The Spread of Spanish America

- Extending throughout America
  - New Mexico
    - Opposed by Al (Pope’s Rebellion 1680)
  - Florida
    - Blocking off the French
  - California
    - Father Serra – 1769
      - Christianizing Indians
Workaday America

- Agriculture is leading industry
  - Involved 90% of population
- Triangular Trade
  - Rum → Slaves → Molasses → repeat
- Manufacturing
  - Few skilled craftsmen
  - Lumbering
- Trading with the French
  - Molasses Act bans it
    - Bribery to get around it

Horsepower & Sailpower

- No roads
  - Took Franklin 9 days to get to Philadelphia from Boston
- Transportation by boat
  - Unreliable, slow, but cheap
- Taverns
  - Located around main routes
  - Gossip

Dominant Denominations

- Established 1775 churches
  - Anglican
    - Official in Georgia, Carolinas, V., Mary, NY
    - Didn’t have resident bishop
  - Congregational
    - Grew out of Puritanism
    - Cong.; Presbyterianism; and Rebellion = neo trinity

The Great Awakening

- Puritan church
  - Elaborate theological doctrines
  - Membership requirements
  - Jacobus Arminians
    - Individual free will determined eternal fate
- Great Awakening of 1730s and 40s
    - Stark doctrines
  - Whitefield
French kept sugar islands; gave trans-Mississippi Louisiana to Spain, & Spain got Cuba from England

Restless Colonies

- French-Indian War
  - Shattered myth of British invincibility
  - Friction between E officers and colonial “boors”(soldiers)
    - Downgraded many
  - Colonies paid 900k to unite and fight
    - Barriers of disunity gone
- Ports transferring food to enemies
  - E forbade export of all supplies from NE and Middle

Americans: A People of Destiny

- French leave Canada & Spain leaves Florida
  - Blow to Indians
- Chief Pontiac
  - 1763 assault of Ohio valley
    - Smallpox blankets led to Indians’ demise
- Free to go past Appalachians
  - Pioneer Daniel Boon
  - 1765 1k wagons went through Salisbury, NC to the west

Makers of America: The French

- Acadia
  - The Great displacement 1755
    - English kicked them out
    - Fled to Louisiana
      - Cajun settlements
        - Isolated until 1930s by bridges built by Gov. Long
- Emigration into America
  - Mostly NE
    - Roman Catholics
Chapter 7 – The Road to Revolution

(1763-1775)

The Deep Roots of Revolution

- American revolution
  - Not same as War for Independence
  - Lasted 1.5 C
- Settlers felt distant from the old world
  - Distance weakens authority
  - Felt Brits were unfit to govern them
    - Saw themselves as American

The Mercantile Theory

- Mercantilism
  - Country’s wealth could be measured by amount of gold or silver in treasury
    - Export>Import
    - Colonies were big help for this
      - Brits saw colonies as tenants
        - Expected to ensure their naval supremacy through ship building, ship stores

Mercantile Trammels on Trade

- Enforcing Mercantile System
  - Navigation laws (1650)
    - Kept trade between E and Colonies
  - British middle man
    - Made goods go through E first
  - Restricted some production of goods
    - Compliment E, not compete
      - Woolen cloth & beaver hats couldn’t
  - No banks
    - Bartering for everyday items instead of cash
    - Colonies made own paper money
      - Depreciated quickly
  - Eye on laws
    - Voided conflicting laws by Privy Council
      - Kings Advisers
      - 169/8563 laws
- Sent to get Samuel Adams and John Hancock
- Killed 8 people
- Redcoats pushed into Concord
  - Pushed out by Americans \( \rightarrow \) 300 casualties

**Imperial Strength and Weakness**

- England has advantage over colonies
  - 3x the population
  - Much more wealth
  - 50k troops
    - Treasury hired 30k Hessians (Germans)
- England’s Shortcomings
  - France was waiting to attack
  - Tory and Whig disagreements
    - Whigs rooted for Colonists
  - British Army
    - Second rate generals and bad conditions for soldiers
    - Must win, tie would mean a loss for them
  - America’s Geographical Expanse (1000x600 mi)
    - No central city that would bring the rest down with it

**American Pluses and Minuses**

- Pluses
  - Great leadership
    - Washington, Franklin, Marquis de Lafayette
  - French Aid
  - Self reliant
  - Moral advantage
- Minuses
  - Disjointed
    - Continental Congress didn’t adopt a written constitution until 1781, the Articles of Confederation
  - Economic
    - No money
      - Printed Continental paper money
        - Depreciated quickly
    - Inflation of currency

**A Thin Line of Heroes**

- Short supply
Chapter 8- America Secedes from the Empire 
(1755-1783)

Congress drafts George Washington

- 2nd Continental Congress meets May 10 1775
  - Washington picked to lead 20k Minutemen
    - Selection was political
      - Rich so he couldn’t be seen as a wealth seeker
    - No sentiment of independence, just wanted to take back laws

Bunker Hill and Hessian Hirelings

- Colonist couldn’t pick a side
  - Attacking red coats on one hand, and asking to patch up relationship on the other
  - 14 months April 1755-July 1766
- May 1755 attacked Ticonderoga and Crown Point for ammo
  - Led by Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold
- Battle of Bunker hill June 1755
  - Wiped out 3k Englishmen
- 2nd CC puts out Olive Branch petition
  - Professed loyalty, KG3 declares war anyway

The Abortive Conquest of Canada

- Portland, Maine burned in Oct. 1775
- Undisguised offensive warfare
  - Gen. Montgomery captures Montreal
    - Later killed
  - Assault on Quebec failed
    - Retreat
- Jan. 1776 Brits set fire to Norfolk Virginia
  - March 1776 Evacuation of Boston
- Southern victories
  - 1500 loyalists beat at Moores creek ridge NC
  - June invading B fleet in Charleston harbor

Thomas Paine preaches common sense

- Paine puts out pamphlet pushing Americans toward true revolution
Chapter 9 – The Confederation and the Constitution  
(1776-1790)

A Revolution of Sentiments

- Accelerated Evolution, not revolution
  - Leveling after Loyalists kicked out
- Equality everywhere
  - Removal of Primogeniture; property requirements for voting
- Separation of Church and state
  - De-Anglicanization
  - Virginia
    - Statue for Religious Freedom 1786
- Slavery
  - Nation was too young and fragile to fight over it
  - 1755 Philly Quakers created first Anti-slavery society
  - Continental Congress 1774 calls for end of slavery - mostly positive responses
- Equality of women
  - Were seen to have a more respectable role as a mother
  - Republican Motherhood
    - Responsible for the future of the nation because they were entrusted with the moral education of their children

Constitution making in the States

- 1776 Continental Congress asks Colonies to draft new constitutions
  - Massachusetts went on to be changed by a specially called convention
  - Common features
    - Written documents representing a fundamental law
    - Underpowered officials
    - Geographical shifts caused political shifts
      - Many capitals were moved westward during the war

Economic Crosscurrents

- In a worse place than when the war started
  - Speculation and inflation
- Had to find new customers since they no longer dealt with E
  - Ventured towards Baltic and China seas
- Non-importation agreements gave manufacturers big boost
Tippecanoe versus Little Van

- VB nominated in 1840
  - No other good candidates
  - Whigs elect Harrison
    - Picked because he had no enemies
    - John Tyler as VP
    - Propagandists display him as a poor Western farmer

The Log Cabins and Hard Cider of 1840

- Harrison wins 1840 election
  - A highly non-intellectual one
  - Democrats were still the stronger party

The Two Party System Emerges

- Growing out of Republicanism
  - Democrats glorified individualism and were against encroachments of privilege into government
    - Clung to states rights and federal restraint
    - More humble
  - Whigs trumpeted the unity of society and virtue of community
    - Willing to use government
      - Supported a national bank, tariffs, internal improvements
      - Later on abolition of slavery and prohibition of liquor
    - More prosperous
- Common grounds between parties
  - Both were catchall parties that tried to mobilize as many voters as possible
  - Social diversity
    - Fostered compromises within each party that prevented either party from having too much power
1840 7 transfers between Philly and Charleston
Pullman “sleeping palace” 1859

The Transport Web Binds the Union

- Desire of E to tap into W drove the transportation revolution
- NYC handled more W produce than New Orleans by 1840s
  - NYC=Seaboard queen of the nation
- Each region specialized in a specific activity
  - S – cotton for NE and old E
  - W – Grain/livestock for East and EU workers
  - E – Machines and textiles for S & W
- S states were linked by the Mississippi
  - Would have to fight N armies + bonds of interdependent Continental economy

Wealth and Poverty

- Advancements in transportation and manufacturing widened the gap between rich and poor
  - Rags to riches stories were few and far between
- Still provided more opportunity than Old World
- Class conflicts prevented by 1% wage raises/year from 1820-1860

Cables, Clippers, and Pony Riders

- Cotton was the king crop
  - Accounted for >1/2 value of US Exports
- Imported manufacturing goods, exported agriculture
- Import>Export → Debt
- Clipper ships 1840s to 1850s
  - Faster, but less cargo
- Cyrus Field strings transatlantic cable in 1858, and redone in 1866
- By 1858 horse-drawn stagecoaches were widespread in W
- Pony express established in 1860
  - Carried mail over 2k miles from St. Joseph, Missouri to Sacramento
  - Closed after 18 months b/c of no profits
Frederick Douglass
- Escaped slave turned orator
- Political abolitionists
  - Supported liberty party 1840; Free Soil Party 1848; Republican party in 1850s

The South Lashes Back
- 1820s Antislavery societies were found more often above the Mason – Dixon line (S boundary of Penn) They were silenced by the 1830s
  - Virginia legislature defeated numerous emancipation proposals in 1831-1832
    - Emancipation of any kind was banned
- Arguments by Pro-slavery whites
  - Compared slaves to factory workers in N
    - They at least worked in the fresh air and were taken care of their whole lives
  - Gag resolution endangered free speech
    - Required all antislavery appeals to be tabled without debate
      - JQA fought against it for 8 years, finally won
- 1835 Charleston → Mob looted post office and got rid of all abolitionist propaganda
  - Forced gov to order postmen to destroy any abolitionist propaganda sent through mail

The Abolitionist Impact in the North
- Northerners hated abolitionists in many parts because they were calling for secession but northerners wanted a union.
  - Had an economic stake in the stability of the south
    - Cotton was supplied to textile mills in NE
    - Many Southerners owed N Banks money
- By 1850s abolitionists had engrained into the minds of the northerners that the S was the land of the un-free
  - N wasn’t yet ready to support full abolishment of slavery, but they didn’t want it leaking into their territory
Chapter 19 – Renewing the Sectional Struggle

(1848-1854)

The Popular Sovereignty Panacea

- 1848 whole nation is arguing over slavery
  - Democrats nominate General Lewis Cass
- Democrats wanted to stay quiet about slavery, not talk about it
  - Cass disagreed, would not stay silent
    - Vouched for popular sovereignty
- Faults and strengths of popular sovereignty
  - People got to decide for themselves, would turn one big problem into many smaller scale problems
  - Con: Could spread slavery

Political Triumphs for General Taylor

- Whigs nominate Taylor 1848
  - Hadn’t yet chosen side on slavery expansion
- Northern anti-slavery supporters start up Free Soil Party
  - Didn’t trust either of the other candidates
  - Were completely against expansion of slavery
  - Broadened appeal by advocating for federal aid for internal improvements and free gov homesteads for settlers
  - Supported by many different types of people
    - Democrats who wanted all of Oregon
    - Northerners who despised the idea of sharing the new land with slaves
    - Conscience Whigs
    - Condemned slavery on moral grounds
    - Condemned slavery for hurting opportunities for whites
- Taylor wins with help of Van Buren (Free Soil)
  - VB wins just enough in NY for Taylor to beat Cass
- Foreshadowed the rise of the Republican Party

Californy Gold

- Gold rush 1848
  - Huge influx of people arriving trying to get rich
    - Ones that got most rich were those who offered personal services (Laundry)
- California couldn’t handle that many people
  - Too weak of a gov
Pacific Railroad Promoters and the Gadsden Purchase

- Transportation to Oregon and Cali was very tough on the trail
  - Needed new railroad
    - Very expensive, so they could only have 1
      - Whichever side it went through, N or S, would become very wealthy
        - S needed it, were in worse econ shape
  - Best railroad route was just south of US’s border
    - James Gadsden sent to MX in 1853
      - Gadsden Purchase - $10m
        - Received criticism from N
    - Went through TX, instead of Indian and buffalo filled N
- S shoots down idea of organizing Nebraska
  - Didn’t want another free soil state
  - No Northern railroad

Douglas’s Kansas-Nebraska Scheme

- Senator Stephen Douglas
  - Invested in real estate in Chicago
    - Wanted to make it a big city in order to profit
- Douglas proposed to split Nebraska into Kansas and Nebraska
  - Given popular sovereignty
    - Kansas was thought to become slave state
    - Nebraska thought to become free state
  - Missouri Compromise of 1820 got in way of having slavery in Kansas
    - Put the Kansas Nebraska Bill through senate with support of S
      - Made N hate Douglas

Congress Legislates a Civil War

- Kansas-Nebraska Act added to civil war tensions
  - Wrecked 1820 and 1850 compromises
  - Shattered the Democrats
- Republican party emerges
  - Began in the Middle West (Wis & Mich)
  - Moral protest against slavery
  - Purely sectional party that exploded overnight
  - Weren’t allowed South of the Mason Dixon line
S counted on foreign interference
  - Didn’t occur b/c S put out cotton with huge efficiency during prewar years 1857-1860
    - E had surplus until 1.5 years into war, by then it wasn’t worth getting involved
      - N sent E confiscated cotton after winning battles
      - Other nations picked up the slack & grew more cotton
      - If E broke blockade they would lose Corn and Wheat from N

The Decisiveness of Diplomacy

Trent Affair – late 1861
  - Union warships stopped B mail steamer “The Trent”
    - Removed 2 Confederate diplomats bound for EU
  - B prepared for war
    - Slow communications allowed for both sides to cool off → war didn’t occur
  - Lincoln released Trent prisoners

The Alabama
  - Commerce-raider built by E for the S
  - Left shipyard unarmed and picked up guns elsewhere → loophole in B law
  - Manned by B & never entered Confederate port
  - Captured 250 Yankee ships
    - Crippled American merchant marine

Foreign Flare-Ups

  - Laird built iron rams in E for the S
    - Much stronger than N’s wooden ships, wood have owned them
    - If given to S, the N would have retaliated by attacking Canada
      - Full blown war w/ E
    - Last minute, London gov. buys the ships for their own navy
      - Also pay N $15.5m b/c of their role in the Alabama
  - Irish Americans hated E, so they put together small scale armies and attacked Canada
    - US didn’t do much about it b/c they didn’t want to upset Irish voters
  - B parliament est. Dominion of Canada 1867
    - Bolstered Canadians spiritually and politically against N vengeance
  - Napoleon occupied Mexico City 1863
    - Gambled that Union wouldn’t be strong enough to do anything about it
      - When war ended, Seward threatened Napoleon → He left, Maximilian was shot

President Davis vs. President Lincoln

  - S Constitution was created by secession so it couldn’t logically deny secession
    - Georgia almost seceded from secession
  - Davis had more problems than Lincoln
Grant Outlasts Lee

- Grant was willing to sacrifice thousands of men b/c he knew that Confed had many less
  - In a series of wilderness encounters, Grant fought Lee, with Grant losing about 50,000 men.
  - At Cold Harbor, Union soldiers with papers pinned on their backs showing their names and addresses rushed the fort, and over 7000 died in a few minutes.
    - June 3rd 1864
  - The public was outraged and shocked over this kind of gore and death, and demanded the relief of General Grant, but Ulysses stayed.
- Negotiations failed between the sides in February 1865
  - Confed wanted Independence, Union wouldn’t have it
- Finally, Grant and his men captured Richmond, burning it, and cornered Lee at Appomattox Courthouse at Virginia in April of 1865, where Lee formally surrendered; the war was over.

The Martyrdom of Lincoln

- April 14, 1865 - John Wilkes Booth shoots Lincoln — murdered at Ford Theater
  - Rumor that Jefferson Davis planned the massacre
  - S thought his death was a joke, but they were wrong; made N despise S even more
- Andrew Johnson became president

The Aftermath of the Nightmare

- Aftermath of war
  - 600k died of disease, 1m+ died in battle
  - Cost $15b
  - Extreme states righters were crushed
- Civil War was inspirational
  - Influenced English Reform Bill of 1867
    - E finally became a democracy
The Baleful Black Codes

- Black codes
  - First appeared in Mississippi - November 1865
  - Required blacks to work for a certain # of months/years
  - Negro catchers for runaway workers
  - Forced them into sharecropping
    - Slaving away on the land again

Congressional Reconstruction

- S statesmen arrive at Congress
  - Previously Confederate leaders
    - Republicans didn’t want to let them in
- Republicans held majority of power during civil war
  - Passed numerous pro N bills
    - Morrill Tariff, Pacific Railroad Act, Homestead act
  - Were afraid that the S democrats would take over
    - Could align w/ N democrats and take the office
      - Further beat down blacks with Black Codes
        - They now had 12 more electoral votes and 12 more votes in Congress
          - Gave them majority
- Dec. 6, 1865 - Johnson declared that the union was now restored

Johnson Clashes with Congress

- Johnson vetoes bill to extend Freedman’s Bureau - February 1866
- Republicans strike back by passing Civil Rights Bill – March 1866
  - Allowed blacks citizenship
  - Reduced representation in electoral college for any state that didn’t accept
  - Disqualified former confederates from fed. And state office
  - Guaranteed the federal debt
- Civil Rights Bill proposed to become 14th Amendment
  - So that rising democrats wouldn’t be able to revoke it in the future
  - Johnson encouraged S to veto it

Swinging Round the circle with Johnson

- Johnson went around the country giving terrible speeches during 1866 congressional elections
  - Lost support → Republicans got 2/3 majority of votes for both houses

Republican Principles and Programs

- Republicans had over 2/3 majority in both houses → Veto-proof
- Didn’t do the bribery themselves, kept hands clean
- Chinese workers were taken advantage of
  - Bad conditions, terrible pay
- Wedding of the Rails 1869
  - 2 trains left in opposite directions in Ogden, Utah
  - Signaled finish of building RR
    - UP built 1086mi
    - CP built 689mi
- Significance of the RR
  - Strengthened ties in the W with Cali
  - Flourishing trade with Asia
  - Penetrated desert → led to great growth for the W

Binding the Country with Railroad ties

- 4 more RR formed
  - Got land grants, no loans
    - Except the Great Northern Pacific RR, didn’t get land
- GNPRR
  - Lake Superior → Puget Sound
  - Founded by James Hill
    - Saw RR’s as dependent on the prosperity of the area
    - Give farmers cattle, etc
- Southern Pacific RR
  - New O → San Fran
- Over optimism caused many RR’s to fail
  - Not enough prosperity/people on the land

Railroad Consolidation and Mechanization

- Cornelius Vanderbilt
  - Welded together W and old E lines like the NY Central
- Improvements to RR
  - Steel Rail
    - Safer, secure
  - Standard track width
  - Westinghouse Air brake
    - Efficient and safe
  - Pullman Palace Cars
    - “Travelling Hotels”
The Gospel of Wealth

- Most of the new rich were once poor
  - Looked down upon the poor because they believed that they could get rich too, but choose not to
    - Carnegie & Rockefeller believed that they were blessed with $$
- Giant trusts used the 14th Amendment for their own benefit
  - Also incorporated in “easy states” like NJ
    - Few restrictions on big business

Government Tackles the Trust Evil

- Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890
  - Was against big trusts
  - Not effective, too many loopholes
  - Only effective in curbing labor unions that were restraining trade
  - Unsuccessful when trying to use the law against big trusts

The South in the Age of Industry

- Econ got boost from tobacco in the 1880s
  - Machine made cigs
    - James Duke invested heavily, formed American Tobacco Comp.
- S was still very rural
- Henry Grady
  - Editor of Atlanta Const.
    - Exhorted ex-confeds to become Georgia Yankees and outplay N in Commerce and industrial game.
- Obstacles in Industrialization
  - Pittsburgh plus pricing system
    - RR gave better rates for man. Goods moving N→S, & better rates for agriculture S→N
    - Kept S in 3rd World Servitude
- Textile mills move to the S around 1880
  - S hated shipping fiber to NE
  - Tax benefits, cheap labor
- Rural S get their first jobs at mill towns
  - Poor wages and treatment

The Impact of the New Industrial Revolution on America

- Standard of living increased as more jobs became available
  - Able to keep up with incoming immigrants
- Leaving behind life on the land
+ gave 2 cents/lb of sugar to US producers & raised tariff on agricultural products, but didn’t mean much since farmers didn’t have any competition.

- Backlash:
  - E Manu raised rates even before bill passed
  - Tin peddlers went door to door telling people how the rise in price of silver has made things more expensive
  - Republicans lost power in 1890 congressional elections
    - 166→88 members (235 Dems + 9 Farmers Alliance members)

**The Populist Challenge in 1892**

- 1892 Dems elect Cleveland; Reps reelect Harrison (Even though he was unlike by party leaders)
- Populist party arises, elects James Weaver
  - Demanded unlimited coinage of silver; graduated income tax; gov ownership of telephone, telegraph, railroads; direct election of senators
  - Wanted bill for a shorter workday and immigration restrictions in order to gain support of laborers
    - Workers were going through huge strikes at the time that were costing lives→led to further support of the Populists
  - Got 1m votes, 22 electoral votes
    - One of the few 3rd parties to get electoral votes
- S couldn’t support Populists b/c of race issue
  - Tom Watson reached out to black community to try and band together to better themselves
  - S played upon historic racial antagonisms to get the poor whites back
- Black suffrage suffers
  - Grandfather clause
    - Anyone who’s grandpa had votes in 1860 can vote
  - Jim Crow Laws
  - Populists turn into a racist party post 1896 and want black disfranchisement

**Old Grover Cleveland Again**

- Cleveland elected for second term in ’92 after losing in ’88
  - Only president to do so
- ‘93 depression hit
  - Lasts for 4 years
  - Brought hardship for masses in cities
  - Causes:
    - Over speculation, over building, agricultural depression, labor disorders
  - Gov was unwilling to help out masses
- Gold saved by treasury was decreasing due to Sherman Silver Purchase Act→Cleveland wanted to repeal it
Restricted treaties and gave US power to invade if needed to restore peace

New Horizons in two Hemispheres

- Spanish American Wars were short but gave US respect
  - Revealed that it was already a world power
  - National pride skyrocketed
    - SAM became suspicious, Germany was jealous, E was happy to have a new partnership
- US was forced into becoming Far Eastern Power b/c of Philippines
- Elihu Root takes over war dept.
  - Founded war college and established a general staff
  - Helped during World War of 1914-18
- General Joseph Wheeler given command in Cuba
  - Showed that war brought N&S together

Makers of America: The Puerto Ricans

- Puerto Ricans found work in Arizona cotton fields, NJ factories, Utah Mines
  - First immigrants were political refugees
  - Clustered in NY
- Post WWII immigration surged
  - Flights made it cheap
    - Also made it easy for people to go back and forth
  - PR immigrants grew in 40's-60's
- Were poor, had low English proficiency, encountered lots of racism
  - Many still were able to live better lives in the US than in PR
Chapter 31 - Progressivism and the Republican Roosevelt

(1901-1912)

Progressive Roots

- Progressivism takes root at the turn of the century
  - Supported by a large and diverse group of people
    - Immigrants, women, etc.
  - Waged wars on monopoly, corruption, inefficiency, social injustice
- Progressive writers
  - Henry Lloyd “Wealth against commonwealth”
    - Took stab at big oil
  - Veblen “Theory of the Leisure Class”
    - Attacked the rich
  - Jacob Riis “How the other half lives”
  - Dreiser “The Financer”, “The Titan”
- Feminists played role in progressivism

Raking Muck with the Muckrakers

- Muckrakers
  - Dirt digging magazine writers
    - Many wanted to reveal the inequality of the time
- Revealing articles
  - McClure “Shame on the Cities”
    - Corrupt alliance btw big business and gov
  - Lawson made $50m on stocks and then wrote “Frenzied Finance”
  - Phillips “Treason of the Senate”
  - Ray Baker “Following the Color Line”
  - Spargo “Bitter cry of the Children”
  - Dr. Wiley
    - Chemist at dept. of agr. Who performed self experiments with his “poison squad”

Political Progressivism

- Progressive reformers were mostly middle class who were being squeezed by both sides
  - Wanted to use state power to curb trusts and to stem Socialist threat by making conditions better for the lower class
  - More of a majority mood than a movement
- Fought for more power for the people
Taft urged bankers to get together and try to buy the Manchuria RR from Germany and Japan to give it back to China
  ▪ They wouldn’t sell → laughed at Taft
US army had to protect investments in Caribbean by keeping armed intervention away

**Taft the Trustbuster**

- Taft busted many trusts
  - 2x more than TR
- Taft filed suit against Standard Oil Company
  - Said it was in violation of Sherman Anti Trust Act
- Rule of Reason Doctrine
  - Said unreasonably restrained trade was illegal
    ▪ Ripped a hole in antitrust net
- Taft went up against US Steel Corp
  - Angered TR b/c he played a role in the merger

**Taft Splits the Republican Party**

- Payne-Aldrich Bill
  - Was supposed to lower tariff, but Sen. Aldrich put in so many revisions that it didn’t actually change much
    ▪ Went against Taft’s supposed stances on the tariff
- Taft did a lot of work for conservation, but that was overshadowed by the Ballinger-Pinchot quarrel of 1910
  - Ballinger (Sec. of the Interior) opened up land in WY, MO, AL, to corp development → got flak from Pinchot (Chief of Agr. Dept’s division of Forestry and a stalwart Rooseveltian)
    ▪ Taft told Pinchot to shut up → conservationists + some of his own friends got pissed
- Grand Old Party
  - New Nationalism speech by Taft
    ▪ Urged gov to increase its power to remedy econ and social abuses
- Reps lost congressional elections of 1910 badly b/c it was so split up
  - Dems take majority
  - Victor Berger was Australian born but won in Wisconsin (Socialist)
  - Reps held on to senate

**The Taft Roosevelt Rupture**

- National Progressive Republican League formed by La Follette of Wis
  - Seemed to be leading candidate for Rep nominee
- TR angered that Taft was drifting toward the Old Guard → Tried running again
  - 1912 Rep Convention in Chicago Taft delegates won → Taft reelected
Chapter 32 – Wilsonian Progressivism at Home and Abroad
(1912-1916)

The Emergence of Wilson

- Wilson was brought into politics by bosses as front-man, but didn’t play by their rules
  - Known for trust busting
  - Made NJ a liberal state
- Dems just needed to nominate a reformer and they would win b/c Reps split
  - “New Freedom”: Anti Trust legislations, banking reform, tariff reductions
  - Wilson aided by support of Bryan

The Bull Moose Campaign of 1912

- Roosevelt chosen by Progressives
  - Said he felt as strong as the “Bull Moose”
  - Division of Rep party led to its failure in 1912
  - Supported ideas in Herbert Croly’s “The Promise of American Life”
    - Continued consolidations of trusts and unions, social welfare, women’s suffrage
- Wilson’s New Freedom:
  - Small enterprise, entrepreneurship, deregulated and unmonopolized markets
  - No social welfare, no demanded competition in the market

Wilson: A Minority President

- Wilson won easily in 1912, TR finished a distant second
  - Wilson was still a minority president with only 41% of the vote
  - Socialist got 900k votes w/ Debs
- Reps became minority in Congress for next 6 years
- Taft went on to become SC Chief Justice

Wilson: The Idealist in Politics

- Wilson was born in Virginia and grew up in Georgia and Carolinas
  - Sympathized with the S
  - Lacked the “common touch”, very stubborn

Wilson Tackles the Tariff

- Wilson attacked the Triple Wall of Privilege
  - Tariff, banks, trusts
  - Underwood Tariff Bill lowered taxes and tariff
• Psychological thriller
  • Sinclair Lewis
    o Chronicked MW life
    o “Main Street”
      ▪ Female against provincialism
    o “Babbitt”
      ▪ Man conformed to materialism
  • Poetry
    o Ezra Pound
      ▪ “Make it New
      ▪ Revolutionized poetry
    o TS Elliot
      ▪ “The Waste Land
    o Robert Frost
    o EE Cummings
  • Plays
    o Eugene O’Neill
      ▪ Sex in “Strange Interlude”

Wall Street’s Big Bull Market
• Hundreds of banks still failed during the boom of the 20’s
• Everyone took part in the stock market
  o Quick money was attractive
  o Gov did little about it
• Bureau of the Budget
  o Helped the president put together the budget in order to cut down the skyrocketing debt
• Mellonites
  o Argued that high taxes discouraged business ➔ brought smaller net return to treasury in taxes
  o Mellon put forth series of tax reductions in Congress
    ▪ Shifted tax burden from the rich to the middle class
Unraveling the Debt Knot

- EU nations pressured G for $$ so that they could pay off US
  - G responded w/ inflation
  - Cool disliked idea of scaling down debt
- Dawes Plan of 1924
  - Negotiated by Dawes (VP to Cool)
  - Rescheduled G payment & allowed further private loans to G
    - US $$ → G → EU → US
- Great Crash of 1929
  - Credit dried up, everyone defaulted but Finland
  - EU began to dislike US, US became isolated

The Triumph of Hoover, 1928

- Hoover (R) v Smith (D)
  - Smith was 3x NY gov, but wet & Roman catholic
    - Didn’t fit well w/ many of his supporters
- Radio helped Hoover
  - Hated socialism, preached individualism
- Hoover rose from a poor orphan to a successful business man
  - Hated socialism, paternalism, planned economy
  - Endorsed labor union & fed regulation of radio broadcasts
- 1928 was a dirty election
  - Smith was poked at for being Catholic
- Solid S couldn’t support Smith
  - Hoover triumphed easily in 1928 and picked up 5 seceded states
- Congress becomes solidly Rep

President Hoover’s First Moves

- Late ‘20s were prosperous for everyone except unorganized laborers and farmers
  - Agricultural Marketing Act 1929
    - Helped farmers help themselves through co-ops
    - Federal Farm Board
      - Lent money to farmers
      - Created the Grain & Cotton Stabilization Corps
        - Bought up surpluses to keep prices high
          - Unsuccessful
  - Hoover promised during campaign to call congress together to make limited changes to tariff
- Hawley-Smoot Tariff of 1930
  - Started out as reasonable protective tariff → became highest in peacetime history
Chapter 36 – The Great Depression and the New Deal
(1933-1938)

FDR: A Politician in a Wheelchair

- 1932 Election
  - Reps reelect Hoover
    - Promised to take back prohibition, + had anti-depression policies
  - Dems elect FDR
    - The wheelchair humbled him, taught him patience, tolerance, etc
    - Wife Eleanor was a very active first lady
      - Battled for impoverished and oppressed
    - Worried about the “Forgotten man”
      - Seen as a traitor by the rich
    - Great orator, very charming
    - Dems promised to end prohibition, make economic and social change, balanced budget + end to depression

Presidential Hopefule of 1932

- FDR promised New Deal for the forgotten man
  - Very vague and sometimes contradictory
  - Older and ghostwriters “Brains Trust”
    - Younger, better-minded professors
    - Also helped write the New Deal
  - Much like his kitchen cabinet
  - Slogan “Happy Days are here again”
- Hoover insisted that the fear caused by FDR’s impending victory made the depression worsen
  - Hoover reaffirmed his faith in free enterprise and individual initiative, but ran a gloomy campaign compared to FDR

Humiliation of Hoover in 1932

- FDR won with great support; Hoover only got 6 Rep states
- Blacks made shift to Dem party
  - Were some of the hardest hit by the depression
- Hoover tried to meet w/ FDR after his loss during his last 4 months of presidency
  - Was trying to bind him to an anti inflationary policy, but FDR hardly showed up/listened to him
    - Would have kept the New Deal from happening
FDR and the Three R’s: Relief, Recovery, Reform

- FDR moved swiftly once inaugurated
  - Held banking holiday (4 days) as a prelude to opening banks on sounder basis
  - Summoned mostly Dem Congress to special session
  - 100 days were very productive
- FDR aimed at relief, recovery, reform
- Congress was ready to aid the econ just as much as FDR
  - Must Legislation
    - Congress was ready to pass anything even wrote up by white house advisors
    - Gave FDR blank check powers
- Mindset during the time w/ policies was that any movement was better than no movement
- Most of FDR’s 100 day reforms related back to the Progressive Movement pre-WWI
  - Old age + unemployment insurance, minimum wage, conservation & development on natural resources, child labor restrictions
    - The US was behind in terms of these reforms in comparison to EU

Roosevelt Tackles Money and Banking

- 1933 Congress makes the Emergency Banking Relief Act
  - Gave FDR power to regulate banking transactions & foreign exchange, and to reopen solvent banks
- FDR made fireside chats on the radio
  - Assured people that banks were safe
- Glass-Steagall Banking Reform Act
  - Created the FDIC ➔ insured people’s money
- FDR took US off of gold standard and made people turn in their gold for paper money
  - “Managed currency”
    - Goal was for inflation to stimulate econ and ease debts
      - Did this by buying gold from people
    - Stopped in Feb ‘34 when FDR returned nation to limited gold standard for international trade
      - Offered to pay foreign bills in gold (1oz for every $35)

Creating Jobs for the Jobless

- FDR didn’t hesitate to spend $$ to assist unemployed
- 100 Days Congress created the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)
  - Employed 3m young men w/ jobs in the outdoors
    - Required to send back some of their check to family
- Federal Emergency Relief Act
  - First to truly deal w/ unemployment
  - Aim: immediate relief rather than long-range recovery
Surprisingly bad
Critics blamed FDR
- His policies like Social Security began to bite into payrolls

- April 1937 FDR finally listened to B economist Keynes w/ a plan for deficit spending
- Reorganization Act 1939
  - Had failed to pass 2 years earlier
  - Gave FDR limited powers for administrative reforms
    - Gave him Executive Office
- Hatch Act of 1939
  - New Deal relief had a tendency to come right before elections
    - Almost guaranteed the win
  - Barred Federal administrative officers except for the ones highest up from active political campaigning and soliciting
  - Forbade use of gov funds for political purposes + collection of campaign contributions from those receiving relief payments
- New Deal had lost steam by 1938
  - Reps finally cut into the Congress (not a majority)

New Deal or Raw Deal?

- FDR accused of being Jewish
  - “The Jew Deal”
- New Deal was condemned for its wastefulness
  - Some painted it as a communistic turn
- Businesspeople didn’t apprec FDR’s improvising tactics
- New Deal Complaints
  - Let bureaucracy blossom
  - Budget balancing had gone out the window
  - US had become a handout state
  - Reps said private enterprise was being stifled by planned economy
  - States rights were being ignored
  - FDR tried for a dummy congress
    - Directly opposed 3 members who wouldn’t agree with him → all 3 reelected
    - Had not actually solved the depression, just softened it
- US wouldn’t truly get out of depression until WWII started
  - Was responsible for the nation’s debts too

FDR’s Balance Sheet

- Backers of New Deal arguments:
  - Said that Gov was morally bound to not let their people starve by managing their econ
  - Fairer distribution of national income was achieved
- FDR didn’t hate capitalism, he hated capitalists
• Radio Priest Father Charles Coughlin
  o Preached against Jews, but didn’t reach many people
  ▪ E EU Jews organized in American Jewish Congress
  ▪ Less wealthy but more numerous
    o GD made it hard to find work
    o Immigration law of 1924 was restrictive
    o If they allowed G Jews in then other Jews would come too
• US even tried to block news of holocaust killings
  o Refused to bring any more Jews in

Bolstering Britain with the Destroyer Deal

• B kept G out of their country through use of their air force
  o G postponed their invasion indefinitely 1940
• Sympathy grew for B
  o Heard what was happening through radio
  o Not quite enough to intervene yet
• US had to choose what to do
  o Could go “Fortress America”
    ▪ Only care about itself, don’t intervene in EU at all
    ▪ Isolationists formed America First Committee
      • Included Lindbergh
  o Could do everything short of fighting
    ▪ Help B econ, give arms, etc.
    ▪ Supplied arms, Defend America by Aiding the Allies
  • US gave B 50 old warships for 8 defensive posts stretching from Newfoundland to SA
    o FDR was applauded by interventionists; booed by iso.
    o Reps didn’t like that he completely ignored congress and made the deal himself
      ▪ FDR didn’t want to waste any time
  • Majority of US wanted to do everything in their power to help B, short of war

FDR Shatters the Two Term Tradition (1940)

• Reps had to choose 1940 nominee
  o Was between Dewey (Lawyer) & Sen. Taft (son of Taft)
  o Willkie came out of nowhere and took the nominee b/c of his popularity
    ▪ Head of a public utilities corp, G descendant
    ▪ Seen as the only candidate who could beat FDR
    ▪ Didn’t hate the New Deal, just disliked its wastefulness
    ▪ Went on a huge speech making tour
  o Reps saw FDR as dictator
\begin{itemize}
\item 1942 inflationary period
  \begin{itemize}
  \item Fueled by full employment and scarce consumer goods
  \item Office of Price Administration ended it w/ lots of regulation
    \begin{itemize}
    \item Capped wage increases
    \item Rationed critical goods like meat and butter
    \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
\item Unions agreed not to strike
  \begin{itemize}
  \item United Mine Workers led by Lewis didn’t listen
  \item Resented the wage caps
  \item Grew in size
  \item Smith Connally Anti Strike Act
    \begin{itemize}
    \item Gave gov power to seize and operate industries
      \begin{itemize}
      \item Seize coal and RR
      \end{itemize}
    \item Made striking against gov operated agency illegal
  \end{itemize}
  \item American workers were supportive of the war effort
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

Makers of America: The Japanese

\begin{itemize}
\item J immigrants had more money and were more educated than EU’s b/c of the gov’s selective immigration
  \begin{itemize}
  \item Most came to work for a while and then go back home
  \item Many got into farming
  \end{itemize}
\item White workers and farmers were jealous of J’s success
  \begin{itemize}
  \item TR’s Gentlemen’s agreement limited immigration
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

Manpower and Womanpower

\begin{itemize}
\item 216k women in army (noncombat)
  \begin{itemize}
  \item WAACS (army), WAVES (navy), SPARS (coastguard)
  \end{itemize}
\item Agriculture needed more workers
  \begin{itemize}
  \item Gov didn’t enlist men from key categories, but they still needed more labor
  \item Braceros were brought in from Mexico to work on farms 1942
  \end{itemize}
\item 6m women got jobs during WWII
  \begin{itemize}
  \item Many kept their jobs after war ended
    \begin{itemize}
    \item 2/3 left, some kicked out to give jobs back to men
    \item Marked a revolution in the role of women
    \end{itemize}
  \item ½ had never had jobs before
  \item Not a huge amount in actuality
    \begin{itemize}
    \item R and B had more women put to work
    \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
\item Baby boomers
  \begin{itemize}
  \item Born in the 15yrs after 1945
  \item Rushed into suburban domesticity
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
• Rations; housing projects; daycare; health plans

• WWII was extremely expensive
  o Amounted to $330b
  o Had to raise taxes
    ▪ Income tax caught 4x more people
    ▪ Max tax rates rose to 90%
  o Only 2/5 were paid from current revenues, rest was borrowed

The Rising Sun in the Pacific

• J moved quickly and attacked many outposts
  o Invaded Guam, Wake, Philly, Hong Kong
  o Cut off the Burma Road
    ▪ US used to it send munitions to the Chinese armies of Generalissimo Jiang Jieshi
      ▪ Resisted Japanese in China
  o MacArthur held off the Japanese in Philly
    ▪ Eventually gave in, but he fled to Australia to help defend them there
      ▪ Troops went on 85mi Bataan Death March to POW camps

Japan’s High Tide at Midway

• J took New Guinea island N of Australia
  o Threatened Aus, such as a battle in Coral Sea May 1942 pushed J back
    ▪ The time fighting was all done by carrier based aircraft→neither fleet saw or fired a shot directly at the other.
  o J wanted to take Midway Island, June 1942
    ▪ Would allow them to hit Pearl Harbor again
    ▪ Naval strategist Nimitz directed a small carrier force under Spruance against the invading Japanese
    ▪ Fighting was all done by aircraft, J backed out after losing 4 vital planes

• J invaded Kiska and Attu
  o Were just off of Alaska, Americans feared of an invasion
    ▪ US directed much attention to Alaska and building Alcan highway through Canada

American Leapfrogging Toward Tokyo

• Japan lost in Guadalcanal Feb 1943
  o 10:1 loss ration
    ▪ Persisted throughout battles in Pacific

• MacArthur kept J out of New Guinea, Aug 1944
  o Important b/c it was the last line of defense for Australia

• Island hopping campaign
Roosevelt Defeats Dewey

- Dewey campaigned a lot; FDR was busy dealing with the war
  - FDR made a few appearances just to show that he was in good health
- Political Action Committee of the CIO
  - Wanted to get around the law banning direct use of union funds for political purposes
  - Branded as communists by Reps
  - Went door to door asking for support for FDR
    - Sometimes seemed like they did more harm than good
- FDR won 1944 v Dewey
  - The war was doing well, so they didn’t want to get rid of him
  - Was now his 4th term

The Last Days of Hitler

- Dec 1944 it seemed like G was falling
  - R attacked from E; Allies attacked from W
- Dec 16 1944 Battle of the Bulge
  - Hitler’s last offensive
  - Attacked US lines on the Ardennes forest
    - Wanted to take Belgian port Antwerp
      - Was crucial for allies supplies
    - US was surprised and pushed back creating a bulge in the allies line
  - Brigadier General McAuliffe refused to surrender and held on until reinforcements came in
  - Mar 1945 US troops reached Rhine river in G and found one bridge undemolished
    - Reached river Elbe in April
      - Met w/ soviet troops, found the concentration camps
        - US never knew how truly bad it was
  - Soviets pushed through Berlin in April ‘45
  - Adolf committed suicide April 30, 1945
  - FDR died from massive cerebral hemorrhage April 12, 1945
    - Truman takes his place
  - May 7, 1945 G surrenders unconditionally
    - May 8 becomes V-E Day

Japan Dies Hard

- US attacks on J
  - Sunk half of their ship fleet
  - Bomber attacks on cities
    - Fire bomb raid on Tokyo May 9, 1945
- McArthur arrives at Leyte Island Oct 20, ‘44 to take back the Philippines
  - 3 battles at Leyte Golf, US won all of them
Chapter 39 – The Cold War Begins  
(1945-1952)

Postwar Economic Anxieties

- Doomsayers warned of 2nd great depression after WWII ends
  - 1946-47
    - GDP was down
    - Prices skyrocketed b/c price controls were removed
    - Strikes were rampant
- Taft-Hartley Act
  - Rep controlled congress passed it over Truman’s veto
  - Outlawed closed shop, made unions liable for damages that resulted from jurisdictional disputes among themselves, required unions to take non communist oath
  - Slowed growth of organized labor
- CIO’s Operation Dixie
  - Wanted to unionize textile and steel workers in S
    - Failed in 1948
- Rapidly growing service sector wanted to unionize
  - Was mostly part time women
- Dem gov tried to keep econ out of the dumps
  - Cold war factories at low prices
    - 1946 Employment Act
      - Made it gov policy to promote max employment, prod, purchasing power
        - Created 3 member council of economic advisers to provide pres w/ recommendations to make it happen
    - Readjustment Act of 1944 (GI Bill)
      - Sent a total of 8m returning soldiers to school on the taxpayer’s bill
        - Had to be done b/c the econ wouldn’t be able to support 15m unemployed new workers
      - Veterans Administration guaranteed $16b in loans to vets
        - Bought homes, businesses, etc

The Long Economic Boom 1950-1970

- GDP began growing a bit in ’48, then grew for 20yrs beginning in 1950
  - Doubled income in 10yrs, US owned 40% of world’s wealth
    - 60% of Americans became middleclass
      - Got cars, radios, TVs, 60% owned homes
  - Women prospered in postwar era
US went to UN Security Council when R wasn’t there and condemned NK as invaders
  • Council called to restore peace
  • US gave supporting military units to SK w/o asking UN
  • Truman sent MacArthur to SK, made him head entire UN operation

The Military Seesaw in Korea

• Truman sent MacArthur behind enemy lines to push them back
  o Worked so well that they pushed them behind 38th Parallel
    • Gave MacArthur ok to cross the line as long as R or China didn’t get involved
      • China got involved 1950 b/c they were getting close to the Yalu River, pushed them back → tough stalemate
  • MacArthur wanted retaliation for China invading
    o Wanted to blockade them, but Joint Chiefs of Staffs said it was the wrong move
      • MacArthur hated idea of limited war → was replaced
        • MacArthur became hero, public began disliking Truman for it
    o 1951 truce talks began w/ China
      • Very unproductive, went on for years
Even accused General Marshall of a conspiracy
Went too far when he attacked the military → had 35 day TV hearing
Later apologized
Made Americans more afraid of supposed commies at home than real ones in Moscow

Desegregating the South

- 2/3 of blacks still lived in S & dealt w/ segregation every day
  - Jim Crow laws kept them separated and powerless
    - Very small percentage could actually vote
  - Violence was used against blacks
    - 14yr old Emmett Till killed for whistling at a white woman 1955
    - 6 war veterans murdered 1946
  - Gunnar Myrdal wrote *An American Dilemma*
    - Exposed how badly blacks were being treated while US was all about “every man is equal…”
- AA refused to suffer in silence
  - NAACP
    - 1944 got SC to rule the white primary unconstitutional
    - Kept Dem party from being all white
  - 1950 Sweatt v Painter
    - Ruled that separate schools for blacks were not equal
  - Rosa Park’s used the Montgomery bus boycott to catapult MLK into the limelight
  - Believed in non violence

Seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution

- Truman heard about killings of 4 black vets, commissioned report “To Secure These Rights”
  - 1948 Truman ended segregation in army
    - Army protested, but accepted it b/c they needed the man power
  - Congress didn’t want to pass the civil rights bill → when Truman left Eisenhower didn’t care much either
    - It was up to the SC to help blacks
- SC chief justice Warren stepped up to help blacks
  - Brown v Board of Ed May 1954
    - Said segregation in public schools was unequal → overturned Plessy v Ferguson
    - Border states made reasonable effort to change things; S didn’t
      - Politicians signed Dec of Constitutional Principles 1956
        - Said they would resist desegregation
    - Desegregation was a very slow process
Chapter 41 – The Stormy Sixties
(1960-1968)

Kennedy’s New Frontier Spirit

- Kennedy elected 1960
  - Had a great cabinet
    - Makes his brother Robert Kennedy attorney general
  - Prioritized internal security w/ the FBI
    - Hoover was against it
  - McNamara took over defense dept
  - Proposed the new frontier & even peace corps

The New Frontier at Home

- New Frontier could have been stopped by S Dems and Reps
  - Kept medical and edu bills from passing
  - Congress got more cooperative when Ken forced expansion of House Rules Committee
- Fighting inflation
  - Negotiated noninflationary wage agreement w/ steel industry in 1962
    - Agreed that a cap would be put on prices
    - Business broke their promise → Ken brings them in and yells
      Steel industry backed down
- Ken appealed to free enterprise
  - Lowered taxes
    - Raised econ by putting more $$ into people’s wallets
- Ken funded moon landing
  - Some argued $$ could be spent better

Rumblings in EU

- Ken and Khrushchev meet in Vienna 1961
  - KH threatens to ally w/ East G & shut off Berlin to rest of world
- R builds Berlin Wall 1961
  - Symbolized division of EU post WWII
- W EU was regaining strength
  - Marshall plan, Common Market, EU union worked
  - 1962 Trade Expansion Act
    - Tariff cuts for trade w/ common market nations
    - Led to expansion of EU-US trade
  - US & W EU wanted Atlantic Community
    - US wanted to dominate it
    - De Gaulle (F president) got in the way
- Freedom Summer 1964
  - Blacks + White civil rights workers create huge voter registration drive in Miss
    - Didn’t work very well
    - 3 were killed → white jury refused to find the white men guilty
  - Mississippi Freedom Dem Party was refused seating at national Dem convention
- MLK started voter registration again in Selma, Alabama
  - Marched peacefully to Montgomery but were attacked by police
- White woman was even killed by KKK
- Voting Rights Act of 1965
  - Outlawed literacy tests + sent fed voter registrars to several S states
  - Led to migration back to the S by blacks + gave them power to truly vote

**Black Power**

- Voting rights act marked violent turn in black activism
  - Watts (black ghetto in LA) was sick of police brutality → exploded and looted for weeks
  - Increased military confrontation, violent speakers aimed at black separatism, focus on N & W cities
    - 2nd wave of young black leaders mocked MLK for being peaceful
- Malcolm X preached separatism
  - Inspired by militant black nations in “Nation of Islam” headed by Elijah Muhammad
    - Eventually distanced himself from preaching the separatism and moved to mainstream Islam
    - Eventually killed by other members in NYC
- Black Panther Party openly brandished weapons on streets of Oakland
- Stokely Carmichael advocated black power and urged abandonment of peaceful demonstration
  - Was a leader of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
- Meaning of black power
  - Some insisted that it was just meant to speed integration of blacks into American society, but whites saw it as threatening due to Carmichael
  - Emphasized African American distinctiveness
- Riots erupted in black ghettos
  - Newark 1967, fed troops sent to Detroit, LA mobs attacked police and firefighters while looting own neighborhoods
  - MLK killed in Memphis 1968 → led to riots across the nation
- Black struggles had moved N since so did ½ of the population
  - Was more about economic demands
- Blacks were quietly making progress in the S
  - Classrooms became integrated
  - Gained political power through voting and electing blacks to office
  - Many rose above the poverty line
Vietnam Topples Johnson

- Viet Cong launched attacks during Vietnam new year “Tet attacks” 1968
  - Took dozens of cities
  - Was a military loss but political gain
    - Showed that LBJ tactics weren’t working → public hated him
  - US military leaders asked for 200k more troops
    - Even former Sec of State Acheson was against the idea
- LBJ was losing his grip on Dem party
  - McCarthy fought for Dem presidential nomination 1968
    - Took ~40% of NH during primaries
    - Used clean cut anti war college kids who went door to door → “Children’s Crusade”
  - Robert Kennedy fought for nomination too
    - was anti war dove and supported by workers, minorities, young people
  - LBJ chose not to run in 1968
- March 1968 LBJ makes speech saying he will slow down in Vietnam
  - Put more power into SV hands
  - Freeze troop levels, slow down air raids
  - NV started considering peace talks but they were slow and painful

The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968

- LBJ sponsored VP Humphrey
  - Shared same views of Vietnam, was very liberal → gained support of white house
- Kennedy and McCarthy battled it out in primaries
  - Kennedy killed by Arab immigrant angry over his pro Israel stance
- Dems met in Chicago; surrounded meeting w/ barbed wire fence, riot police, etc.
  - Fort Daley
  - Riot broke out in protest
- Humphrey cruised onto the ballet
  - People agreed that force had to be used until NV was ready to negotiate
- Reps nominated Nixon after losing 8yrs ago
  - Was a war hawk who pleased Goldwater conservatives, S voters,
  - Called for victory in Vietnam and strong anticrime policy
  - Ran w/ Agnew
- George Wallace ran under American Independent Party
  - Called for segregation, hated blacks
  - Ran w/ air force gen LeMay

Victory for Nixon

- Vietnam wasn’t a crucial subject b/c both sides agreed that war had to continue
US could no longer offer SV military help
NV still occupied 30% of SV
- Was a very shaky peace

Watergate Woes

- 5 members of the Rep Committee for Re-election of the President (CREEP) broke into Dem headquarters located in Watergate apt complex in Washington June 17, 1972
  - CREEP raised $$ by secretive and unethical means such as sabotage of the Dems
  - Led to indictment of 29 more gov officials for Watergate-related crimes
- Illegal use of FBI and CIA use provoked by Watergate
  - Harassed political opponents on gov’s enemies list
  - Broke into Ellsberg’s psychiatrists office to steal files
    - Wanted to destroy the man who leaked pentagon papers
  - Plumbers Unit plugged leaks of confidential info
- Senate committee headed by Sam Ervin held televised hearings over Watergate scandal
  - John Dean III was former white house lawyer
    - Exposed president as covering up the crimes

The Great Tape Controversy

- Nixon accused of bugging calls w/o letting the other party know
  - Senate asked for the tapes, Nixon refused for months
- VP Agnew forced to step down 1973
  - To kick backs from MD contractors
  - Facing impeachment, Congress used 25th Amendment to replace him w/ congressman Ford
- Saturday Night Massacre
  - 10 days after Agnew resignation
  - Archibald Cox was a special prosecutor appointed by Nixon
    - Issued a subpoena for tapes and docs from Nixon
  - Nixon demanded attorney gen and deputy attorney to fire Cox
    - They refused → Nixon forced them to resign

The Secret Bombing of Cambodia and the War Powers Act

- US had been bombing Cambodia for 14 months prior to public knowing
  - Bombings were even going on during cease fire
    - Congress tried to stop it → Nixon vetoed it
      - Compromised 1973 saying that bombings would end in 6wks & seek congressional approval of future action in Cambodia
- Pol Pot took over Cambodia
- War Powers Act 1973
Chapter 43 – The Resurgence of Conservatism  
(1980-1996)

The Triumph of Conservatism

- Everyone hated Carter
  - Even Dems started ABC movement (Anyone but Carter)
  - Called a republican b/c of his fiscal conservatism and removal of regulations
- Kennedy and Carter fight for Dem nomination
  - Kennedy plagued by rumors of involvement in murder
- Reps nominate Reagan
- Conservatives gaining ground
  - Average age was now older; people lived in the West and South
  - New Right movement emerges in response to the countercultural protests
    - Moral Majority: successful political organizers and fund raisers
  - What they stood for:
    - Anti abortion, porn, homosexuality, feminism, affirmative action
    - For prayer in schools and tougher criminal penalties
    - Cared more about social problems
- Court cases that helped conservatives
  - Milliken v Bradley 1974
    - Said students wouldn’t be required to move across school district lines
      - Added to the white flight movement ➔ blacks stuck in inner city
    - Hurt the desegregation cause
  - Bakke v University of Cali
    - Said that he was turned down b/c he was white ➔ reverse racism
    - 5-4 decision that he was right and preference couldn’t be given in any group, but could be taken into account in the overall admissions policy
      - Marshall said this would hurt blacks’ cause and keep them out of schools
    - Others argued that justice is colorblind

The Election of Ronald Reagan 1980

- Reagan embodied the new right
  - Was against the activist and social engineering gov
  - Wanted to win over working and middle class whites
    - Was against favoritism for minorities, fed intervention in local affairs, and hated big business
- Reagan used the Neoconservatives for ideas
o Norman Podhoretz
  ▪ Editor of Commentary magazine
o Irving Kristol
  ▪ Editor of the Public Interest
  ▪ Were anti-soviet, pro free market, anti welfare programs and affirmative action
  ▪ Chappaquiddick killed Kennedy's presidency chances
  ▪ Carter lost badly to Reagan on TV debates
  ▪ Results of 1980 election
    o Reagan got 51% of popular vote; Anderson (3rd Party) got 7%, Carter got 41%
    o Reagan crushed Carter in electoral college, Carter only picked up 5 states
  ▪ 1980 Reps gained control of senate for first time in decades

The Reagan Revolution

• Iran released hostages on Reagan's inauguration Jan 1981
• Reagan's cabinet
  o Sec of the Interior Watt
    ▪ Was a part of Sagebrush Rebellion
      ▪ Anti Washington movement protesting control of mineral & timber resources in W
    ▪ Wanted to drill oil in scenic places, but was stopped
  ▪ Reagan was anti gov and won need taxes cut
  ▪ Budget shifted from defense spending to social entitlement programs
    ▪ Reagan wanted to cut $35b from budget, mostly by cutting funding for social programs
    ▪ Passed it by gaining support of boll weevils (5 conservative Dems in House) who abandoned the Dems to support him
  ▪ Cali's tax revolt 1978 “Proposition 13”
  ▪ Gunman shot Reagan March 30, 1981
    o Recovered in 12 days, had great support when he came out for his budget

The Battle of the Budget

• Reagan amazed defeated Dems w/ his huge budget cuts
  o Showed that presidency was still very powerful position
• Reagan then fought for lower taxes
  o Proposed 25% cuts over 3yrs
    ▪ Lowered individual taxes, eliminated fed estate taxes, created tax free savings plans for small investors
• Reagan believed in supply-side economics
  o Combo of budgetary discipline and tax reductions would stimulate new investment and productivity
  o Suffered a setback during huge econ downturn around 1982
Democracy flourishes around the world
- Mandela released in 1990 and went on to become South Africa’s President
- Free elections in Nicaragua removed the Sandinistas
- Peace came to war torn El Salvador

The Persian Gulf Crisis

- Bush sent troops to capture dictator/drug lord Noriega in Panama
- Saddam invaded Kuwait 1990
  - Wanted its oil
  - US helped Iraq fight Iran in the 80s → supported their troops
  - UN condemned Saddam, created embargo
    - Gave ultimatum: Leave by January 1991 or face full UN forces
  - US set up 500k voluntary troops ready to fight Saddam
    - Included women, and other nation’s troops
    - Congress approved use of force Jan 12, 1991 → invaded Persian Gulf

Fighting Operation Desert Storm

- Jan 16, 1991 US and UN allies unleash air war on Iraq
  - Used advanced tech to attack them
    - Still had some civilian casualties
  - Iraq answered back with scud short-range missiles on civilians in Saudi Arabia and Israel
    - Did no military damage
  - Head commander of Allies was Norman Schwarzkopf
  - Planned continued bombings and then wave of ground troops
    - Iraqis used ecological warfare such as lighting oil on fire + had bombs of their own
  - Operation desert storm lasted 4 days
    - Stormed W end of Iraq fortifications → made its way through quickly and easily
      - Got cease fire on Feb 27 → Kuwait liberated
- Desert Storm didn’t take down Saddam → still had trouble in ME
  - US became more entangled in the ME conflicts

Bush on the Home Front

- Americans w/ Disabilities Act 1990
  - Prohibited discrimination against people w/ disabilities
- Bush aggravated social issues
  - Threatened to veto civil rights bills making it easier to prove discrimination
    - Accepted watered down bill in 1991
  - Dept of Edu challenged legality of minority scholarships
- Put Clarence Thomas in SC
  - Was against affirmative action
  - Would replace Marshall → would be only black justice
  - Opposed by liberal groups and organized labor
  - Anita Hill accused him of sexually harassing her → Senate committee narrowly passed Thomas and he became a justice
- Gender gap
  - Women were angry w/ Bush’s & Reps anti abortion stance
- Economic problems from the outset of Bush’s term
  - High unemployment + budget deficit
    - 1990 Bush raised taxes
- Voters angry w/ Bush and Reps
  - Reps wrote bad checks from private House bank
    - Shined a bad light on them
  - Bush originally said he wouldn’t raise taxes
  - Movement to impose limits on # of terms an official could serve grew
    - Many chose not to run for reelection at all
- 27th Amendment passed May 1992
  - Said pay raises for Congress would take effect after election had seated new congress
  - Took 200yrs to ratify

Bill Clinton the First Baby Boomer President

- Clinton called himself a new Dem
  - Dem Leaders on 1st day
    - Moved away from party’s traditions of anti-business, dovish, champ of the underdog
  - Promised to stimulate econ and reform healthcare
- 1992 Reps renominated Bush & VP Quayle
- Independent Perot ran too
  - Was a billionaire who concentrated on the econ
- Clinton beat Bush and Perot in 1992
  - Many voted for him b/c they were concerned about econ
  - Perot gathered ~20m votes but no electoral votes
  - Dems also gained majority of both houses
    - Included many minorities and women
    - Carol Moseley Braun became first black woman in US Senate
- Women & minorities political progress
  - Janet Reno was first female Attorney Gen under Clinton
  - Donna Shalala became Sec of Health and Human Services
  - Henry Cisneros headed Urban Development
  - Ron Brown → Sec of Commerce
A False Start for Reform

- Clinton overestimated his mandate for liberal reform → hurt him politically
  - Wanted to allow gays to serve in military freely → settled for Don’t Ask Don’t Tell
  - Failed at redesigning healthcare
    - Appointed Hillary Clinton as director of task force to improve the system → made it way too complicated → dead on arrival in congress
- Clinton’s political victories
  - Brady Bill controlled guns 1993
    - Named after James Brady who was disabled by gunfire from assassination attempt on Reagan
    - Also passed $30b anticrime bill banning assault weapons
  - Shrank the deficit
- Extremism at home
  - World Trade Center bombing killed 6 in 1993
  - Oklahoma City bombing killed 169 in 1995
    - Retribution for standoff w/ Fundamentalist sect Branch Davidians who were killed in police standoff in Waco
- Public shared some anti-gov attitude as a whole

The Politics of Distrust

- Gingrich led Contract with America
  - Promised to end budget deficits and reduce welfare programs
  - Appealed to right wingers
- 1994 Congressional elections
  - Sweeping victory for Reps
    - Every Rep was reelected + picked up many new seats
  - Gingrich became Speaker of the House
    - Reps also controlled Senate
- Reps overplayed the political mandate too
  - Were still able to pass welfare cuts
    - Restricted benefits for immigrants
      - Showed rising anti-immigrant mentality
    - Required able bodied recipients to get jobs
    - Liberal Dems said Clinton betrayed his party
- Partisan politics
  - Gov had to shut down for a couple days to agree on a budget 1995
- 1996 election
  - Clinton kept Dem nomination w/ great fund raising