles Conference at the end of World War I to serving as President Dwight Eisenhower's Secretary of State in the 1950s. Dulles also was the main "architect" of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO).

Bullet #2 A critic of Truman's foreign policies, Dulles believed that rather than merely "containing" communism, the U.S. needed to "roll back" Soviet influence in Europe and pursue a policy of "liberation." When anticommunist rebellions sprung up in East Germany and Hungary, however, Dulles was unable to do much to "liberate" them from communist reprisals.

Bullet #3 Dulles and Eisenhower crafted a "New Look" foreign policy in which the United States employed a tactic known as "brinksmanship" in which Dulles would support all means necessary to resist Soviet aggression—including the use of nuclear weapons. Many believed that Dulles's policies and tactics aggravated the Cold War and damaged U.S.-Soviet relations.

The Domino Theory



The *Domino Theory* asserted that if communists could capture Southeast Asia, the rest of Asia would topple like a row of dominoes.

The idea of the “domino theory” was first suggested by President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1954. In his view, if the United States allowed nations in Southeast Asia such as Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia to fall to the communists, it would be only a matter of time before all the major nations of Asia also fell; he likened the situation to what happens when a row of dominoes topples. Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon followed this same philosophy when dealing with issues involving the Vietnam War: they believed that maintaining a democratic government in South Vietnam was pivotal in protecting the rest of Asia from becoming communist.

When the governments of South Vietnam and Cambodia did fall to the communists in the mid-1970s, the other nations of Asia did not follow suit, and relatively few nations have communist governments today. Some historians have therefore concluded that the “real” domino theory did not involve U.S. concerns about communist aggression, but a fear that if one Asian nation could set an example of a successful socialist state, other nations might consider a similar path.

Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD)

- Doctrine that full-scale use of nuclear weapons would lead to the total destruction of both sides
- “Nuclear deterrence”
- Led to tense, yet stable peace



Bullet #1 As the Cold War continued, both the United States and Soviet Union amassed huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons. The goal in this arms race was not as much to ensure that nuclear weapons would be used, but rather that they would *not* be. Both the U.S. and the USSR subscribed to the military doctrine of “mutual assured destruction” (MAD). Because each side had enough nuclear missiles to destroy the other hundreds of times over, starting a nuclear war would be suicidal. Thus, neither the Americans nor the Soviets could gain any advantage by starting World War III.

Bullet #2 MAD was also known as “nuclear deterrence” because it assured that both sides would be “deterred” from using nuclear weapons because of the risk involved. By the 1960s, however, both the U.S. and USSR began to build up their nuclear submarine fleets, reasoning that if one side or the other started a nuclear exchange, their subs would be able to survive and launch a retaliatory strike against the aggressor.

Bullet #3 Although MAD kept the Cold War from ever becoming “hot,” it did nothing to ease Cold War tensions. As a policy imperative, it lasted until the end of the Cold War, although President Reagan had hoped that his Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI or “Star Wars”) might protect the U.S. from nuclear attack. With the U.S. left as the world’s sole superpower after the end of the Cold War, the threat of MAD diminished enough that President George W. Bush’s administration raised the possibility of the limited use of nuclear “bunker busters” to strike against the leaders of rogue and/or terrorist nations.

The Eisenhower Doctrine

- Egyptian President Nasser and the 1956 Suez Crisis
- Stated that the U.S. would use military force against communist aggression in Middle East
- Doctrine used in Lebanon crisis
- Drawbacks



Bullet #1 In the mid-1950s, the United States and Great Britain offered to help Egypt finance a dam on the Nile River. Egyptian President Gamal Abdel-Nasser wanted to see if he could get even more monetary assistance. He began to court the Soviet Union, hoping that this action would alarm the British and Americans so much that the two nations would offer Egypt more money just to keep the Soviets out. To Nasser's dismay, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles responded to this new development by withdrawing the American offer. Nasser countered by nationalizing the Suez Canal then denying access to ships heading to Israel. Britain and France responded by sending troops to seize the Mediterranean area of the canal. The United Nations stepped in to stop the fighting, and Egypt kept control of the canal.

Bullet #2 Britain and France's attack on Egypt during the crisis angered the Soviets, who warned that the countries could face "dangerous consequences" for their actions. In January of 1957, President Dwight Eisenhower responded by issuing heated warning of his own to the Soviets, stating that the United States would use force to "safeguard the independence of any country or group of countries in the Middle East against [communist] aggression." This became known as the "Eisenhower Doctrine." Within weeks, Congress had approved Eisenhower's policy.

Bullet #3-4 In 1958, Eisenhower used the doctrine to justify sending troops to Lebanon to quell a revolt against the country's U.S.-friendly government. The mission was successful, but it also showed the drawbacks of the Eisenhower Doctrine. While Eisenhower had managed to counter Soviet influence in the Middle East, it also increased anti-American sentiment in the region. By the end of Ike's term, the doctrine had been abandoned.

The Rise of Suburbia

- World War II vets find housing shortage
- Builders such as Levitt and others provide low cost, mass-produced homes
- First suburban community: Levittown, N.Y.



Bullet #1 Soon after returning home from overseas, many World War II veterans found it difficult, if not impossible, to obtain suitable housing. Frequently, vets found themselves either in cramped apartment buildings or forced to move in with relatives. Many had taken advantage of the GI Bill of Rights and resumed their education; they also married and began to start families, making finding a find home an extremely pressing need.

Bullet #2 Developers such as William Levitt hoped to provide a solution to the veterans' quest for housing. Levitt guessed that the same assembly-line production methods that had been used to mass-produce weapons could also be used to mass-produce housing. His guess turned out to be right, and he was soon able to brag that his company could build a "Levitt house" in 16 minutes; the house would also be affordable, listing for less than \$7000. Soon he went to work building the first "suburban community," or "suburb." Located on New York's Long Island and dubbed "Levittown," the suburb had row after row of similarly designed homes; it also implemented strict zoning laws which made it difficult, if not impossible, to diverge from the Levitt style. The sameness of the "little boxes" didn't bother most homeowners; they enjoyed the lifestyle and the openness of the suburbs.

The “Organization Man” and “The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit”



- “Standardization”
- William H. Whyte’s “Organization man”
- *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*: job vs. family



Bullet #1 Businesses in the 1950s began to “standardize,” which meant that a customer could expect to get exactly the same product whether they bought it from a franchise in New York City or in L.A. Not only did corporations expect standardization of their products, they also frequently wanted standardization of their employees as well. For corporations, the ideal employees would be “company men” who “toed the line” and didn’t “rock the boat.” Employers often had psychologists give personality tests to prospective workers to ensure they would easily fit in with the corporation’s culture. Many employees soon found that in order to achieve success and status in the business community, they had to give up their individuality.

Bullet #2 In 1956, William H. Whyte wrote a book called *The Organization Man* which examined the behavior, ideology, and motivations of corporate employees. In the book’s introduction, Whyte explained what he meant by “organization man”: “They are not the workers, nor are they the white-collar people in the usual, clerk sense of the word. These people only work for The Organization... They are the ones of our middle class who have left home, spiritually as well as physically, to take the vows of organization life... Only a few are top managers or ever will be. In a system that makes such hazy terminology as “junior executive” psychologically necessary, they are of the staff as much as the line... But they are the dominant members of our society nonetheless. They have not joined together into a recognizable elite... but it is from their ranks that are coming most of the first and second echelons of our leadership, and it is their values which will set the American temper.”

Bullet #3 The “Organization Man” struggled to make sure he fit into the corporate culture—frequently at the expense of his family and home life. Sloan Wilson’s *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* was a bestselling book and later a box-office smash that led many suburbanites to reexamine the needs of family versus the need to be successful in the corporate climate. Tom Rath, the title character, initially is a classic “organization man” who focuses on promotions and salary raises but increasingly neglects his family. At the conclusion of the film, Rath decides that his family is more important than his career and decides he will find a job that allows him to spend more time at home—even if it means a major reduction of salary. The “Organization Man” and “The Man in the Gray Flannel suit” represented just one component of the larger pressures of social conformity of the 1950s.

The Peace Corps

- Fulfilled a campaign promise by John F. Kennedy
- Volunteer program of assistance to developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America
- Peace Corps becomes huge success



During the “Thousand Days” of John F. Kennedy’s New Frontier, few programs met with as much success as the Peace Corps. Established by executive order soon after Kennedy took office, the Corps aimed to assist people in developing nations by sending Americans to those nations to assist them with construction, agriculture, and education programs. Kennedy also hoped the Peace Corps would foster better relations between the United States and nations around the world. Many of the original Peace Corps volunteers were idealistic college students who had also been moved by Kennedy’s Inaugural Address and wanted to “make a difference.” The Peace Corps turned out to be a great success, and thousands of volunteers have served around the world in the years since Kennedy initially established the program.

The 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty



President
Kennedy signs
the 1963
Nuclear Test
Ban Treaty

- Outlawed nuclear testing in outer space, in the atmosphere, and underwater
- “Hot line”

After the Cuban Missile Crisis, President John F. Kennedy recognized that both the U.S. and Soviet Union needed to take steps to reduce the threat of nuclear weapons and to keep open lines of communication between the White House and Kremlin. The opening of a “hot line” ensured communications would remain open, and the 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty represented one of the first attempts at limiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons. First announced in May 1963 during a commencement address at American University, the treaty was signed in August by the United States, Soviet Union, and several other nations.

Brown v. Board of Education

- NAACP working to overturn *Plessy v. Ferguson*
- 1954 decision banned school segregation
- “Second” Brown decision in 1956
- Little Rock



Thurgood Marshall (center)

Bullet #1 By the 1950s, the NAACP was actively working to overturn the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, chipping away at the decision through cases such as *Sweatt v. Painter*, which required the University of Texas to admit a black student to an all-white law school if there was no suitable black law school available. *Sweatt* was a step in the right direction, but the NAACP wanted to end segregation in K–12 education as well as in higher education. They managed to get five separate cases before the Supreme Court; the justices ruled on all the cases under the “umbrella” of a decision in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*.

Bullet #2 The case centered around student Linda Brown, who had been forced to take a long bus ride to an all-black school in Topeka when a white school lay within walking distance of her home. Lawyer Thurgood Marshall represented the Browns on behalf of the NAACP. He planned to use evidence to show that segregation was inherently harmful psychologically and socially to black children. Chief Justice Earl Warren knew how important the Court’s decision would be, and he worked behind the scenes to get a unanimous decision in order to deter future challenges to the ruling. Voting 9-0, the Court ruled that public school segregation violated the 14th Amendment. In writing the decision, Warren explicitly repudiated *Plessy*, asserting that “separate but equal is inherently unequal.”

Bullets #3–4 When it came to obeying *Brown* and actually desegregating schools, Southern states predictably dragged their feet. A year after the initial *Brown* decision, the Supreme Court issued a “second” *Brown* decision ordering that schools be desegregated “with all deliberate speed.” While *Brown* eliminated the legal basis for school segregation, *de facto* segregation still existed in many places because the federal government had only a limited ability to enforce the ruling. In 1957, Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus claimed that school integration would pose a threat to public order. Faubus directed the State National Guard to prevent nine black students from attending Central High School in Little Rock. Though President Eisenhower had remained lukewarm toward the civil rights movement, he was outraged by Faubus’s actions, viewing them as a direct challenge to federal and presidential authority. Eisenhower responded by putting the Arkansas Guard under federal control and sending soldiers to protect the nine students. This show of force demonstrated to segregationists that Ike had no reservations about using military might to enforce federal law. Still, school desegregation proceeded slowly in the South, and most public schools weren’t completely desegregated until 1970.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott

- Started with arrest of Rosa Parks on December 1, 1955
- Montgomery Improvement Association
- Martin Luther King, Jr.
- White reactions
- Court ruling against segregation ends the boycott



Rosa Parks



Martin Luther King, Jr.

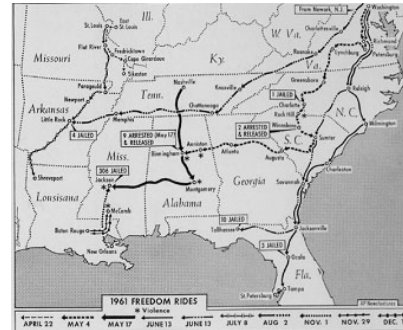
Bullet #1 Many believe that the modern civil rights movement began when Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to give up her seat on a Montgomery (Alabama) city bus. The quiet and unassuming Parks, a 42 year-old seamstress, was well known in the black community because she had served as an officer in the local NAACP. The NAACP had been looking for a test case that would let them mount a legal challenge to segregation on public transportation. Parks had not intended to be the subject of the test case, but when the opportunity presented itself she took it.

Bullets #2-3 Parks's arrest sparked other African Americans in the city to take action. Within a few days, local black leaders created the Montgomery Improvement Association and began to plan a bus boycott. The Association elected a 26 year-old minister named Martin Luther King, Jr., as its president. Though young, King was a remarkably gifted speaker, and he was able to motivate people in the churches and black community to support the boycott. People dealt with the inconvenience in several ways: some managed to get around by carpooling or utilizing church buses, others simply walked long distances to work or school. Ultimately, the boycott ended up lasting more than a year.

Bullet #4 The boycott divided the white community in Montgomery. While many wanted to maintain the ordinance that kept city buses segregated, the boycott was hurting the city financially because the bus company received the great majority of its revenue from African American passengers. A significant number of whites (including labor union members, certain religious groups, and white Southerners sympathetic to the cause) supported the boycott; some even provided the Montgomery Improvement Association with financial support. Other whites responded with violence; some even bombed King's home.

Bullet #5 The standoff finally ended in 1956: the Supreme Court ruled bus segregation unconstitutional, and African Americans in the city ended the boycott. Though successful in fighting segregation, the Montgomery bus boycott did much more: it brought the issue of black civil rights to national attention, it showed that there were peaceful ways to fight discrimination, and it won King nationwide recognition and prestige.

The Freedom Rides



- Organized by the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) in 1961
- Purpose was to test whether Southern bus terminals would obey the Supreme Court's ban on segregation
- Few problems in the upper South; violence in the deep South

Bullets #1–2 While the Peace Corps called for Americans to assist people in other nations to rise above poverty and embrace democracy, some at home felt that more needed to be done to ensure equal rights for all Americans—especially African Americans. In the 1960 case of *Boynton v. Virginia*, the Supreme Court ruled that all facilities at bus stations that served interstate travelers had to be integrated. In 1961, the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) launched an effort to see whether bus stations in the South would obey the *Boynton* ruling; the project was known as the “Freedom Rides.”

Bullet #3 The “Freedom Riders” included both men and women, blacks and whites. They boarded two buses in Washington, D.C., and embarked on a tour of Southern bus terminals. The buses made it to Atlanta with only minor incidents; at that point the two buses set off on different routes into the deep South. When the buses rode into Alabama, the riders met with violence and several were arrested. The most serious incident occurred in Anniston, Alabama. A mob of about 200 whites surrounded the bus and slashed its tires. Someone then broke a window and tossed a firebomb inside. The riders managed to escape in time, but flames destroyed the bus. Photos of the incident shocked the country, and many criticized the government for not doing more to protect the riders. The first round of freedom rides ended soon afterwards. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) started on a second round of freedom rides and continued further south. In Birmingham, Alabama, several of the riders were beaten. At this point, Attorney General Robert Kennedy sent federal marshals along to protect the riders. The opposition soon switched tactics: when the riders reached Mississippi, instead of meeting violence they encountered policemen who immediately placed them under arrest. The Freedom Rides spurred RFK to get the Interstate Commerce Committee to ban segregation in all interstate travel facilities; Kennedy also directed the Justice Department to sue non-compliers.

Martin Luther King, Jr. and Nonviolent Resistance



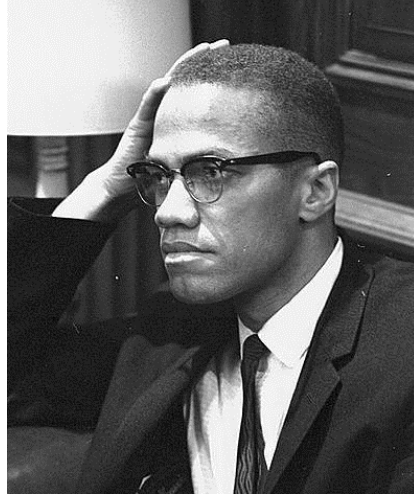
- Influenced by Gandhi and Thoreau
- Used demonstrations, marches, public disobedience
- Media coverage gave movement impact and support
- Letter from Birmingham Jail

Bullet #1 King's tactics in the civil rights movement drew largely from the philosophies of Mahatma Gandhi and Henry David Thoreau. Gandhi had led Indian resistance to the British colonial system. He used marches and public disobedience to gain attention and support for his cause, disdaining any use of violence. Existentialist author Thoreau had been put in jail in the 1800s because he refused to pay federal taxes, claiming that he should not have to support what he considered an unjust war against Mexico.

Bullets #2–3 King believed in and adopted Gandhi's policy of nonviolence. Unfortunately, the civil rights marches and demonstrations he organized often met with violent resistance. King hated to put his supporters in danger; however, when civil rights activists were physically attacked by opponents, he knew how to use the media to parlay tragic incidents into political capital. He realized that seeing peaceful protesters beaten by white police officers, shocked by cattle prods, or bitten by police dogs would have an enormous impact on people who viewed photographs or watched television footage of these incidents.

Bullet #4 King offered an eloquent and succinct summary of his philosophy in his famous 1963 "Letter From Birmingham Jail," stating, "We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct-action campaign that was 'well timed' in the view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word 'Wait!' It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This 'Wait' has almost always meant 'Never.' We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that 'justice too long delayed is justice denied.'"

The Black Muslims and Malcolm X



- Nation of Islam (NOI)
- Advocated black separatism, militancy against “white oppression”
- Malcolm X
- Break with Elijah Muhammad and the NOI
- Malcolm X assassinated in 1965

Bullets #1–2 While Martin Luther King promoted nonviolence and integration with whites, an African American group that called itself the “Nation of Islam” (NOI) promoted an entirely different agenda. Founded in the 1930s, the NOI combined black nationalist ideas with Islamic principles. Led in the 1960s by the enigmatic Elijah Muhammad, the NOI (also known as the “Black Muslims”) advocated black separatism instead of integration with whites, which they felt would cause the black race to decline. They also believed that African Americans needed to be more militant in fighting “white oppression.” The NOI disdained campaigning for political change; instead, they concentrated on self-knowledge, gaining economic self-sufficiency, and augmenting their ranks with new recruits.

Bullet #3 One such recruit was an ex-con named Malcolm Little. He had converted to Islam while in prison; upon his release, he joined the NOI and went on to become its most charismatic and eloquent leader. Taking the name “Malcolm X” because he viewed “Little” as his “slave name,” he became known for his passionate, fiery speeches and fierce intellect. According to Malcolm X, blacks fell into two groups: “Uncle Toms” who supported the white establishment and the “New Negroes” who took pride in both their color and their culture. He also derided the civil rights movement, claiming that nonviolent protest and attempts to change the law merely amounted to “begging the white man.” Instead, he felt African Americans were in a life-or-death struggle and had to do whatever they could in order to prevail. In one speech, he proclaimed, “We declare our right on this earth...to be a human being, to be respected as a human being, to be given the rights of a human being in this society, on this earth, in this day, which we intend to bring into existence BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY.”

Bullet #4 In a well-publicized quote in 1963, Malcolm claimed that JFK’s assassination was an example of “the chickens coming home to roost”; in other words, because Kennedy had failed to adequately address the violence produced by inequality in America, that violence had come back to kill him. The statement sparked a firestorm of criticism and led the Nation of Islam to ban him from speaking publicly for six months. He finally broke with the NOI in early 1964. Malcolm then began to devote more energy to Islam, and soon made a *hajj* (holy pilgrimage) to Mecca. There, he was affected profoundly when he saw Muslims of all colors and races coexisting peacefully. Upon returning to the U.S., he began to advocate racial tolerance along with black nationalism. By then, the NOI saw Malcolm as a threat, and many believe that they ordered his assassination. After narrowly escaping a firebombing at his home, Malcolm was shot and killed while giving a speech in New York City’s Audubon Ballroom.

Civil Rights Act of 1964

- Beginnings with JFK
- LBJ gets the act passed
- Provisions



President Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act of 1964

Bullet #1 Even after the Freedom Riders and sit-ins, the Kennedy Administration remained somewhat neutral in the area of civil rights. JFK believed that since he'd won the 1960 presidential election with a small margin, during his first term he needed to concentrate on international issues; after he'd won reelection in 1964, he could focus on implementing a more ambitious domestic agenda. The Birmingham march, however, forced Kennedy's hand. In June 1963, he announced that he would introduce a comprehensive civil rights bill to Congress for consideration. As with much of Kennedy's legislative program, the bill stalled.

Bullet #2 Kennedy's assassination in November 1963 elevated Lyndon B. Johnson to the White House. Formerly Senate Majority Leader before becoming Kennedy's vice president, Johnson was a master at guiding legislation, and he began to move Kennedy's civil rights bill through Congress, often evoking the memory of JFK in order to motivate lawmakers. Unfortunately, a filibuster threatened to derail Johnson's maneuvering. Working with Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen, Johnson managed to put an end to the 83-day filibuster and get the bill passed.

Bullet #3 The act attacked many of the mainstays of "Jim Crow" while also providing several major benefits for minorities. Provisions included:

- Banning the use of different voter registration standards for whites and blacks
- Barring discrimination in "public accommodations"
- Allowing for withholding of federal funds from programs which were "administered in a discriminatory manner"
- Establishing a right to equality of opportunity in employment

In effect, the act provided the attorney general and the Justice Department with the legal might they needed in order to aggressively dismantle segregation.

Affirmative Action

- Fulfilled a provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1964
- Special consideration given to disadvantaged groups in order to overcome present effects of past discrimination
- “Reverse discrimination,” the *Bakke* case



Bullets #1–2 In order to ensure that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provided “equal opportunity in employment,” the Johnson Administration tried a bold new step—a policy called “affirmative action.” In affirmative action, the government encourages (and in some cases mandates) that special consideration be given to disadvantaged groups in an effort to overcome present effects of past discrimination. In other words, minorities frequently were given preference for jobs as well as scholarship and training programs, and quotas were set for industries that had federal contracts (i.e., they had to hire a certain percentage of minority workers).

Bullet #3 Affirmative action’s use of quotas came under fire in the 1970s. Some white workers claimed that the policy violated their 14th Amendment rights, a condition called “reverse discrimination.” Several cases against affirmative action were filed in federal courts, most notably *Bakke v. Board of Regents of the University of California*. In the *Bakke* case, a California man sued because he believed the University of California medical school had denied him admission because he was white, and thus did not help the school fill a race-based quota. In a controversial decision, the United States Supreme Court ruled that affirmative action as a policy was legal, but the way that the University of California had carried it out (by setting aside a certain number of seats in their medical school class for minorities) was illegal. Bakke ended up gaining admission to the medical school. As the 1980s and 1990s progressed, affirmative action evolved even further, with the Court in some instances narrowing the policy even further.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965

President Johnson and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. after the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965

- Passed in response to King's Selma to Montgomery voting rights march
- Protected minority right to vote and promised to punish those who stood in the way of minority registration



Bullet #1 By the early 1960s, only about 30% of African Americans of voting age in Southern states were registered to vote, as compared to more than 61% of whites. The violence that had occurred on the Edmund Pettis bridge during the voting rights march from Selma to Montgomery convinced many—especially President Lyndon Johnson—that strong federal action was needed to help get Southern blacks registered. In a stirring television speech, LBJ announced his support for a new voting rights bill, proclaiming, “We shall overcome!”

Bullet #2 The sweeping bill had two major provisions. The first outlawed discriminatory voter registration tests. The second part authorized the federal government to step in and register minority voters in districts where it had been proven that local authorities had discriminated against African Americans. As the 1960s ended, the Voting Rights Act was expanded to other groups as well, including Hispanics and Native Americans. By 1980, 55% of African Americans in Southern states were registered; blacks also had ran as candidates in state and national elections, and many had won election to government office.

Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*

- Carson was a former U.S. Fish and Wildlife biologist
- *Silent Spring* focused on the effects of DDT on the environment



Bullet #1 The insecticide DDT was used by troops in the Pacific Theater during World War II to kill malaria-causing mosquitoes, and in the European Theater as a delousing agent. After the war, DDT proved just as effective as an agricultural insecticide. A few scientists began to investigate DDT's effects on the environment and wildlife. One of these scientists was U.S. Fish and Wildlife biologist Rachel Carson.

Bullet #2 In her 1962 book *Silent Spring*, Carson pointed out that DDT's impact went far beyond killing of one type of insect: it could poison an area's plant life, water supply, and wildlife. Furthermore, she asserted that the environmental consequences of using DDT were extremely long-lasting. Carson was roundly criticized in some circles for her work. In the end, it became clear that the government needed to regulate the use of insecticides. The publication of *Silent Spring* led to federal laws banning the use of DDT; it also helped provide a foundation for the modern environmental movement.

The Great Society

- LBJ's domestic agenda
- Composed of several measures
- New programs/reforms
- "Great Society" fell victim to Vietnam War



Bullet #1 With the November 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Vice President Lyndon Johnson became Chief Executive. A skilled and experienced legislator, Johnson sought to make the Kennedy "legacy" the Johnson "reality." He started by engineering the passage of JFK's Civil Rights bill, as well as a Democratic-sponsored tax cut. Johnson then began to create an ambitious legislative agenda of his own which he called "The Great Society." Johnson, a "disciple" of FDR, hoped the Great Society would outdo the New Deal. In a 1964 speech, Johnson proclaimed, "we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward toward the Great Society."

Bullet #2 The "Great Society" was comprised of several bills and measures. Declaring a "war on poverty," Johnson pushed through the the Economic Opportunity Act, which authorized the creation of the Job Corps, Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), and Head Start. LBJ addressed health-care concerns by creating Medicare (which provided low-cost federally subsidized health insurance to the elderly) and Medicaid which provided similar insurance to the poor). Other elements of the Great Society included the Immigration Act of 1965, which eliminated set quotas for individual countries; the establishment of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (focused on urban renewal) and the National Foundations of the Arts and Humanities (gave grants to artists and scholars); and the Water Quality Act and the Clean Water Restoration Act.

Bullet #4 Opponents of the Great Society felt that Johnson had gone too far in regard to federal involvement in people's lives. Others felt the price tag for his programs was too high. Eventually, the Great Society fell victim to another one of Johnson's policies: escalating U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. LBJ, already worried about the impact of the unpopular war on the economy, decided it would be better to scale back on his domestic agenda rather than to raise taxes to pay for the war. Although the Great Society had been significantly scaled back by the end of the decade, it did significantly cut down poverty and created many landmark programs that still exist today.

“Flower Power” and the Anti-War Movement



- “Flower Power”
- Reactions against the Vietnam War



Bullet #1 As the 1960s progressed, young people began to break free from the social conformity of the 1950s. The “Flower Power” movement represented a significant shift in young people’s social and political attitudes. Coined by poet Allen Ginsberg in the mid-1960s, “flower power” referred to an ideology centered around peace and nonviolence. With bloodshed on the rise both abroad (as the Vietnam War escalated) and at home (much of which resulted as a reaction against the civil rights movement), many people took refuge in “flower power” and became “hippies” or “peaceniks.”

Bullet #2 As the Vietnam War continued, more and more college-aged youths found themselves at odds with the Johnson Administration’s policies regarding the conflict. Others believed that the United States had overstepped its bounds as the “world’s policeman.” Others believed the war was a conspiracy designed to help the “military-industrial complex” to gain wealth at the expense of the lives of young Americans. Still others simply saw the war as morally wrong. In addition, African Americans felt that the government’s draft policies favored whites over blacks, and indeed the number of blacks who served in the war was proportionally higher than the percentage of African Americans in the U.S. population. The 1960s also witnessed the rise of college activist groups such as the Students for a Democratic Society and the Free Speech Movement. As these groups gained momentum on various campuses, they began to organize resistance to the war and promoted marches and public rallies against the war.

“Flower Power” and the Anti-War Movement (continued)



Soldiers stand guard in Washington, D.C.
following riots in the aftermath of Dr. King's
assassination

Kent State



- 1968
- The “silent majority,”
Kent State, and the end
of the antiwar
movement

Bullet #1 Resistance to the war continued throughout the 1960s and into the early 1970s. The nation divided into camps of “hawks” (those in favor of the war) and “doves” (those who wanted peace). Several young men protested the war by burning their draft cards; some were arrested and sent to prison, while others fled to Canada. In the tumultuous year of 1968, the Tet Offensive and the murders of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy soured the “flower power” mood. Violence started to break out more and more at protests. Students at Columbia University dissatisfied with officials’ policies toward adjacent communities in neighboring Harlem, took over the school’s administration building and held it for several days. At the Democratic Convention in Chicago, riots broke out after anti-war activists clashed with police; several people were injured, and seven noted activists (including SDS co-founder Tom Hayden and “Yippie” leader Abbie Hoffman) were charged with inciting the riots. As student protests proliferated, a backlash began to develop.

Bullet #2 Many people believed the high-profile student protests were giving the world the mistaken impression that most Americans opposed the war. President Nixon tried to address these concerns in a 1969 speech defending his conduct of the war. In the speech, he characterized the anti-war protesters as a “vocal minority” and claimed that a “silent majority” of Americans actually supported the war. A backlash against the protesters had started to grow. In 1970, National Guardsmen fired into a crowd of students during a protest at Kent State University in Ohio; nine students were wounded, and four students died. Less than two weeks later, two students were shot to death at a protest at Jackson State University. It seemed that the activists’ goal of ending the war had become overshadowed by violence at protests and the media attention this violence received. The anti-war movement began to lose steam; two years later, the Paris Peace Accords were signed, signaling the end of the movement.

Feminism and the Women's Movement



Betty Friedan

- Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*
- Feminism deals with "gender politics" and inequalities
- Beginnings of the women's movement/NOW
- Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)
- Backlash

Gloria Steinem



Bullets #1–2 After conducting a survey of her Smith College classmates in the mid-1950s, author Betty Friedan wrote a compelling book that questioned the role of women in mid-20th-century America. *The Feminine Mystique* asked serious questions about the unfulfilled lives of women during the 1950s and helped inspire the feminist movement. "Feminism" does not necessarily refer to a single, unified philosophy; instead, the term encompasses all efforts to address and remedy "gender politics" and inequalities.

Bullet #3 In the 1960s, women started to break free of the "housewife" ideal of the 1950s. As more and more women found themselves working outside the home, however, they began to realize that they received salaries far below those of their male counterparts. Women also became more and more dissatisfied that in many social and political settings as well—including the civil rights movement and other major protest movements of the 1960s—they were often considered "second class" citizens and not taken seriously. This discrimination compelled many women to organize and become more vocal in criticizing gender inequalities in American society. The most prominent organization dedicated to enhancing women's rights was the National Organization for Women (NOW), which Friedan helped create in 1966. NOW became a major symbol of the women's movement, along with *Ms. Magazine*, which was founded in 1972 by journalist Gloria Steinem.

Bullet #4 Many women wanted to change the Constitution in order to make gender-based discrimination illegal. They won an initial victory in 1972 when Congress approved an "Equal Rights Amendment" banning discrimination on the basis of gender. Thirty-eight states needed to ratify the ERA in order for it to become law. Ultimately, only 35 states approved the amendment by the 1982 deadline, and the ERA failed to pass. While the ERA was not ratified by the states, the battle over it did help raise the public's awareness of the question of equal rights for women.

Bullet #5 Though many cheered the efforts of NOW and other feminist activists, a significant backlash against the women's movement also began to develop. The most notable critic was conservative Phyllis Schlafly, who campaigned against the ERA throughout the 1970s and helped bring about its eventual defeat. Conservative religious groups also criticized the ERA and the women's movement as subverting "traditional values." Although the women's movement did much to close the "gender gap," it may have also provided a rallying point for conservatives, who then played a major role in igniting the "Reagan Revolution" of the 1980s.

Cesar Chavez

- Helped to organize farm workers
- United Farm Workers (UFW)
- California grape boycott
- Chavez's legacy



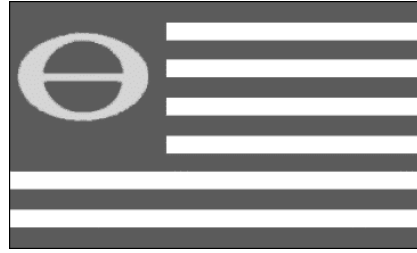
Bullet #1 Throughout the 1960s, labor activists had tried to organize Hispanic farm workers who toiled in the fields of California and the Southwest. Activists were unsuccessful until Cesar Chavez—a former farm worker himself—moved to the forefront. He and his colleague Doris Huerta started a grass-roots effort that eventually coalesced into the United Farm Workers (UFW). Chavez was committed to nonviolent tactics similar to those used by Martin Luther King, Jr., in the civil rights movement.

Bullets #2–3 In 1967, the UFW tried to wring concessions from grape growers in California, pushing for better pay, improved working conditions, and formal recognition of the UFW. When the growers refused, Chavez organized a boycott of California grapes that continued for five years. In addition, Chavez went on a 21-day hunger strike that gained national attention when presidential candidate Robert Kennedy came to California and “broke bread” with him, an act that symbolized Kennedy’s support of the UFW and the end of Chavez’s hunger strike. In 1970, the grape growers finally agreed to a contract in which they recognized the UFW as the official labor representative of the grape workers.

Bullet #4 Chavez went on to organize other strikes and helped earn Hispanics a more prominent place in organized labor and the struggle for civil rights. In 1975, the farm workers achieved a major victory when California passed a law that mandated collective bargaining between growers and unions such as the UFW.

Earth Day

- Senator Gaylord Nelson
- First Earth Day held in 1970
- Nationally sponsored environmental activities
- Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)



Earth Day
founder
Gaylord Nelson

Bullet #1 While many believe the Earth Day movement came from the “Flower Power” hippie ethos of the late 1960s, it actually had its “roots” in the early 1960s, when Senator Gaylord Nelson persuaded President John F. Kennedy and Attorney General Robert Kennedy to take an “environmental tour” of the country. Unfortunately, the idea of a nationwide “Earth Day” seemed to die there. In the late 1960s, Nelson was inspired by the demonstrations and “teach-ins” against the Vietnam War. He felt that this same type of motivation and activism could be channeled to encourage environmentalism, so he revived the idea of Earth Day.

Bullets #2–4 The first nationwide Earth Day took place on April 22, 1970. An estimated 10,000 schools and 2000 colleges all sponsored some sort of activity which highlighted specific environmental problems that needed to be addressed. Earth Day heralded a general rise in the public’s environmental awareness. Soon after the first Earth Day, President Nixon signed into law legislation that created the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), which had the power to set pollution standards and to assist state and local governments in enforcing environmental legislation. During the 1970s, more than 35 conservation laws were enacted that protected wildlife and controlled air pollution.

Détente and *Realpolitik*

- *Détente*: “Easing of tensions”
- *Realpolitik*: “Political realism”
- Benefits for both the U.S. and USSR
- Relations with China



President Nixon and Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev



Secretary of State Henry Kissinger

Bullets #1–2 Richard Nixon, who had made his early reputation as a staunch anti-communist, realized soon after winning the presidential election in 1968 that his attitude regarding the Cold War and the Soviet Union had to change. Working with National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger, he developed a policy known as *détente*. The word itself means “an easing of tensions”; in U.S. foreign policy, it came to denote an attempt to ratchet down the Cold War. *Détente* was an extension of Kissinger’s philosophy of *realpolitik*, a German phrase that translates as “political realism.” In Kissinger’s view, both sides needed to base foreign policy on practical concerns rather than on ideals. While Nixon remained ready to use military force if a conflict with a communist country arose, he and Kissinger began to place a greater value on using negotiation to solve potential crises.

Bullet #3 Both the U.S. and the USSR saw economic advantages which could result from *détente*. With the U.S. economy struggling and the government burdened with the costs of carrying on the war in Vietnam, *détente* could offer a break from the expensive nuclear arms race. The Soviet economy also needed a boost, and *détente* held the promise of better economic relations and increased trade with the west.

Bullet #4 As the 1972 presidential election drew nearer, Nixon became more and more interested in opening relations with both the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China. In the early 1960s, simmering disagreements between these two powerful communist countries came to a head; in 1964, China formally broke off relations with both the USSR and the Warsaw Pact nations. After Nixon made a historic visit to China in early 1972, the Soviet Union feared the possibility of a potential Sino-American alliance. In an attempt to thaw cool relations with the United States, Soviet leaders invited Nixon to visit the USSR as well. The U.S. ended up renewing relations with both the People’s Republic of China and the Soviet Union. *Détente* eventually led to nuclear arms reduction treaties and cultural and economic agreements. Nixon had also hoped that *détente* could lead to an end to the Vietnam War. Although the policy did help pave the way for the 1973 Paris Peace Accords, two more years would pass before the United States finally withdrew from Vietnam.

Nuclear Arms Reduction

- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT)
- SALT I (1972): limits on ABMs
- SALT II (1979): limits on number of new arms produced
- Senate opposition sinks SALT II



The 1979 SALT talks

Bullet #1 *Détente* allowed Nixon and Kissinger to open negotiations between the U.S. and Soviet Union for meaningful strategic arms reduction. The resulting Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (known by their acronym, SALT) represented a real attempt to slow down and possibly even reverse the arms race.

Bullet #2 As the 1960s ended and the 1970s began, it became more evident that the U.S. and USSR had begun moving in different directions in regards to weapons development. The Soviets were focusing on land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs); they had also begun to develop anti-ballistic missile systems (ABMs) to defend against nuclear attacks. The U.S., looking to get beyond the ABMs, had begun to deploy more MIRVs (the acronym stands for “multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicle”), which could carry several nuclear warheads. The first SALT talks lasted from 1969 to 1972, eventually producing the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972, which limited each nation to two ABM deployment sites and also limited the number and type of nuclear missiles that could be deployed at each site.

Bullet #3 New arms limitation talks, known as SALT II, began in 1972 and continued through the Ford and Carter administrations. The talks produced an agreement that, while not reducing the number of weapons already existing, did call for a cap on the number of new weapons each side could produce. U.S. President Jimmy Carter and Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev signed the agreement in 1979; however, it met significant opposition in the U.S. Senate, mainly because senators were concerned whether or not the U.S. would be able to verify that the Soviets were living up to their end of the agreement. By the end of 1979, the Senate’s intransigence and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan led Carter to decide to end the struggle to ratify the treaty.

“Reaganomics”

- Reagan inherits double-digit inflation, high unemployment
- “Trickle-down” economics/lower taxes
- “Supply-side” economics
- Deficit spending
- S & L deregulation



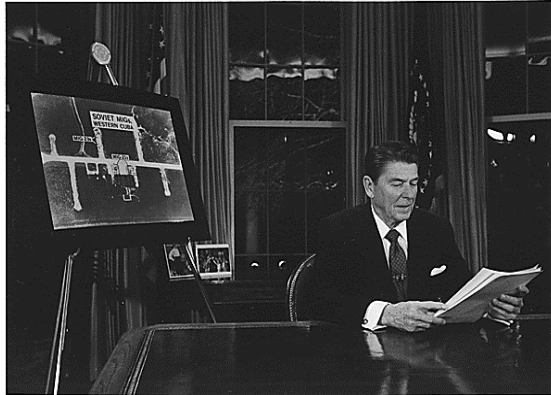
Bullet #1 In the last years of Jimmy Carter’s presidency, the country faced double-digit inflation as well as increasing energy prices and high unemployment. While Carter tried to remedy this “national malaise,” he was unable to cure it. In the 1980 presidential election, he was defeated handily by former California Governor Ronald Reagan.

Bullets #2–4 Reagan and his Director of the Bureau of Management and Budget, David Stockman, subscribed to the three main economic theories: “trickle-down” economics, “supply-side” economics, and deficit spending. Trickle-down economics posits that if the upper classes became richer, they would use that new wealth to provide more funds for research and development, make new capital investments, and create new jobs. Productivity would increase, unemployment would drop, and middle class and lower class workers would benefit. Thus, any new wealth the upper classes gained would ultimately “trickle down” and benefit all classes in society. President Reagan wanted to lower taxes, and he and his administration used the trickle-down theory as an argument to do so. Supply-side economics asserted that if people paid lower taxes, they would then have more disposable income to spend and save. Increased consumer spending would result in more business profits and boost the economy; increased consumer saving would provide banks with more money that they could then use to furnish loans to help businesses expand and/or make capital improvements. As business profits went up, manufacturers would produce more goods, which would drive down prices in general. Deficit spending is when a government’s expenditures exceed its revenues. In the early 1980s, the country experienced a recession; the Reagan administration addressed this in part by instituting deficit spending. In theory, when the government spends more on U.S. products and services, it provides a boost to income and consumer spending in general. By the mid-1980s, the U.S. had emerged from the recession, but the deficit spending continued.

Bullet #5 “Reaganomics” also involved deregulation of many industries in order to “free” businesses from government controls; in theory, this would allow them to become more flexible and innovative—and profitable. However, deregulation didn’t always work as planned. The 1982 deregulation of the savings and loan industry ultimately resulted in massive fraud and racketeering, and many S & Ls went bankrupt. Eventually the federal government had to implement a massive bailout of the entire industry in order to restore customers’ lost savings.

Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)

- President Reagan called for a system to protect the U.S. from an enemy missile attack
- “Star Wars”: opponents of SDI
- Never implemented



Bullet #1 Proposed by President Ronald Reagan in 1983, the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) called for a space-based system that would protect the United States from nuclear attack. In theory, the system would intercept inbound enemy missiles outside the Earth’s atmosphere and destroy them before they hit their targets in the U.S. If a truly effective version of such a system could be created, it would make the idea of Mutual Assured Destruction obsolete and possibly open the door for making tactical nuclear strikes a viable option for the president and top military commanders.

Bullets #2–3 Opponents of SDI had two main objections: the cost of building such a system would be prohibitively high, and if it couldn’t be 100% effective, the results could be catastrophic. Critics and the press soon dubbed the initiative “Star Wars,” deriding the idea as science fiction.

Bullet #3 As preliminary testing for SDI proceeded, it looked as if these objections were right on the money: trial runs of the technologies that would be used to construct the system failed often in scientific trials, and revised estimates of the project’s cost ballooned higher and higher. In addition, by the late 1980s the Cold War was ending, leading many people to believe that an SDI system was no longer necessary. All these factors combined to doom the initiative.

The Bush Doctrine



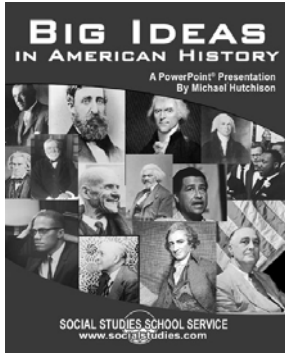
- September 11, 2001
- Bush: the U.S. would go after any nation that supported terrorists
- Preemption
- Unilateral action
- “Strengths beyond challenge”
- Extending the “rewards of liberty”



Bullets #1–2 On September 11, 2001, the United States was directly attacked by terrorists. Two commercial passenger airliners smashed into the World Trade Center in New York City, destroying the twin towers. A third plane crashed into the Pentagon, and a fourth plane crashed in Pennsylvania. In a speech before a joint session of Congress on September 20, 2001, President George W. Bush stated that the U.S. would “make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them.” In essence, Bush proposed that any nation who harbored or supported terrorists were as guilty as the terrorists themselves and were subject to reprisals from the U.S. This formed the first piece of a new foreign policy position that came to be known as the “Bush Doctrine.”

Bullets #3–6 Bush did not formally flesh out the doctrine until the next year. In a June 2002 speech at the U.S. Military Academy in West Point, New York, he laid out the four main policies that comprised the Bush Doctrine: (1) Preemption: Rather than merely responding to attacks, the U.S. would take preemptive action against terrorists and nations capable of producing “weapons of mass destruction” that might be used against the U.S. (2) Unilateralism: Though the U.S. would still welcome international support, it would not wait for that support before taking action. Basically, the U.S. would be willing to “go it alone” regardless of the opinions of the international community. (3) Military supremacy: Bush also stated that “America has, and intends to keep, military strengths beyond challenge.” In other words, Bush would take any actions necessary to preserve its position as the strongest military power in the world. (4) Promoting democracy: “America has no empire to extend or utopia to establish. We wish for others only what we wish for ourselves—safety from violence, the rewards of liberty, and the hope for a better life.” With these words, Bush evoked memories of President Woodrow Wilson’s famous declaration in World War I that the U.S. would “make the world safe for democracy.” He also wanted to portray the other three elements of the Bush Doctrine as part of a larger effort to extend democratic ideals and institutions throughout the world.

The Bush Doctrine signaled a major shift in U.S. foreign policy—especially the idea of preemption. Military power would no longer be used simply in self-defense; instead, it would be available as a tool for actively assuring the security of the nation. In 2003, the Bush Doctrine was implemented when the U.S. invaded Iraq, claiming that dictator Saddam Hussein was harboring weapons of mass destruction that he planned to use against the U.S. The war was portrayed as preemptive; it was a nearly unilateral action started without the support of the United Nations and much of the international community; and it was also meant as a demonstration of America’s power.



What Is a “Big Idea”?

- A “historical motivator”
- Offers a solution to a pressing problem
- A completely original concept or a novel and innovative way to use existing concepts
- Big ideas are not necessarily “good” or “bad”



Why Study Big Ideas?



People of the past

- What were their everyday lives like?
- What did they think and believe?
- What really mattered to them?
- What motivated them to take out-of-the-ordinary actions?

Moving Toward Independence



- Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*
- Richard Henry Lee: "...free and Independent States."
- Continental Congress creates a "Committee of Five"

Declaration of Independence

- Both a formal statement of independence and a declaration of war
- Jefferson "borrowed" ideas from Enlightenment thinkers
- Three purposes



Land Ordinance of 1785

- Intended to provide a fair way to divide land in the Northwest Territory
- "Townships" and "sections"
- Other provisions
- High initial land costs • Speculators



Northwest Ordinance of 1787

- Allowed for the creation of new states in the Northwest Territory
- Also called for creation of territorial and state governments
- Forbade slavery
- Public education
- Fair dealings with Indians



Weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation

- No national unity, just 13 separate state governments
- No ability to tax
- No ability to regulate foreign or interstate commerce
- Each state had only one vote in Congress, regardless of population
- Support of nine of 13 states needed in Congress to pass important laws
- Support of all 13 states needed to revise Articles
- No executive branch
- No national court system



Framing of the Constitution

- Most delegates were wealthy
- Did the Constitution truly reflect democratic political ideals?
- Madison's role



Different Views on Representation

Virginia Plan

- Proposed by Madison
- Protected large states' interests
- Allowed for a bicameral (two-house) legislature
- Number of delegates in Congress based on a state's population
- Lower house would elect the upper house

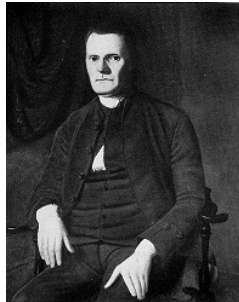


New Jersey Plan

- Proposed by Paterson
- Protected small states' interests
- Allowed for a unicameral (one-house) legislature
- Each state would have a similar number of delegates

The Great Compromise

- Bicameral legislature: the House of Representatives and the Senate
- House representation based on population
- Senate—each state allowed two votes
- Length of terms for each
- Senators selected by state legislatures



Roger Sherman

“Three-fifths” Compromise

- How slaves should be counted for representation and taxation purposes
- The compromise: 3/5^{ths} of the number of slaves would be counted for both representation and taxation
- National government forbidden to interfere with the slave trade until 1808



Governmental Power in the Constitution

- Division of power
- Separation of powers
- Checks and balances



Federalists & Anti-Federalists



Alexander Hamilton

Federalists

- Supported the Constitution
- Included many framers (Washington, Hamilton, Madison)
- Strongest in urban areas
- Supported by those in favor of a strong central government
- Supported by merchants, skilled workers, laborers

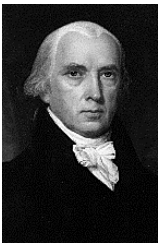
Anti-Federalists

- Opposed the Constitution
- Included Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, Richard Henry Lee
- Strongest in rural areas
- Opposed a strong central government
- Concerned the Constitution didn't include a bill of rights



Patrick Henry

The Bill of Rights



James Madison

- Written by James Madison
- Important ratification issue
- Madison submitted 17 amendments; Congress reduced number to 12, 10 were ratified
- First Amendment guarantees "freedom of expression"
- Second and Third Amendments protect against military control
- Fourth through Eighth Amendments assure due process of law
- Ninth and Tenth Amendments protect popular control over government

Hamilton vs. Jefferson

Hamilton

- Strong federal government
- Rule by elite
- Loose interpretation of Constitution
- Favored national bank
- Favored paying state debts
- Supported merchants, landowners, investors, wealthy
- Tended to support Britain in foreign affairs
- Followers formed the Federalist Party, which eventually became the Republican Party

Jefferson

- Limited national authority
- Believed in ability of farmers and common people to rule themselves
- Strict interpretation of Constitution
- Favored payment of national debt, not state debts
- Opposed national bank
- Tended to support France in foreign affairs
- Followers formed the Democratic-Republican Party, which eventually became the Democratic Party

Louisiana Purchase

- Purchased from France in 1803
- Purchase price: \$15,000,000 (three cents per acre)
- Doubled the size of the U.S. to that point (800,000 more square miles)
- Gave the U.S. complete control of the Mississippi River



Marbury v. Madison Establishes Judicial Review



Chief Justice John Marshall

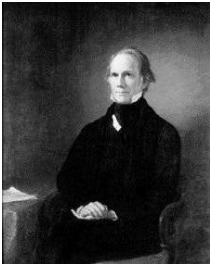
- Marbury—a “midnight judge” to whom Jefferson denied a commission
- Marbury sued under the Judiciary Act of 1789
- U.S. Chief Justice John Marshall rules Marbury’s claim was invalid
- Case established the concept of “judicial review”

Monroe Doctrine

- Part of President Monroe's 1823 Message to Congress
- Warned European powers not to interfere with Western Hemisphere affairs or overthrow independent republics there
- Promised the U.S. wouldn't interfere with European affairs or colonies
- Roosevelt Corollary



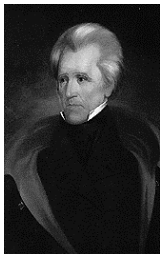
The American System



Henry Clay

- Proposed by Senator Henry Clay
- High tariffs on imports
- New transportation systems and internal improvements
- Never completely implemented

Jacksonian Democracy



- 1820s: changes in voting requirements, selection of presidential electors
- 1824 presidential election and the "corrupt bargain"
 - 1828 presidential election
- Mass campaigning techniques
- Jackson as a "man of the people"; Adams as an "aristocrat" and an "elitist"
- Jackson wins handily
- The idea of "Jacksonian democracy"

The Bank of the United States

First Bank of the U.S.

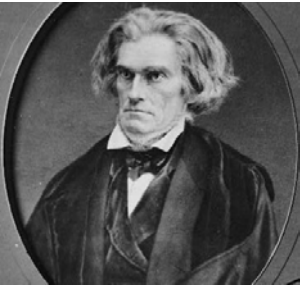
- Created by Hamilton in 1791 to spur economic growth
- Would provide for a "sound uniform currency"
- Would act as a central bank for smaller state banks
- Would provide a depository for tax money
- Would issue paper money
- Hamilton used the "elastic clause" to justify the Bank
- Opposed by Jefferson, Madison, and other "strict constructionists"



Second Bank of the U.S.

- Chartered in 1816
- Charter to expire in 1836; in 1832, Clay and Webster try to get it re-chartered early
- Jackson vetoes the charter
- "Pet banks"
- Nicholas Biddle

Nullification



South Carolina Senator John Calhoun

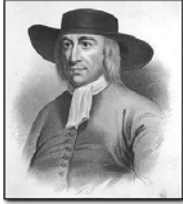
- Idea that states can refuse to enforce or obey federal laws
- 1828 "Tariff of Abominations"
- South Carolina "nullifies" the tariff
- The "Force Bill"

Indian Removal

- Jackson orders removal of Indians to the west
- 1830: Indian Removal Act
- Jackson uses military force to move certain tribes
- The Trail of Tears



Abolitionism



- Roots: the Quakers
- American Revolution
- Early 1800s: Slavery ends in the North
- Colonization movement

Abolitionism (continued)



Garrison's The Liberator

William Lloyd
Garrison



- Gradual vs. immediate emancipation
- Garrison and *The Liberator*
- Southern reactions

Frederick Douglass

- Born as a slave in 1817
- Taught to read and write by the wife of his owner
- Escaped from slavery
- A leading abolitionist speaker
- Founded his own anti-slavery newspaper, *The North Star*



John Brown

- Radical abolitionist
- Led bloody anti-slave raids in Kansas
- Sought to arm slaves to start a rebellion against white masters
- Failed plot to seize arsenal at Harpers Ferry
- Put on trial for treason; eventually found guilty and hanged
- Became a potent symbol for both Northerners and Southerners



Early Women's Rights Movement

- Grew out of the abolitionist movement
- Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton
- Sojourner Truth



Lucretia Mott



Elizabeth Cady Stanton



Sojourner Truth

Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments

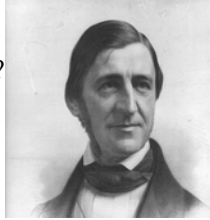
- Brainchild of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott
- Closely modeled on the Declaration of Independence
- Called for equality for women
- Resolution calling for women's right to vote passes narrowly during convention



Transcendentalism

- What was Transcendentalism?
- Emerson
- Thoreau

Henry David
Thoreau



Ralph Waldo Emerson

Manifest Destiny

- Belief that the United States was destined to expand and control the North American continent
- Often used to justify territorial expansion
- Impact on the westward movement
- Conflicts



Nativism

- “America for Americans only”
- American Republican Party
- “Know-Nothing” Party
- Irish immigration, 1845-1854
- Decline of the Know-Nothings



Membership certificate for a
Philadelphia nativist organization

Rise of the Republican Party

- Slavery splits Whig Party
- Abolitionist Whigs drawn to Liberty Party, later to Free Soil Party
- Republican Party founded in 1854 in Wisconsin; opposes Kansas-Nebraska Act and expansion of slavery in territories
- Fremont loses in 1856, but Republicans prove a viable party



John C. Fremont



Popular Sovereignty



Illinois Senator
Stephen A. Douglas

Cartoon caption: "Liberty, the fair maid of Kansas in the hands of the 'border ruffians'"



- Idea that residents of a new territory should have the right to choose whether slavery would be legal or illegal there
- Douglas and the Kansas-Nebraska Act
- "Bleeding Kansas"

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates and the "Freeport Doctrine"



- Abraham Lincoln challenges Stephen A. Douglas for Illinois Senate seat
- "Freeport Doctrine": comes up in the second debate
- Douglas alienates Southern Democrats but wins the Senate seat
- 1860 presidential election

Secession



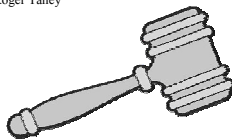
- Idea that individual states retained the right to withdraw from the Union
- South Carolina nullification crisis, 1832
- Lincoln's election/Southern states secede
- The Civil War

Suspension of *Habeas Corpus* during the Civil War

- *Habeas corpus*: a person cannot be held in jail indefinitely without formal charges being filed against them
- “Copperheads”/“Peace Democrats”
- *Ex parte Merryman*
- Long-term effects of suspending *habeas corpus*



Chief Justice
Roger Taney



Conscription and the Draft Controversy

- First military draft in U.S. history (1863)
- Exceptions: substitutes, slave owners
- New York City draft riots
- Other drafts in American history



Transcontinental Railroad • Homestead Act

- Both enacted in 1862 during the Civil War
- Both encouraged western expansion and settlement
- Pacific Railway Acts
- Homestead Act



The Emancipation Proclamation



- Lincoln initially didn't intend to abolish slavery
- He came to see political and military advantages in emancipating slaves
- Proclamation issued after Battle of Antietam
- It only freed slaves in the rebel states

Post-Civil War Amendments



Poster celebrating the 13th Amendment

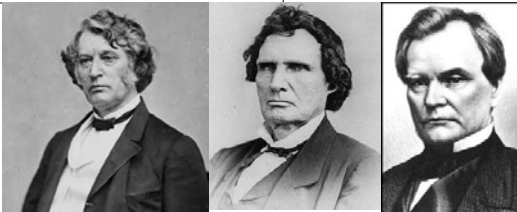
- 13th (1865): Ended slavery
- Black codes/Civil Rights Act of 1866
- 14th (1868): Defined citizenship; "equal protection of the laws"

Post-Civil War Amendments (continued)

- 15th Amendment (1870): Gave blacks the right to vote



Reconstruction



- Lincoln's "Ten Percent Plan"
- Radical Republicans • Wade-Davis Bill

"Radicals" Charles Sumner, Thaddeus Stevens, and Benjamin Wade

Reconstruction (continued)

- Johnson's plan
- Reconstruction Act of 1867 • impeachment



Thaddeus Stevens closing the debate on Johnson's impeachment

The Ku Klux Klan



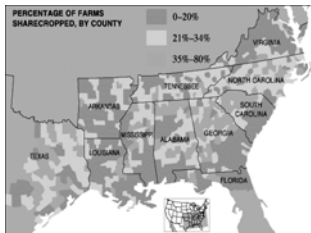
Former Confederate general Nathan Bedford Forrest, the first Grand Wizard of the KKK



- Originally organized as a social club for Confederate veterans
- Top goal became assuring white supremacy
- Violent tactics
- Enforcement Acts of 1870 and 1871 • decline of the KKK
- Revivals in the 1920s, 1950s and 1960s

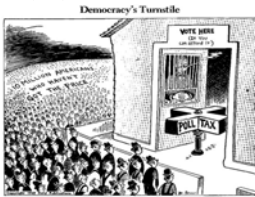
Sharecropping

- Many freedmen couldn't afford their own land
- Sharecropping: landholders divided their property into plots and provided farmers on each plot with seed and farm implements to work the land
- The sharecropper used a portion of his crop to pay the landholder
- Landholders often abused the system



Jim Crow Laws

- Named after a popular minstrel show song
- Laws that limited black voting
- Laws that instituted racial segregation



Plessy v. Ferguson



- Involved a Louisiana African American man arrested for refusing to leave a “whites only” train car
- Supreme Court rules against Plessy
- “Separate but equal”

Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois



- Differing ideas on how blacks could best achieve full equality and on African American education
- Washington: felt that blacks should achieve economic success before trying to gain political equality
- Du Bois: blacks should strive to achieve immediate equality with whites in all aspects of American life

The Ghost Dance

- Westward expansion—Indians gradually lose their lands
- The “Ghost Dance”
- Sitting Bull and the Sioux
- Wounded Knee



The Grange



- Helped farmers form cooperatives
- Fought unfair practices of railroad companies
- Farmers' Alliances



Jane Addams and Hull House

Jane Addams



Immigrant children at Hull House



- Jane Addams
- "Settlement" houses/Hull House
- Provided activities and services for poor immigrants

The Populist Party

- Founded in 1891
- Goals
- 1892 election: Populist candidate James Weaver carries 10% of vote
- 1896 election: William Jennings Bryan's defeat kills Populist Party



William Jennings Bryan

Gilded Age Business Practices

- Combinations
- Vertical and horizontal integration
- Trusts
- Holding companies



Andrew Carnegie

John D. Rockefeller

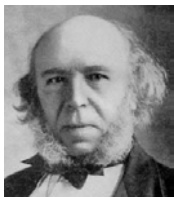


The Sherman Anti-Trust Act

- Attempted to combat “illegal restraint of trade”
- Flaws
- Didn’t truly become effective until the early 1900s



Social Darwinism



Herbert Spencer

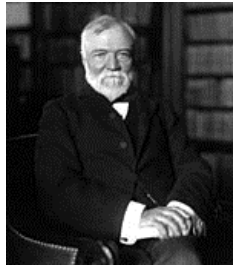


William Graham Sumner

- Natural selection
- Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner
- “Survival of the fittest” as applied to the business world
- *Laissez-faire*

The Gospel of Wealth

- Based on an essay written by Andrew Carnegie
- Carnegie believed that acquisition of wealth was beneficial to society
- Viewed the rich as “trustees” of money
- He wrote that the man who “dies rich, dies disgraced”
- Portrayed philanthropy as a moral duty for the wealthy



Horatio Alger

- Popular Gilded Age children’s author
- Wrote books on how “down and out” boys could achieve the “American Dream” and become wealthy through “pluck and luck”
- Social Darwinism



“Trustbusting”



- 1898: U.S. Industrial Commission
- TR decides aggressively file antitrust actions
- TR’s reforms
- Taft continues TR’s policies



Early Labor Unions

Terence V. Powderly



Samuel Gompers

- National Labor Union
- Knights of Labor
- American Federation of Labor (AFL)



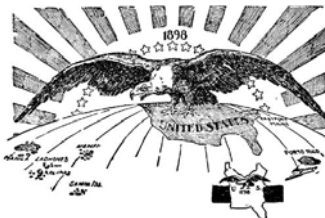
Immigration: “Melting Pot” or “Tossed Salad”?



- Conflicted American attitudes toward immigration
- “Melting pot”: assimilation
- “Tossed salad”: multiculturalism

Imperialism

- **Imperialism:** strong nations extend their influence (economic, political, military) over other territories or nations
- Proponents
- Anti-Imperialists



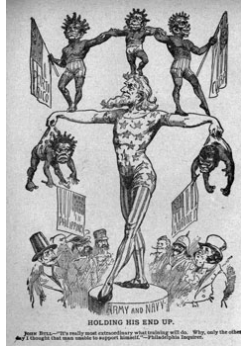
Ten thousand miles from tip to tip.—Philadelphia Press.

Imperialism (continued)



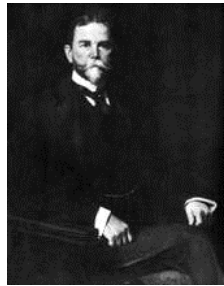
Senator Orville Platt

- The Philippines
- Cuba: Teller and Platt Amendments



The Open Door Policy

- Turmoil in China
- “Open Door” policy formulated by U.S. Secretary of State John Hay
- No nations formally accepted Hay’s proposal, but they didn’t counter the Open Door policy’s provisions either
- Boxer Rebellion, second Open Door notes



Secretary of State John Hay

The Roosevelt Corollary



- Latin American nations had borrowed heavily from European banks
- Roosevelt Corollary: addition to the Monroe Doctrine
- U.S. as an international police power

Progressivism



Demonstration against child labor



Upton Sinclair

- What was Progressivism?
- Collection of reform movements
- “Muckrakers”
- Achievements

Progressive Political Reforms

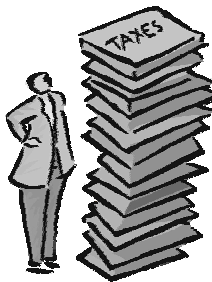
- “Fighting Bob” LaFollette’s “Wisconsin Idea”
- Referendum, initiative, recall



Senator Robert “Fighting Bob” LaFollette

Income Tax

- Nation’s first income tax had been instituted during Civil War, but was declared unconstitutional
- Underwood Tariff Act of 1913
- Sixteenth Amendment



Conservationism

- First national park:
Yellowstone, 1872
- Theodore Roosevelt:
First conservationist
president
- U.S. Forest Service



TR (left) and John Muir (center, with beard)

Wilson's Fourteen Points

- Proposed by President
Woodrow Wilson in
1918
- Included his ideas for a
peace treaty to end
World War I
- "League of Nations"
- Versailles Treaty



Marcus Garvey and the UNIA



Marcus Garvey
(far right)



- Founded the Universal Negro
Improvement Association (UNIA)
- Suggested that blacks return to
Africa
- Forerunner of "Black Separatist"
movement of 1960s

Prohibition

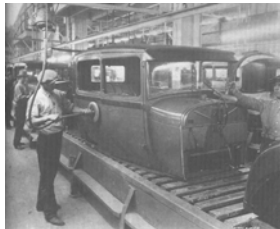


Al
Capone

- The “noble experiment”: the 18th Amendment
- Underground market for liquor emerges
- Rise of “gangsters” and “bootleggers”
- Repealed in 1933 with the passage of the 21st Amendment

Henry Ford's Assembly Line

- A “great car for the great multitude”
- First assembly line running by 1913
- Assembly line adapted to other industries



Consumer Credit in the 1920s

- The “installment plan”—“buy now and pay later”
- Credit pitfalls for customers, merchants, manufacturers
- 1929 crash



The New Deal

- “Hundred Days” and the “bank holiday”
- “Alphabet agencies”
- “Relief, Recovery, Reform”



Cartoon by Talburt in the Pittsburgh Press

The New Deal (continued)



Former slave
Emma
Crockett,
participant in
the WPA's
slave
narratives

- The New Deal and the arts
- Effects/
accomplishments



Posters for federally-sponsored arts exhibitions and performances

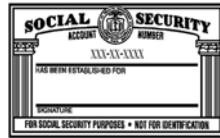


FDR's “Fireside Chats”



- Weekly radio addresses
- Designed not only to inform, but also to calm Americans' fears and concerns
- Other presidents have used fireside chats, but with limited success

Social Security



- Townsend Plan
- FDR adapts Townsend Plan
- Critics: "Creeping socialism"
- Legacy

The "Court Packing" Plan

- Supreme Court declared several New Deal laws unconstitutional
- FDR asks Congress for permission to appoint one new justice for every current justice over 70
- Plan sparks controversy
- Results



Lend-Lease

- 1940: British desperately need aid
- U.S. law: illegal to sell weapons to "belligerents"
- FDR comes up with "lend-lease"



The Atlantic Charter

- Signed by FDR and Churchill while at sea off the coast of Newfoundland
- Joint declaration of war aims
- Agreement provided the basis for cooperation between the "Allies" during WWII



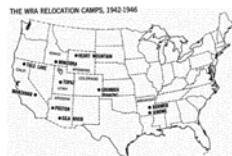
Rationing & Victory Gardens



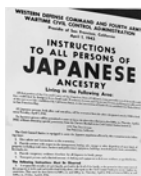
- The Office of Price Administration institutes rationing
- Gasoline, coffee, sugar, meat, other goods are rationed
- "Victory Gardens" and other adjustments



Japanese American Internment



- Impact of Pearl Harbor on attitudes towards Japanese Americans
- Executive Order 9066
- Nearly 110,000 relocated to camps
- Relocation upheld in *Korematsu v. United States*



The Nuremberg War Crimes Trials

- 24 surviving Nazi leaders tried for “war crimes”
- Questions of legality: some crimes did not exist in law prior to the trials
- “Following orders”
- 12 sentenced to death; majority of rest given prison terms



The United Nations



- International peacekeeping organization
- FDR was the “principal architect” of the UN
- Goals
- Successes and failures

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights



- Response to horrors of WWII
- UN Commission on Human Rights chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt
- Articles of the Declaration
- Importance and legacy

The Marshall Plan



- Europe's economy in shambles after World War II
- Marshall proposed aid to "all European countries who needed it"
- Plan also worked to keep communism from spreading to western Europe

The Truman Doctrine • Containment

The Truman Doctrine

- Came about as a result of Soviet-backed insurgencies in Greece and Turkey
- Truman stated that the U.S. would support any "free" people who resisted Soviet influence



Containment

- George F. Kennan
- Proposed confining Soviet influence to its current boundaries
- Kennan asserted that containment would result in a breakup or "mellowing" of Soviet influence and power



McCarthyism



- Wisconsin Senator McCarthy, concerned about reelection, made subversion in the U.S. government by communists as an issue
- McCarthy's "witch hunt"
- The Army-McCarthy hearings
- Senate censure



John Foster Dulles's Foreign Policy

- Eisenhower's Secretary of State
- Proposed "roll back" of Soviet influence in Europe instead of "containment"
- "New Look" foreign policy; "brinksmanship"



John Foster Dulles with General Douglas MacArthur

The Domino Theory



The *Domino Theory* asserted that if communists could capture Southeast Asia, the rest of Asia would topple like a row of dominoes.

Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD)

- Doctrine that full-scale use of nuclear weapons would lead to the total destruction of both sides
- "Nuclear deterrence"
- Led to tense, yet stable peace



The Eisenhower Doctrine

- Egyptian President Nasser and the 1956 Suez Crisis
- Stated that the U.S. would use military force against communist aggression in Middle East
- Doctrine used in Lebanon crisis
- Drawbacks



The Rise of Suburbia

- World War II vets find housing shortage
- Builders such as Levitt and others provide low cost, mass-produced homes
- First suburban community: Levittown, N.Y.



The “Organization Man” and “The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit”



- “Standardization”
- William H. Whyte’s “Organization man”
- *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*: job vs. family

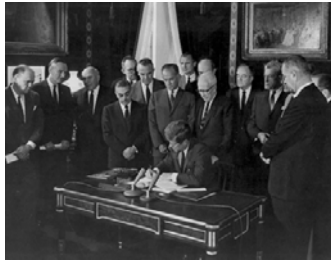


The Peace Corps

- Fulfilled a campaign promise by John F. Kennedy
- Volunteer program of assistance to developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America
- Peace Corps becomes huge success



The 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty



- Outlawed nuclear testing in outer space, in the atmosphere, and underwater
- “Hot line”

President Kennedy signs the 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

Brown v. Board of Education

- NAACP working to overturn *Plessy v. Ferguson*
- 1954 decision banned school segregation
- “Second” Brown decision in 1956
- Little Rock



Thurgood Marshall (center)

The Montgomery Bus Boycott

- Started with arrest of Rosa Parks on December 1, 1955
- Montgomery Improvement Association
- Martin Luther King, Jr.
- White reactions
- Court ruling against segregation ends the boycott

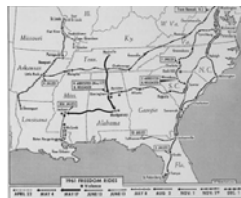


Rosa Parks



Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Freedom Rides



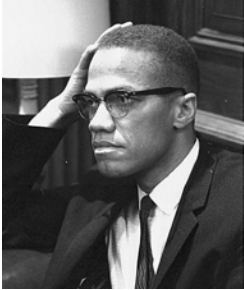
- Organized by the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) in 1961
- Purpose was to test whether Southern bus terminals would obey the Supreme Court's ban on segregation
- Few problems in the upper South; violence in the deep South

Martin Luther King, Jr. and Nonviolent Resistance

- Influenced by Gandhi and Thoreau
- Used demonstrations, marches, public disobedience
- Media coverage gave movement impact and support
- Letter from Birmingham Jail



The Black Muslims and Malcolm X



- Nation of Islam (NOI)
- Advocated black separatism, militancy against “white oppression”
- Malcolm X
- Break with Elijah Muhammad and the NOI
- Malcolm X assassinated in 1965

Civil Rights Act of 1964



President Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act of 1964

- Beginnings with JFK
- LBJ gets the act passed
- Provisions

Affirmative Action

- Fulfilled a provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1964
- Special consideration given to disadvantaged groups in order to overcome present effects of past discrimination
- “Reverse discrimination,” the *Bakke* case



The Voting Rights Act of 1965

- Passed in response to King's Selma to Montgomery voting rights march
- Protected minority right to vote and promised to punish those who stood in the way of minority registration



President Johnson and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. after the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965

Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*

- Carson was a former U.S. Fish and Wildlife biologist
- *Silent Spring* focused on the effects of DDT on the environment



The Great Society

- LBJ's domestic agenda
- Composed of several measures
- New programs/reforms
- "Great Society" fell victim to Vietnam War



"Flower Power" and the Anti-War Movement



- "Flower Power"
- Reactions against the Vietnam War



"Flower Power" and the Anti-War Movement (continued)



Soldiers stand guard in Washington, D.C. following riots in the aftermath of Dr. King's assassination



- 1968
- The "silent majority," Kent State, and the end of the antiwar movement

Feminism and the Women's Movement



Betty Friedan

- Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*
- Feminism deals with "gender politics" and inequalities
- Beginnings of the women's movement/NOW
- Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)
- Backlash

Gloria Steinem



Cesar Chavez

- Helped to organize farm workers
- United Farm Workers (UFW)
- California grape boycott
- Chavez's legacy



Earth Day

- Senator Gaylord Nelson
- First Earth Day held in 1970
- Nationally sponsored environmental activities
- Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)



Earth Day
founder
Gaylord Nelson

Détente and Realpolitik

- *Détente*: "Easing of tensions"
- *Realpolitik*: "Political realism"
- Benefits for both the U.S. and USSR
- Relations with China



President Nixon and Soviet Premier
Leonid Brezhnev



Secretary of State Henry Kissinger

Nuclear Arms Reduction

- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT)
- SALT I (1972): limits on ABMs
- SALT II (1979): limits on number of new arms produced
- Senate opposition sinks SALT II



The 1979 SALT talks

“Reaganomics”

- Reagan inherits double-digit inflation, high unemployment
- “Trickle-down” economics/lower taxes
- “Supply-side” economics
- Deficit spending
- S & L deregulation



Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)

- President Reagan called for a system to protect the U.S. from an enemy missile attack
- “Star Wars”: opponents of SDI
- Never implemented



The Bush Doctrine



- September 11, 2001
- Bush: the U.S. would go after any nation that supported terrorists
- Preemption
- Unilateral action
- “Strengths beyond challenge”
- Extending the “rewards of liberty”



Discussion Questions

1. Ask students to reach a consensus of the “biggest Big Idea” in U.S. history. You might also want to have students look at the “biggest idea” in various areas such as politics and government, economics, social change, culture, etc.
2. Ask students to consider if “big ideas” are always a good thing in the history of the United States. Can the class point to instances where a “big idea” was more of a mistake than a positive force in U.S. history? Ask them to give examples.
3. Ask the class to point to specific examples of how something that was considered a “big idea” in U.S. history impacted world history in a similar manner.
4. Using their textbook or other source(s), ask students to “nominate” what they consider to be “big ideas” not included in the “Big Ideas In U.S. History” PowerPoint presentation. Ask them to justify why they think those events should have been included.
5. Ask students to speculate what current events might be considered “big ideas” in the future.

Extension Activities

1. Have students do further research on a selected “Big Idea” from the presentation and create an oral report or multimedia presentation on that idea.
2. Have students write newspaper editorials or position papers regarding whether one of the big ideas was “good” or “bad.”
3. Look through the materials for “big ideas” that would lend themselves to first-person accounts. Ask students to write “You Are There” stories where they pretend to be eyewitnesses to an event highlighted in the PowerPoint presentation. Examples: the writing of the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution, the debate over the Seneca Falls Declaration, John Brown and the capture of Harpers Ferry, the Emancipation Proclamation, the arrest of Rosa Parks and the beginning of the Montgomery Bus Boycott.
4. Have students research the “major players” from any one of the “Big Ideas.” Students can then portray these historical figures in a talk-show format, with one student acting as a moderator or host. If desired, students can dress in period costume. You may also choose to have students in the “audience” come up with questions to ask the participants.
5. Have students create “Top Ten” lists of what they think were the most important “Big Ideas.”

Related Web Sites

History Matters (<http://historymatters.gmu.edu/>) includes links to various documents, examples of student work on the Web, historical references, and guides for analyzing primary sources.

U.S. History Gateway (<http://www.academicinfo.net/histus.html>) includes links for general U.S. history resources, an “In The News” section, “diversity gateways,” and “topical gateways” for art, music, state and local history, and regional history resources.

History Central (<http://www.multied.com/>) includes links for resources on U.S. wars, Native American history, various biographies, and other related topics.

“From Revolution to Reconstruction (and What Happened Afterwards)” (<http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/>) includes various links for primary sources in U.S. history, biographies, and a searchable index of materials on U.S. presidents.

The American Memory Collection at the Library of Congress (<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/amhome.html>) offers a wide range of historical resources in various areas such as technology, women’s studies, war, culture, African American history, sports and recreation, and more.

Smithsonian National Museum of American History (<http://americanhistory.si.edu/>) includes several online exhibitions, music-related resources, special pages for younger students, and more.

Documents for the Study of American History (http://www.ukans.edu/carrie/docs/amdocs_index.html) includes primary-source documents from the era of exploration through the 2004 debates between presidential candidates George W. Bush and John Kerry. Also includes literary links and song lyrics for works related to themes in U.S. history.

Our Documents (<http://www.ourdocuments.gov>) includes links to “100 Milestone Documents” in U.S. history, including the Declaration of Independence, Constitution, Bill of Rights, Emancipation Proclamation, and others.

Perry-Castaneda Map Collection at the University of Texas (<http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/histus.html>) includes U.S. history maps on various topics, including Native Americans, Revolutionary War, Civil War, National Parks, and more. The site also includes links to other historical map sites.

The Avalon Project at Yale University (<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm>) includes the text of many U.S. history documents organized in a searchable index.

Women in American History, an *Encyclopedia Britannica* site (<http://www.britannica.com/women/>), includes various *Britannica* stories about famous figures in U.S. women's history, as well as photographs and literary works by female writers.

Librarians' Index to the Internet History Page (http://lii.org/search/file/history_united_states) includes various links to U.S. history sites, including African American history, Hispanic history, women's history, and more.

National Archives Exhibit Hall (http://www.archives.gov/exhibit_hall/) presents various NARA exhibits, including "New Deal and the Arts," "When Nixon Met Elvis," and "Charters of Freedom," among others.

Quiz: *Big Ideas in American History*

Directions: Read each question carefully, then write the letter of the **BEST** answer in the blank or on your answer sheet.

1. Which of the following statements about the Declaration of Independence is TRUE?
 - a. Jefferson wrote the document in three days.
 - b. Jefferson borrowed from other philosophers in writing the Declaration.
 - c. The document included a plea for peace with Britain.
 - d. Jefferson stated that women should have equal rights with men.
2. Which of the following “Big Ideas” provided for a fair way to survey and distribute the land on the frontier?
 - a. Northwest Ordinance of 1787
 - b. Habeas Corpus Ordinance of 1779
 - c. Land Ordinance of 1785
 - d. Free Soil Ordinance of 1804
3. Which of the following is NOT true about the concept of “separation of powers”?
 - a. It provides a way to give some authority to the national government and some to the states.
 - b. It provides a way to divide power among the three branches of the government.
 - c. Each branch of government has a specific duty.
 - d. None of the above are true.
4. Which of the following men could be classified as an “Anti-Federalist”?
 - a. George Washington
 - b. Alexander Hamilton
 - c. James Madison
 - d. Richard Henry Lee
5. Which of the following freedoms are covered by the First Amendment?
 - a. Freedom from illegal search and seizure
 - b. Freedom from want
 - c. Right to legal counsel
 - d. Freedom of expression

6. Which of the following best explains the Monroe Doctrine?
- The U.S. wanted to form alliances with European countries.
 - The U.S. warned European nations not to interfere with Latin American nations.
 - The U.S. warned Latin American nations not to harass European colonies in the Western Hemisphere.
 - The U.S. established its first colonies in Africa.
7. Which of the following best describes the view of John C. Calhoun regarding the states' rights issue?
- He believed that the states' authority superseded that of the national government.
 - He believed that the national government's authority superseded that of the states.
 - He supported the use of force to maintain the union.
 - He believed that individual states had the power to make treaties with other nations.
8. What was Andrew Jackson's view regarding Native Americans?
- He supported equal rights for Native Americans.
 - He worked to compensate Native Americans for lands they lost.
 - He ordered states to obey Supreme Court decisions protecting Native Americans.
 - He wanted Native Americans moved off lands in the east.
9. Which of the following policies would have ended slavery WITHOUT granting compensation to slave owners?
- Abolition
 - Emancipation
 - Colonization
 - Liberation
10. How did many northerners view John Brown?
- They saw him as a dangerous fanatic.
 - They saw him as a states' rights advocate.
 - They saw him as a martyr for the cause of freedom.
 - They saw him as a lukewarm supporter of abolition.

11. The Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments:

- a. called for equality in all matters between women and men
- b. suggested that women be allowed to serve and fight in the armed forces
- c. demanded abolitionism be put on hold until all women had gained equality
- d. sought to give women legal control over shared assets in a marriage

12. The first Republican to run for President of the United States was:

- a. Abraham Lincoln
- b. Stephen Douglas
- c. John C. Fremont
- d. James Knox Polk

13. The idea that a state or territory could overrule the *Dred Scott* decision was first stated by:

- a. Abraham Lincoln
- b. John C. Calhoun
- c. John C. Fremont
- d. Stephen Douglas

14. Which of the following ideas best defines why Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation?

- a. He wanted to free the slaves nationwide.
- b. He wanted an issue to unite the North in the war.
- c. He felt that the south wanted to end slavery.
- d. It was an act of desperation.

15. What could be considered the main “idea” of the Homestead Act and Transcontinental Railroad?

- a. Both would assist in western expansion and settlement.
- b. Both would help reunite the North and the South.
- c. Both would assure Lincoln’s reelection.
- d. Both would help displace Native Americans from their lands.

16. This “big idea” guaranteed equal protection under law for all citizens, including blacks:

- a. Thirteenth Amendment
- b. Fourteenth Amendment
- c. Fifteenth Amendment
- d. Sixteenth Amendment

17. According to the Wade-Davis Bill, how many of the people who voted in 1860 would have had to sign a loyalty oath to restore a Southern state to the Union?
- a. 10%
 - b. 25%
 - c. A majority
 - d. At least 33%
18. Laws that allowed for racial segregation in the Reconstruction era were called:
- a. Personal Liberty Laws
 - b. Fugitive Slave Laws
 - c. Poll Tax Laws
 - d. Jim Crow Laws
19. What was Booker T. Washington's view regarding racial equality between blacks and whites?
- a. Blacks should immediately demand equality with whites.
 - b. Blacks should separate and form their own communities.
 - c. Blacks should strive for economic equality before seeking political equality.
 - d. Blacks should strive to obtain strong liberal arts educations.
20. What was the purpose of literacy tests and poll taxes?
- a. They were used to keep minorities from voting.
 - b. They were used to ensure schools would be successful.
 - c. They were used as methods to keep office holders literate.
 - d. They were used to generate money to hold elections.
21. Which "robber baron" would have been most likely to use a "trust"?
- a. Andrew Carnegie
 - b. John D. Rockefeller
 - c. J.P. Morgan
 - d. Oliver P. Kelley
22. Which of the following is NOT true about the Sherman Anti-Trust Act?
- a. It was the first attempt by the federal government to stop "illegal restraint of trade."
 - b. Some states had previously enacted antitrust laws, but these laws dealt only with intrastate commerce.
 - c. The government was very successful in prosecuting monopolies under the Sherman Act because of the way the law was written.

- d. The government had little success using it against trusts until Theodore Roosevelt's administration.
23. Which industrialist would have been most likely to agree with the "Gospel of Wealth"?
- a. Andrew Carnegie
 - b. John D. Rockefeller
 - c. Herbert Spencer
 - d. Horatio Alger
24. What idea does the "tossed salad" view of immigration involve?
- a. Various ethnic groups "meld" into one American culture.
 - b. Various ethnic groups come to America, but keep their own culture while also becoming part of an "American culture."
 - c. Various ethnic groups come to America and significantly change American culture.
 - d. Various ethnic groups refuse to accept any part of American culture, choosing instead to create "enclaves" that look like their native countries.
25. The Progressive movement included:
- a. an attempt to make state governments more responsive to the will of the people
 - b. new laws such as initiative, referendum, and recall
 - c. a push for stricter government regulation of certain industries
 - d. all of the above
26. Woodrow Wilson probably would have agreed that the "biggest idea" of the Fourteen Points was:
- a. general disarmament
 - b. the League of Nations
 - c. the development of the mandate system
 - d. establishment of the principle of "freedom of the seas"
27. What was the impact of the rise in consumer credit in the 1920s?
- a. Wealth was more fairly distributed across social classes.
 - b. Research and development boomed because of the rise of consumerism.
 - c. Consumers overextended themselves financially and went deeply into debt.
 - d. Credit cards first became popular.

28. Which of the following would NOT be considered one of the fundamental purposes of the New Deal?
- a. Relief
 - b. Recovery
 - c. Reform
 - d. Reconciliation
29. Which of the following “big ideas” involved a meeting between FDR and Winston Churchill?
- a. the Atlantic Charter
 - b. the NRA
 - c. the Manhattan Project
 - d. the Lend-Lease Act
30. Which of the following cases desegregated public schools?
- a. *Plessy v. Ferguson*
 - b. *Dred Scott v. Sanford*
 - c. *Westberry v. Sanders*
 - d. *Brown v. Board of Education*
31. Lyndon Johnson’s domestic reform program was known as the:
- a. New Deal
 - b. New Frontier
 - c. Great Society
 - d. Square Deal
32. Which president pursued a policy of “détente”?
- a. Richard Nixon
 - b. Jimmy Carter
 - c. Gerald Ford
 - d. Ronald Reagan
33. Rachel Carson’s work dealt with
- a. limitation of strategic nuclear weapons
 - b. the New Feminism
 - c. linking DDT with environmental hazards
 - d. integrating public schools in Alabama

34. “Supply-side economics” was part of:

- a. Reaganomics
- b. Social Security
- c. The Bush Doctrine
- d. The Townsend Plans

35. The Bush Doctrine asserted that

- a. other countries needed to follow America’s lead in the fight against terrorism
- b. the United States would invade Iraq at the earliest opportunity
- c. if necessary, the U.S. would act unilaterally to stop terrorism
- d. the UN Security Council would be consulted on all issues relating to the Middle East

Answer Key for “Big Ideas” Quiz

1. B
2. C
3. A
4. D
5. D
6. B
7. A
8. D
9. B
10. C
11. A
12. C
13. A
14. B
15. A
16. B
17. C
18. D
19. C
20. A
21. B
22. C
23. A
24. B
25. D
26. B
27. C
28. D
29. A
30. D
31. C
32. A
33. C
34. A
35. C