

MODULE INTRODUCTION

Dear learner! Welcome to the module of history of the Americas from 1800 to 1945. From the early nineteenth century to the first half the twentieth century it was a crucial period in the history of the Americas because industrialization, urbanization, modern democracy, economic boom, social change, and constitutionalism began to develop in the United States and most of the Latin American countries achieved their independence and the United States had become a powerful nation. But the course also attempts to highlight the general historical background of Native American civilization, the discovery of the New World and the coming of the Europeans to the continents.

Thus, the course attempts to cover different themes pertaining to both the internal developments and the external challenges of North and South America until 1945. This would enable you to critically analyze the social, economic, political, cultural, military and diplomatic history of the Americas in the period under discussion. Although the nature of the course is wide and vast, careful selection of themes has been made.

Regarding the organization of the module, it is prepared both chronologically and thematically. To this end, the module is divided into nine units. Each unit is divided into sections and subsections. At the beginning of each unit there is an introduction which highlights main points related to the history of the Americas. There is also an overview in each section which deals with the specific issue to show how the theme is organized and discussed. At the beginning, in the middle or sometimes at the end of the text, you will find questions. These questions are expected to develop your understanding and critical thinking. Throughout the module there are maps, pictures and illustrations which help you to explain where events happened and many of the changes that have taken place in American history.

At the end of each unit, there are checklists, summary and self-test exercises. At the end of each section and subsection, there are also activities to be performed by yourselves. They enable you to how much understood facts and events in each unit. After completing self-test exercises, you should check your answers with answer key given at the end of the module.

Lastly, you are strongly advised to refer further reading materials either listed in the bibliography or other related books and articles. Moreover, in order to get update information you should have to search information from websites.

Course objectives

After completing this course, you will be able to:

- Identify the major achievements and contributions of Native Americans to world civilization.
- Explain the main objectives of European explorers to establish colonial empires in the New World.
- Analyze the relationship between Native Americans and the Europeans and the nature of
European colonial rule and administration in the Americas.
- Discuss the causes, course and effects of independence movements in Latin America.
- Describe the developments of nationalism, constitutionalism, sectionalism and party system in America.
- Examine the origins and development of the philosophy of Manifest Destiny in the United States.
- Explain the social, economic, and political Reconstruction in the United States after the
Civil War.
- Describe the rise of industry and cities and their impact on the American society.
- Assess the main features of the Gilded Age.
- Discuss the sources, reforms, and limitations of Progressivism.
- Examine why Americans moved away from a policy of isolationism to expansionism and imperialism.
- Identify the causes of World War I.
- Discuss the roles of the United States in the WWI.

- Analyze the causes and effects of the Great Depression.
- Identify the New Deal.
- Evaluate the causes, course and consequences of the World War II in relation to the Americas

UNIT ONE

GENERAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

Dear learner! I hope you have already studied and understood civilization in the Americas in your previous Ancient World History Course (Hist.211). In this unit you are going to study about the early people of the Americas; center of American civilizations; explorations; and the coming of Europeans to the Western Hemisphere. The major impacts of European colonists on the Native Americans and rivalries among themselves to colonize the New Continents will have wider coverage under the unit.

Objectives

After completing this unit, you will be able to:

- List who were the major indigenous people of the Americas.
- Discuss the origins of the first immigrants to the Americas and explain how different ways of life among the Native American societies created cultural diversity.
- Identify the major achievements and contributions of Native American societies to world civilization.
- Locate centers of American civilization and identify the leading empires in the region
- Evaluate why European nations wanted to explore and colonize the Americas.
- Analyze the relationship between European colonists and Native Americans.
- Describe the nature of European colonial rule and administration and examine the English, French, Portuguese, Dutch and Spanish rivalries in North and South America.

Section 1: The Americas before Columbus

1.1. 1.The Early People of Americas

1. Who were the first people of the Americas? Where did they come from?
2. How did early Native Americans adopt their environment?

The Americas had long been inhabited by a rich variety of Native American culture. Scholars today believe that people from Asia walked across a “land bridge” today is the **Bering Strait** that once connected Alaska and Asia, mainly eastern Siberia. Sometimes between 20,000 and 40,000 years ago, the first people came to the Americas by crossing this bridge. In small groups, they gradually spread through North and South America, probably following the herds of large animals that they hunted. Overtime, these people adapted the environment and became known as **Native Americans**.

Focus

The first people came to North America long before written history. Their descendants, known as Native Americans, developed unique cultures and civilizations in North America and South America.

In time Native Americans formed many diverse groups based on. Despite their diversity, the Natives had many similar ideas. They developed distinct ways of life. Some remained nomadic, while others settled and developed complex civilizations.

Group of Native Americans in present-day Mexico and South America gradually developed highly organized and sophisticated societies. In western South America, the Inca ruled a large empire that stretched from present-day Columbia to the middle of Chile. A complex system of roads linked the various regions of the Inca Empire, and terraced hillside farms with complicated irrigation systems produce its abundant food.

To the north, in the areas called **Mesoamerica**-means “middle” which includes parts of Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Brazil other powerful Native American civilizations arose. One of the earliest peoples, the Olmec, developed large temple complexes and pyramids along the Gulf of Mexico. Further South, in the Yucatan Peninsula, the Maya established city states dominated by larger pyramids. The Maya excelled in trade and mathematics. Mayan mathematicians invented the concept of zero and developed complicated calendars linked to the study of the stars. Many other equally advanced groups emerged in Mesoamerica.

The last was the Aztec. Their city, Tenochtitlan is the site of modern Mexico City. By the late 1400s, Tenochtitlan had gold-adorned temples, floating gardens, and an enormous market. Native Americans who were living in the present-day Southwestern United States and in the fertile Mississippi Valley had their own way of life. The severe climate of this region prohibited farming. Most people lived in small villages or bands and led their life by hunting and fishing.

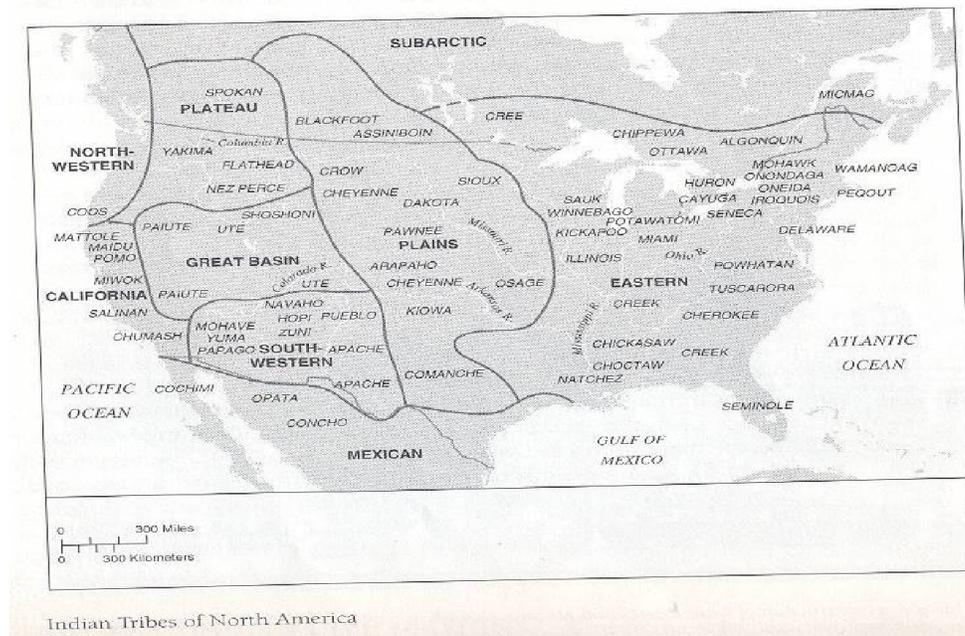
Around 900 A.D, in the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys, groups of Native Americans known as **Mound Builders**, built great temple mounds and towns. Another group of mound builders, the Hopewell culture, arose in the Ohio valley about 200 B.C

In other parts of North America, a variety of Native American groups flourished: the buffalo hunters of the Great Plains, the rich fishing cultures of the Pacific Northwest and the seed gatherers of California. People living in the Northeastern part of the present United States, set up the **Iroquois League**, a confederation, or government made up of independent units, about 1580 A.D. In the Southeast, the Creek, Cherokee, Choctaw, Seminole and Chickasaw formed a confederation called the Five Civilized Tribes. This group later devised a written language and a dictionary, and practiced a loose-knit form of democracy.

Activity 1.1

1. Who developed complex road and irrigation system?
2. Who settled in Southwest of North America?
3. Identify Inca, Aztecs, Iroquois confederation
4. What were the cultural achievements of the Mayan, Aztecs, Incan, Olmec and other peoples in the Americas?
5. Summarize the process by which the Americans were first settled.
6. Where were the chief centers of Native American civilization in the Americas?

Map 1



Section 2: The Coming of the Europeans to the West

Overview

In their eagerness to find easier routes for trade in Asia, some Europeans had a new idea instead of sailing south and east of Africa, they could sail west. This idea led to discoveries that brought drastic changes to those who lived on the contents that lay between Europe and Asia.

1.2.1. European Explorations and Colonization

1. Who was the first European to arrive in America?
2. What were the Americans like in 1492?
3. Why and how did Europeans discover America?

Europeans first touched the Americas long before Columbus. The first Europeans to arrive in the Americas were Norse sea farers from Scandinavia. Between 800 and 1100 AD., the Norse established settlements in Iceland, Green land, and along the coast of North America, which they called Vinland. Conflicts with Native Americans and lack of support from home, however, made the Norse settlements in Vinland unsuccessful. Not until the voyage of Christopher Columbus in 1492 did European exploration of the Americas began

earnest. On the eve of geographical discoveries around the middle of the 15th century, much of the world was unknown to the European geographers and Seamen. They knew Europe and the Mediterranean region. They also knew the existence of India and China.

Although the Crusades were a failure, they had a major impact on Western Europe. Contact with the East spurred a new demand in Europe for Asian luxury goods such as spices and silk. The spice trades became the most important part of the East-West exchange. The contact with the east also helped breakdown the self-sufficient feudal system. During the 1400s, strong monarchs brought unity to the countries of England, France, Portugal, and Spain. All four lands had seaports on the Atlantic Ocean -soon to become a great avenue of trade and exploration.

Europeans, once isolated and bounded by a rigid feudal system, were developing a spirit of curiosity and adventure. Unified monarchies and national rivalry led to competition for trade with Asia. The search for an all water route to East Asia encouraged explorers to cross unknown oceans and seek new lands. In quest of wealth, the new centralized national states would finance exploration and conquest.

1. What were the aims of the great voyages?
2. What factors made the explorations feasible?

The Renaissance spirit of curiosity and adventure that swept over Europe helped launch the bold voyages of the **Age of Exploration**. Europeans wanted luxury goods and food preserving spices from Asia. Western European merchants hoped to break the monopoly that Arab and Italian traders had on the overland routes to Asia. European monarchs desired to enrich their countries, and church leaders wanted to send missionaries overseas to spread Christianity.

The great expense of ocean voyages made new ways of raising finances necessary. In England, France, and the Netherlands, the **joint-stock company** became useful for raising money. The companies were owned by investors who bought shares of stock and thus provided funds for trading activities.

Focus

Europeans first touched the Americas long before Columbus. According to early Scandinavian sagas, in 968 A.D, a ship on the way to European-settled Greenland commanded by a Norwegian merchant, Bjarni Herjulfsson. Other Scandinavians soon followed up on Herjulfsson's lead. In 1000 A.D, Norse explorer, Leif Ericson a founder of the Greenland colony sailed westward to investigate reports of the new country. He and his party found it warm. Finding what they later described as grapes, and hoping perhaps to encourage settlement, they dubbed the new country Vinland, the Good.

By the late 15th century, long distance ocean voyages had become possible because of the following reasons:

The new attitudes were immeasurably helped by the invention of printing press invented by John Gutenberg of Germany;

➤ Europeans learned to use improved navigational instruments such as the compass, the Astrolabe, and the quadrant -that allowed navigators to determine direction and distance;

1. Advances in ship building technology;
2. Advances in the art of making accurate maps and sailing directions; and
3. New inventions, such as gunpowder, windmills and water mills;

By 1400s, Europeans launched a campaign to explore the world and make contact with other lands and peoples. Portugal was the first European country to search for a sea route to Asia. In the early 1400s, Prince Henry "the Navigator," son of King John I of Portugal, brought map makers, astronomers, and ship builders to plan voyages of exploration. He also sponsored many Portuguese exploratory voyages westward into the Atlantic and southward down to Africa's west coast.

Voyages of Columbus

The success of the Portuguese aroused the envy of the rulers of Europe's other new nation-states. As a result of his studies and calculations, the Italian born navigator Christopher Columbus came to believe that it would be easier to reach Asia by traveling west. He eagerly sought to lead such a voyage, and for years sought financial backing. However, Portugal would not agree to pay for the voyage. Finally, in 1492, Columbus persuaded King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain that his plan would bring them wealth, empire, and converts to the Catholic religion. The Monarchs provided Columbus with three ships, the *Nina*, the *Pinta*, and the *Santa Maria*.

In August 1492, Columbus sailed from Spain with 90 sailors. Two months later, he landed in what he thought was Asia. Actually, Columbus had landed in America becoming the first European to set foot on one of the islands of the Bahamas (San Salvador) and claimed it for Spain. Believing he had reached the East Indies of the coast of Asia, he called the local people **Indians**, in what is now the West Indies. He had misjudged the world. He thought that after sailing west from Spain, he would next touch Asia. He had no idea there was another continent between Europe and Asia. Columbus made three more voyages across the Atlantic. Despite his achievements, Columbus died in 1506 unaware that he had reached new continents in the Western Hemisphere. Before his death, Columbus made three more voyages to the Caribbean islands and South America seeking proof that he had discovered a new route to Asia. He also established the first permanent European communities in the New World. Columbus's expeditions were followed by many more whose leaders established European settlements on the Caribbean islands.

It was not until 1507 that another Italian explorer, Amerigo Vespucci, sailed along the coast of South America suggested that Columbus had discovered a "New World." He was convinced that the land he had discovered was neither Asia nor islands off the coast of Asia, but a new continent. German mapmakers read some of Vespucci's reports and were also convinced that a new world had been discovered. In honor of Vespucci, the name "America" began to appear on maps that included the newly discovered lands.

Columbus's exploration put Spain and Portugal in direct competition for trade and empire. At first, Spain claimed the whole of the New World, but Pope Alexander VI convinced the two Catholic nations to divide any new overseas territories between them. He set a line of demarcation, an imaginary north-south line, west of the Azores, at the **Treaty of Tordesillas** in 1494. The agreement gave Spain rights to all non-Christian lands to the west of the line, and Portugal rights to all those to the east.

Columbus opened a path to America which was soon followed by many other explorers. They explored the lands of North and South America after 1500. In 1500, a Portuguese sea captain Pedro Cabral sailed west and explored the coast of Brazil. He claimed it for Portugal. Settlers in Brazil grew income producing crops such as sugarcane, tobacco, coffee, and cotton. The rest of South America had been claimed by Spain. Very

early settlements were made on the islands of the Caribbean, especially Hispaniola, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica. Soon the whole Caribbean was in Spanish hands. A Spaniard named Balboa landed on the narrow Isthmus of Panama in 1513 and eventually reached the Pacific Ocean. Balboa's discovery intensified the race to the eastern ends of the Pacific. New men joined the rush.

Balboa's expedition revived hope of sailing west to reach Asia. A Portuguese navigator Ferdinand Magellan in the service of Spain, hoped to sail around the world to the Spice Islands, located in present-day Indonesia. In 1519, Magellan set sail with five ships. By October 1520, Magellan had reached the strait that now bears his name the Strait of Magellan at the southern tip of South America. Although the strait has fierce winds, and was difficult to navigate, the ocean on the other side seemed to clam; Magellan called it the *Pacific*, meaning "Peaceful." Magellan later died in April 1521 as a result of a local war in the Philippines. Only one of his ships, Victoria carrying 18 survivors arrived at Seville, completing the first circumnavigation, or rotating of the globe. Sevastian Elcano finished the journey to Asia and the Indian Ocean, back to Spain.

By the middle of the 16th century, the New World was opened up to Europe, and contact was firmly made at many points. The explorations and discoveries of those centuries led Europeans to Asia, Africa and America, and produced different results in different places. America was speedily Europeanized. The success of the Portuguese aroused the envy of the rulers other new nation states of Europe. Eventually, the Dutch, the French and the English would challenge Portugal's stranglehold.

1.2.2. Spain in the New World

The New World continued to attract the attention of most European nations in the 1500s and 1600s. Under King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, Spain entered the race for land by backing expeditions. Spain and Portugal were the first to set up colonies in the New World.

How did the arrival of the Spaniards in the New World affect the development of the Aztec and Inca?

After the 1494 **Treaty of Tordesillas** signed between Spain and Portugal the line moved further west. But other European states did not recognize the treaty as binding on themselves. In the 16th century they started to join the competition for overseas and colonies. Soon France, England and the Dutch were also setting up colonies in the New World.

The Spaniards set up colonies in Central and South America and in California. Spain was interested mainly in Central and South America because of the gold and silver found there. One of the first Spanish explorers was Juan Ponce de Leon. In 1513, he explored Florida. Another Spaniard, Hernando Cortes explored Mexico and conquered the Aztec Empire under their ruler Montezuma II in 1519. A decade after Mexico's conquest, another conquistador Francisco Pizarro, invaded the Inca Empire in present-day Peru. He captured the Inca leader Atahualpa and killed many of the people. Spain also claimed territory in North America. In 1539, Hernando De Soto landed present-day Florida. He explored the lands from Florida to the Mississippi River. In 1540, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado explored the Grand Canyon.

By the early 1600s, Spain's empire in the Americas included many islands in the West Indies, Central America, much of South America and parts of the present-day United States. Spanish viceroys ruled the colonies. From 1500 to 1650 extracted almost 20,000 tons of silver and 200 tons of gold from its American colonies. In addition, cocoa, tobacco, dyes, and other American products were providing another source of Spanish income. All these helped to make Spain the richest and most powerful nation in Europe.

The Spanish empire in America was divided into two large administrative units: New Spain and Peru. New Spain consisted of Mexico, Central America and parts of the USA. Spain had two principal aims to exploit American wealth; and to convert the Native Americans or Amerindians to Catholic Christianity. There was a question of treating the inhabitants. Spain did not allow self-government and religious freedom. The Spanish colonies in the continents did not give all members equal right. The colonists often mistreated the Indians. They used them as slaves in the mines and fields.

Disease was an enemy worse than the Spanish state or Church. Native Americans lacked immunity to European diseases such as smallpox, measles and influenza. The Inca

population was declined to 7 million to 1 million. This decline led the Spanish to bring more slave laborers from Africa.

1.2.3. The Arrival of the English

England was the first Northern European country to join the scramble for a share in the New World. As early as 1497, England began to show an interest in overseas trade. In 1497, Henry VII authorized the Italian born navigator John Cabot to find a northern route to the area reached by Columbus. Cabot explored the coasts of New found land-Nova Scotia and New England, giving England a claim in the Americas. During the 1500s the English harassed their Spanish and Portuguese competitors.

England began to set up colonies in the New World in 1585 on what is now United States soil. Although some English colonists came to America hoping to find silver and gold, most colonists came for other reasons such as to find religious freedom, better life and for more political freedom. For more than 100 years, the English colonial system spread along the Atlantic Coast from the border of Florida to Canada. These colonies were organized as proprietary, royal, or self governing colonies.

The first successful English settlement or colony in the New Worlds was Jamestown- present-day Virginia was founded by the Virginia Company of London or formerly called London Company in 1607. At first, the settlers hand hoped to find gold and precious stones and to bring these riches back to European. Later, the settlers organized into a society.

By 1773, the English had established thirteen colonies along the Atlantic. English colonies had over a million settlers. The central or middle colonies had many small, family farms. Because of their large-scale wheat farming, the middle colonies were called the “**Bread Colonies.**” Southern farmers grew rice, tobacco, and indigo plants.

1.2.4. The French in America

The second European power to interest herself in discovery and settlement of North America was France. One of the first explorers for France was Giovanni de Verrazano, an Italian. Verrazano hoped to find a strait through the new land that would lead to Asia. In 1524, he crossed the Atlantic and landed on the coast of present day North Carolina. He

then sailed along the Atlantic coast to New found land, Canada. From there, he returned to France. Verrazano was certain that he had found the beginning of a new route to Asia.

More French explorers now were encouraged to go to the New World. A French sailor, Jacques Cartier explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence in present-day city of Montreal in Canada. Cartier made another trip to America, once again in hopes of finding a route to Asia. Cartier claimed much of eastern Canada for France. Another Frenchman, Samuel de Champlain, explored the Atlantic Coast from Nova Scotia to Cape Code in 1603-04.

In 1608, Champlain founded **Quebec**, the first permanent French settlement in the Americas. In 1673, missionaries Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet explored the Mississippi Valley. In 1682 Robert de La Salle explored from the Illinois River to the Gulf of Mexico. He named the territory Louisiana and claimed it for France. Like the Spanish, the French sent Jesuit missionaries to convert Native Americans to Christianity. They were also interested mainly in finding treasure. Most French colonies were located in Canada. There they found a new sort of treasure-fur. The fur trade became one of the main French activities in America. However, the French did not attract many settlers. France allowed no freedom of religion, almost no self-government, not permit their settlers to trade with any other country. The result was that the French colonies grew very slow.

1.2.5. The Dutch in the New World

The Dutch were also interested in expansion. In the late 1500s, the Dutch won their independence from Spain. The Dutch began exploring relatively late. In 1609, a group of Dutch merchants and bankers joined as partners in the **Dutch East India Company**, hired Henry Hudson, an English sea captain, to find a water route to the Far East through North America. Hudson failed to find this “North West Passage,” but he added to Europe’s geographical knowledge and Holland’s claim to part of North America by sailing down the Atlantic Coast from Newfoundland to Virginia. The Dutch established themselves in the valley of the Hudson between 1610 and 1630. During this trip, Hudson explored Cape Code and Delaware Bay and sailed partway up the broad river that now bears his name.

In 1621, the Dutch government chartered the Dutch East India Company to establish colonies in the Americas. The company founded New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island at the mouth of the Hudson River. This settlement became a center for Europeans colonial

trade. By the 1700s, however, Dutch power was declining and England had emerged as Europe's leading maritime nation.

Activity 1.2

1. Explain why Portugal and Spain wanted to find a sea route to Asia?
2. What sciences and new technologies led to voyages of explorations?
3. Identify Prince Henry, Christopher Columbus, Ferdinand Magellan, Tordesillas, Amerigo Vespucci, Nunez de Balboa, Norsemen,
4. Who claimed the present day Brazil for the Portuguese?
5. Why did merchants form joint stock-companies?
6. Why and how did the Europeans discover the New World?
7. What added by the chief explorers to the knowledge of the Americans?
8. What were the effects of European expansion on the New World in the 15th and 16th centuries?

Section 3: Europeans Rivalry in the New World

Overview

The New World continued to attract the attention of most European nations in the 1500s and 1600s. In all, there were six European nations (Spain, Portugal, England, France, the Netherlands and Sweden) that finally became rivals in the settlement of the Americas. Competing for power and wealth, the nations developed new principles of international politics. One of these was the theory of mercantilism. Beginning in the 1600s, many Europeans followed this theory. This theory which held that state's power depended on its wealth.

During the period of Europeans attempt to establish colonies in the New World, there had been rivalry and conflict of interest among themselves. One of which were the struggle between England and Holland, Spain and England, and France and England.

1.3.1. The Conflict between England and Holland

In 1664, England and Holland went to war in Europe. In the meantime, many English poured into New Amsterdam. Meanwhile, New Amsterdam surrendered to an English fleet, and the Treaty of Breda (1667) which ended the war, recognized English possession of the whole of New Netherlands. Charles II handed over New Amsterdam and Northern part of the colony to his brother James, Duke of York, by whom it was, renamed **New York**. It was temporarily recaptured by the Dutch in the third Dutch War of 1672-74, but after that remained continuously in English hands. The smaller southern parts of the

Dutch colony were given to two English noblemen: Jersey, which became New Jersey, and New York.

1.3.2. The Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in the Caribbean Islands

Spain was dominant nation for a time but it gradually became less of a world power. During the 1500s, the English harassed their Spanish and Portuguese competitors. Sea captains turned to pirate raided Spanish ships for gold and silver. An Englishman Francis Drake sacked Spanish seaports in the Caribbean. In 1588, England defeated the great Spanish Armada, or fleet of warships. England, with its powerful navy, became a leading in world affairs, The Spanish Empire claimed little to all the islands in the Caribbean. There were substantial Spanish settlements in Cuba, Hispania and Puerto Rico. After Spain and the Netherlands went to war in 1621, the pace of English colonization increased by the mid-17th century .There were several English settlements on the Islands of Antigua, St. Kitts, Jamaica, Bahamas and Barbados.

1.3.3. The English-French Confrontation

From the 16th to the 18th centuries, England's more formidable North American rival was France. These two strongest powers fought four wars between the years of 1589 and 1763. The wars were fought in the oceans, Europe, India, Canada and the Ohio Valley of North America to establish a world empire.

A) **King Williams War (1689-1697)**: Massachusetts colonial troops captured the French stronghold of Port Royal in modern Nova Scotia. However, by the Treaty of Ryswick in 169, the conflict ended. But the French soon moved to occupy the vast Mississippi Valley, established an outpost at Cahokia in 1699 and a fort at Kaskaskia in 1703.

B) **The War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713) or Queen Anne's War**: In this war England was successful and won land in America. In reply to this the French began to develop their main plan in North America to link up the mouths of the Mississippi and St. Lawrence by a line of French forts and settlements.

By the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, England acquired newfound land, Acadia (renamed Nova Scotia and Hudson Bay region). In 1718, the French established New Orleans near the mouth of the Mississippi. The British countered by constructing Fort Oswego on Lake

Ontario and fortifying the northern frontier against the pro-French Abenakis. War between England and France broke out again.

C) The War of Austrian Succession (King Georges War), 1740-1748: This was a war in Canada, and the quarrels on the Ohio grew fiercer. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chappell which ended the war simply returned to each country the conquests it had made. This treaty brought no real peace in America. New England troops captured the French strong point of Louisburg. In retaliation, the French and their Indian allies raided Albany and burned Saratoga.

D) The French and Indian War (1754-1763): Colonial rivalry in America led to open warfare. In this fighting, the French had many Indian allies. This gave France great strength. The war in America lasted from 1754 to 1763. It is called the French and Indian War because the British fought both the French and the Indian allied with the French. The French and India War began in the Ohio Valley. This large area was claimed by both the French and the British. In 1754, the French built Fort Duquesne at the Forks and in the following year an expedition of British troops and American volunteers commanded by General Braddock set out to attack it. The British general suffered a serious defeat at the hands of the French and their Indian allies.

In 1756, the conflict spread to Europe- the Seven Years War- when Britain and Prussia concluded an alliance against France which in turn allied itself with Austria and then, in 1762 with Spain. The struggle quickly turned into a “world war.” The war went badly for Britain until 1757. More brilliant triumph came in the summer of 1758 when General James Wolfe and an army took Louisburg and Quebec, the political and religious capital of French Canada in 1759 and in 1760 the capture of Montreal in Canada. The French forts were taken after initial failure. In February 1763, the Britain, France, and Spain signed the Treaty of Paris to end the war. By this treaty France:-:

- Ceded all its Canadian lands to Britain.
- Forced to give up all its lands east of the Mississippi River, except New Orleans, to Britain.
- Ceded New Orleans and West of the Mississippi River to Spain, while the latter gave Florida to England.

As a result of the Franco-Indian War, France lost its power in North America and Britain became not only the major American power but also a world leader. Britain had begun what soon would be the greatest of all colonial empires. Generally, it is possible to say that 1763 is a turning point in American history.

Activity 1.3

1. Compare and contrast the English, Spanish and French settlement patterns in the Americas.
2. Where were the chief settlements of the rival European nations in America?
3. What were the reasons for rivalry among European nations in the Americas?
4. What European countries tried to settle and control American territories?
5. Give reasons for the development of religious freedom and toleration in the British colonies?

Summary

- The first Americans traveled across a land bridge connecting Siberia and Alaska and spread throughout the Americas. These Native American civilizations developed highly organized societies.
- By the 1400s, Europeans had developed the technology, finance, and attitudes necessary to begin overseas voyages of explorations. Explorations led to empire building. Portugal, Spain, France, England, and the Dutch conquered lands in the Americas, Asia and Africa for European settlement and control.
- In the 1600s and early 1700s, the English founded settlement along the Atlantic coast of North America. Native Americans suffered from battles with colonists over land and from epidemics of European diseases.

Self-Test Exercise -1

I. Write true if the statement is correct or false if it is wrong

1. Columbus was a first European man who touched the land of the Americas.
2. Agriculture was the basic economic activity of the Native Americans in the Great Plains.
3. Quebec was the first permanent French settlement in the Americas.
4. The English allowed freedom of religion and self government to the settlers than the

French.

II. Matching the Appropriate Items from Column “B” within Column “A”

<u>“A”</u>	<u>“B”</u>
5. Mound builders	A) An explorer who circumnavigated the world
6. Bering Strait	B) A Confederation of five people in Northeast United States
7. Magellan	C) The first Europeans who touched America
8. Tenochtitlan	D) The first English colonial settlement in America
9. Norsemen	E) An explorer who reached India through the southern tip of Africa
10. Iroquois	F) A land bridge between Alaska and Siberia
11. Francis Drake	G) Former name of the modern Mexico city
12. Jamestown	H) Commander of the English navy which destroyed the
13. John Cabo	Spanish Armada
14. Olmec	I) Explored the Atlantic shores of present-day Canada
	J) One of earliest Native Americans who developed advanced culture in Mesoamerica
	K) People who were renowned in erecting a huge pile of stones in Eastern Woodland

UNIT TWO

INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA

Introduction

The history of Latin America, beginning with the first voyage of Columbus, may be studied under four periods: Discovery and exploration (1492-1550); colonization and exploitation (1550-1800); liberation movements and independence (1800-1825); and sovereignty and self-development (1825...).

Most of the countries of South America, Central America, Mexico and the West Indian Islands are known as “**Latin America**,” because they were colonized and transformed into

Latin peoples of Europe_ the Spaniards mainly, the Portuguese and the French slightly. For 300 years Spain and Portugal held colonies in the Americas without facing threats to their rule. In the early 1800s, however, the situation changed. The peoples of Latin America revolted and won their independence. The Latin American Revolutions were inspired by the American and the French Revolutions. As a result, Latin Americans sought an end to colonial rule and joined independence movements.

This unit is divided into three sections: The first section deals with different causes of independence movements; section two provides you brief insights on struggles for freedom in some selected countries; and in section three you will learn the significance of the war of independence.

Objectives

After completing this unit, you will be able to:

- Outline the main socio-economic and political condition of Latin America after the Discovery.
- Explain causes for the beginning of independence movements in different nations of Latin America.
- Discuss the course and effects of Latin America Revolutions.
- Assess the impact of the Latin American Revolutions on other countries of the world.

Section 1: Causes of Independence Movements

Overview

Like other European nations, Spain and Portugal regarded their Latin America colonies with a mercantilist view- the idea that colonies existed chiefly to increase the home countries wealth. From the days of Columbus's first settlement on Hispaniola down to the end of Spanish power, the Native Americans had protested sporadically against the socio-economic burdens of the Europeans. The outbursts were unorganized and ineffective, and are given little space in the recorded history of those three centuries. The severing of the ties between the European kingdoms and their America colonies was inevitable. Neither

Spain nor Portugal has ever understood why her American colonies broke away. The blows which were finally struck reflected the accumulated angers and ambitions of three centuries.

The causes of the Latin American liberation movements were both **internal** and **external**, that is some developed mainly in Latin America itself, while others were communicated from outside.

2.1.1. Internal Causes

Who revolted against European colonial rule and why?

Spanish and Portuguese monarchs granted huge tracts of fertile land to explorers and nobles for the growing cash crops such as cotton, sugar, and cocoa. The landowners then forced the Native Americans to work on the farms. Mexico, Peru, and Brazil contained large deposits of gold and silver as well as forests that yielded exotic woods such as mahogany and ebony. Farming provided other major sources of colonial income.

Economic and political restrictions imposed by the mother country. In Latin America, colonies of Spain and Portugal were exposed to burden of high taxation. Some trade restrictions and most of the land was held by a few rich landlords who enjoyed special political and social privileges. Spaniards and the Portuguese who were born in their respective countries enjoyed many privileges in Latin America that were not enjoyed by **Creoles** (Spaniards, Portuguese, or French who were born in Latin America).

The Catholic Church also played a critical role in the colonial economies, and strengthened the Spanish and Portuguese rule in Latin America. Priests and monks converted the Native Americans to Catholicism and thought them to be loyal to the crown. By 1800, the Catholic Church controlled almost half of the wealth of Latin America.

The rigid colonial social structure

A) **Peninsular**: Social classes based on privilege divided colonial Latin America. Colonial leaders, called Peninsulares were born in Spain or Portugal and stood at the top level of the social order. Appointed by the Spanish and Portuguese governments, the Peninsulares held all important military and political positions.

B) **Creoles:** were the colonial born white aristocrats below the Peninsulares. Although they controlled most of the land and business in the colonies, the Creoles were regarded as second class citizens by the Peninsulares. The Creoles envied the privileged leadership position exclusively held by the Peninsulares.

C) **Mestizos and Mulattos:** Latin Americans of mixed Native American, African or Africa and European ancestry. The Indians and mixed races were at the bottom of the colonial social pyramid which consisted of the majority of Latin Americans. Many of them had been enslaved and robbed and otherwise oppressed for generations. They were dissatisfied and ready for revolt.

In the 1800s, Latin Americans began to challenge the rigid social order and its controls with revolts throughout the region. The Creoles played the largest leadership role in these conflicts. Wealthy and well educated, many were well versed in the liberal political philosophies of the Enlightenment, but their colonial birth prevented them from holding the highest government positions. The Creoles were eager to take control of Latin American affairs.

2.1.2. External Causes

External influences and conditions also played a very effective part in bringing the liberation movements in Latin America. These external influences came chiefly from the United States of America, France, Spain and Portugal. One cause, partly external had been “exploitation.” It was the policy of European countries, especially of Spain, to work their colonies for the profits of the mother country, trade restrictions and other things already mentioned. Political reform also came to Spanish-America in the latter part of the century. Spain’s enlightened despot Charles III (r. 1759 -1788) attempted both to rationalize the government and to free the economy of his overseas colonies as well as of his European realms. These reforms included territorial reorganization, the establishment of local Creole militias, and the abolition of some oppressive lower- ranking officials.

On the economic side, they involved lower taxes, free trade among the colonies and an end to commercial monopolies held by certain Spanish cities. Colonial merchants wanted the eradication of all mercantilist restrictions on trade.

Politically, the successful revolt of the English colonies in the north and the birth of the United States also impressed colonial liberals and intellectuals. The Intellectual Revolution, crystallized in the writings of John Locke, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Adam Smith, had a great influence on the more intelligent classes of Latin America.

The ideas of the French Revolution also circulated in Latin America. In addition, Napoleon Bonaparte did much to prepare the condition in Europe that led to the liberation movements in Latin America. The Napoleonic Wars had dramatic consequences in the colonies of Spain and Portugal in the Americas. In 1807, he invaded Portugal. To escape him, the royal family of Portugal took ship and went to Brazil. This was the first step in a series of events that led to Brazilian independence. On the same year and 1808, Napoleon invaded Spain, deposed King Ferdinand VII, and made his own brother, Joseph Bonaparte, king of Spain. When Joseph was proclaimed king in the capital city of Spanish-America, the people there refused to accept him; instead they shouted allegiance to Ferdinand. They began to fight Napoleons usurper. In a short time, their fight developed into a struggle for independence.

Section 2: Course of the Struggle for Independence

Overview

In the first quarter of the 20th century, Latin American nations were revolting against Europe. Under the leadership of Bolivar and San Martin, most of South America was freed from Spain. Brazil separated from Portugal and became independent nation.

2.2.1. Uprising in Haiti

Who were the great revolutionary and liberation leaders in Latin America?

Although the Spanish and Portuguese colonies were ripe for revolt, the first successful uprising in Latin America took place in the French colony of Haiti (St. Dominique), on the island of Hispaniola in the Caribbean Sea. Huge sugar, cotton and coffee plantations were owned by French planters and worked by the colony's enslaved African population. Unrest erupted in the early 1790s when enslaved Africans led by a formerly enslaved man Francis Toussaint Louverture revolted, setting fire to plantation

homes and fields of sugarcane. In 1802, Napoleon sent forces to take control of the colony. Captured by French officers, Toussaint Louverture was imprisoned in France, where he died in 1803. Then a wave of yellow fever aided the revolutionaries. The epidemic killed thousands of French soldiers. The rebel army defeated the French, and in 1804 Haiti proclaimed its independence.

2.2.2. Venezuela: Miranda, a Political Pioneer

Francisco de Miranda, born of Spanish parents in Venezuela in 1750, was one of the most conspicuous and influential of the early leaders of the revolution in South America. Before the fight for independence began in Latin America, Miranda took part in the American Revolution and the French Revolution. Then, he began to lay plans for the independence of Venezuela. In 1806, he sailed to Venezuela and led to expeditions along the coast. In 1810, Miranda organized another expedition. As a result of Miranda's activity, a revolutionary Congress, representing various parts of the country was assembled. This Congress proclaimed the independence of Venezuela in 1811. However, in Venezuela there were different factions, and the support of the revolution was not unanimous. Quarrels between Miranda and other leaders weakened their cause. Miranda was taken prison by another faction of revolutionists in July 1812 and he fell into the Spanish authorities. He was detained and sent to Spain and died there on July 14, 1816. Although Miranda died for the sake of freedom, the day of his death was significant. In Venezuela, and in other parts of Latin America, other independence movements took up his patriotic task.

2.2.3. Mexico (1810-1821) and Central America

One of the earliest uprisings against Spanish rule occurred in Mexico, which at time was part of New Spain. Revolution began in Mexico in 1810. Two native Catholic priests, Miguel Hidalgo and Jose Maria Morelos were prominent leaders. In September 1810, Hidalgo led Native Americans and *Mestizos* on a freedom march. They captured Mexico City. However, the well trained Spanish army outnumbered the confused rebels and the Spanish authorities charged Hidalgo with heresy and executed him in 1811. Morelos captured a large portion of Southern Mexico. In 1813, he called a conference that declared Mexico's independence from Spain. Morelos's forces fought the Spaniards but were

defeated in 1815. Mexico did not gain full independence until 1821. In the same year, a liberal revolt in Spain threatened to overthrow the monarchy and establish a constitution.

The army officer and wealthy Mexico Creoles leader Augustine de Iturbide made himself emperor in 1822, but opposition to his oppressive rule developed. The Mexican people soon deposed Iturbide and declared their country a republic in 1823. On the other hand, the Central American provinces in New Spain declared their independence. In Guatemala, representatives established the United Provinces of Central America. In the 1830s, leaders divided the region into the countries of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua.

2.2.4. Spanish South America

The revolts against Napoleon's government and Spain's fight against France left the Spanish weak and vulnerable to attack. There were three outstanding leaders: Simon Bolivar, Jose de San Martin, and Bernardo O'Higgins who led South American colonies in their fight against Spanish rule.

Simon Bolivar (1783-1830): a wealthy Creole family was born in Venezuela, who led many colonies to independence. Bolivar believed in equality and saw liberty as "the only object worth a man's life." Bolivar had witnessed the reforms of the French Revolution called "the Liberator."

Bolivar devoted his life to freedom for Latin Americans. In 1810, Bolivar started a revolt against Spain in the Caracas. After nine years of fighting, Bolivar succeeded in crushing Spanish power in Venezuela in 1819. After fighting a series of battles over the next 20 years, Bolivar and his forces won freedom for the present-day countries of Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, Bolivia, and Ecuador.

Jose den San Martin of Argentina led Latin American armies over the Andes Mountains and into Chile. In Chile San Martin and O, Higgins with their forces successfully achieved independence for Chile in 1818.

After the victory at Maipo, San Martin went to Argentina again to enlist aid to conquer Peru. In 1821, San Martin entered Lima, the Capital of Peru and proclaimed the country an independent republic. In July 1822, San Martin and Bolivar met in the Ecuadorian port of Guayaquil to discuss the future of Latin America. Though they shared a common goal, they

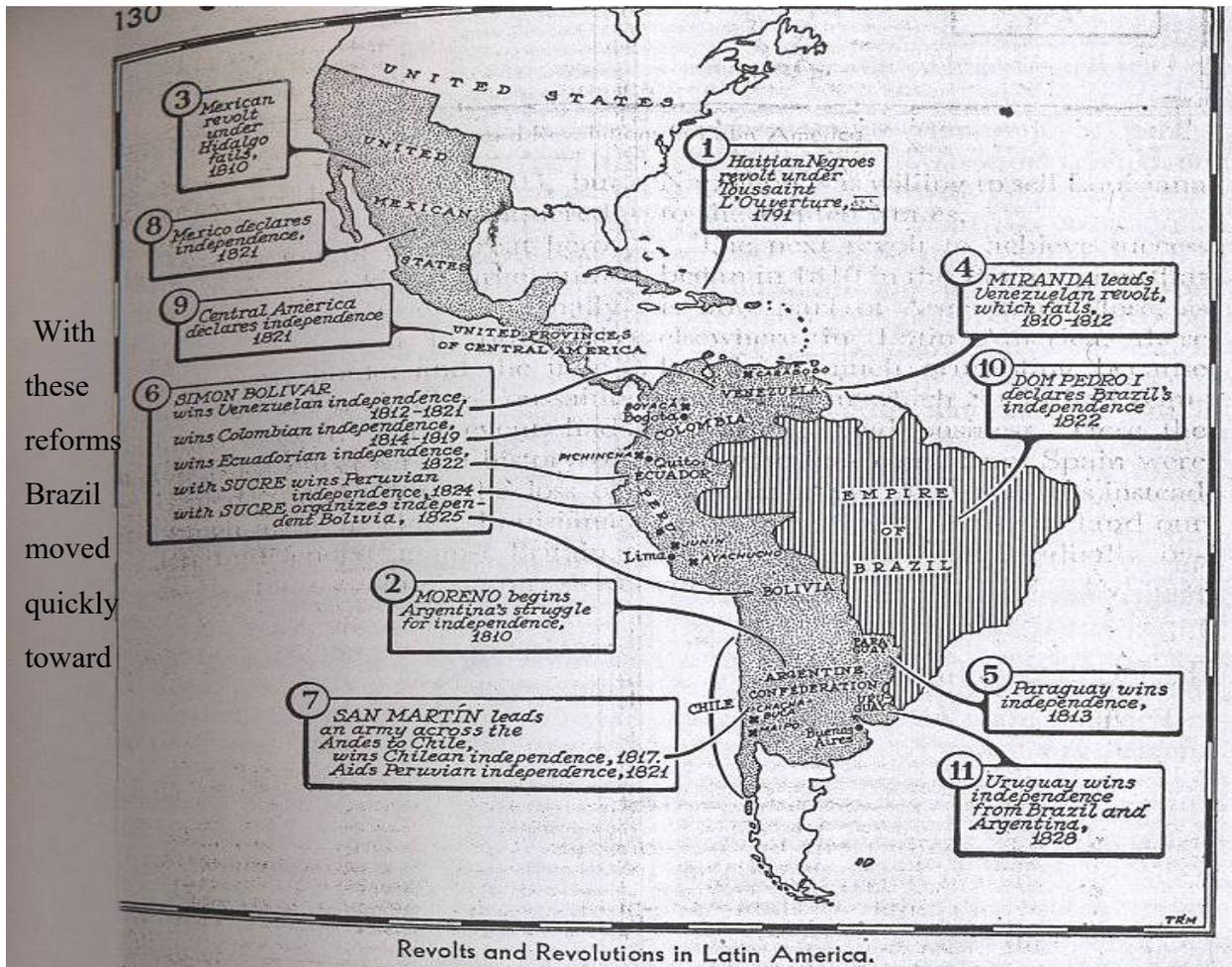
could not agree on strategy and policy. San Martin finally decided to withdraw from the revolt and allowed Bolivar to take command. By 1826, Bolivar and his armies had liberated all of South America.

2.2.5. Brazil

Brazil achieved its independence without bloodshed. In 1808, Napoleon's French army had invaded Portugal, causing the Portuguese royal family to flee to Brazil. King Joao transferred his monarchy to Brazil, declaring Rio de Janeiro capital of the Portuguese Empire. Joao immediately introduced governmental reforms in Brazil. He reinstated more favorable trade laws by opening Brazil's ports to the world.

The liberal ruler brought Brazilians increasing opportunities by funding public education, including military academies, an art school and medical schools.

Map2



With these reforms Brazil moved quickly toward

independence, and in 1815 Joao made Brazil a self-governing kingdom within the Portuguese Empire. In 1820, however, liberals took over the Portuguese government. King Joao returned to Portugal, He left Brazil in the hands of his son, Dom Pedro. The new Portuguese government fought to make Brazil a colonial possession again. In September 1822, the Brazilians won full independence from Portugal. Three months later, Dom Pedro

was crowned Emperor Pedro I of Brazil. Brazil became the only independent country in South America to freely choose a constitutional monarchy as its form of government. Meanwhile, Joao maintained his support of his beloved Brazil by refusing to allow the Portuguese government to send new military forces to fight the rebels. Great Britain also pressured Portugal to end its battle. In 1825 Portugal finally recognized Brazil's independence.

By 1825 or earlier nearly all the colonies of Spain, Portugal and France in South America, Central America, Mexico and West Indies had established their independence. The most notable exceptions were Cuba and Porto Rico, which continued to be colonies of Spain.

Summary of year of independence

- Mexico (1821)
- Brazil 1822
- Chile 1818
- Paraguay 1811
- Peru 1821
- Colombia 1819/1830
- Bolivia 1825
- United Provinces Central America 1823
- Haiti 1804
- United Provinces of La Plata 1816
- Argentine Confederation 1810
- Uruguay 1814/1828
- Venezuela 1830
- Ecuador 1830

Section 3: Significance of the War of Independence

The revolution in Latin America between 1800 and 1825, leading to independence had various significances. Some of these were:

- a) The new independent nations of the continent had established their own republican form of government, filled with liberal constitutions, free economies, and guarantees of the rights of the governed. Though the democratic, they were often librated by power-hanging Latin American warlords called Cauldillos, the new republics represented clear victories for the revolutionary sprit;
- b) Most citizens of United States looked up on with sympathy and favor for the establishment of independent republics in Latin America;
- c) In Europe, the liberals who favored nationalism and opposed autocracy viewed with pleasure the triumph of liberty and the gain for nationalism in Latin America;

- d) In the British Isles and in France, there was much sympathy for the Latin American Revolution;
- e) The conservatives and the reactionaries, represented by the Congress of Vienna, and with great strength in Spain, Austria, Russia and Prussia, stood for the old order of things, and looked upon democratic revolution anywhere with much alarm; and
- f) The United States warned the power of Europe not to interfere in America. There must be no more “colonization” of America by European powers. This declaration of the United States certainly counted for much in protecting the new republics of the New World.

Continuing Political Conflicts

Soon after independence, political conflicts increased. Liberals called for separation of Church and state, the breakup of large estates, higher taxes on land, public social services, and civilian control of the government. Most of the liberals were *mestizos*, intellectuals or merchants who wanted free trade. Opposed to this group were the Creoles, most of whom were rich landowners, church leaders, and military officers. These conservatives favored strong central government and a powerful church and army.

The decades that followed the wars for independence saw an ongoing struggle for economic strength and social justice. Although many South American governments were republics in appearance, while others were actually military dictators. Today, these still remain in most of Latin American countries.

Activity 2.1

1. How did the nations of Central America and South America win independence during 1800- 1825?
2. How the American War of Independence and the French Revolution highly influenced Latin Americans to raise revolutions against Europeans?
3. Identify Peninsulares, Creoles, *Mestizos*, Simon Bolivar, Jose de San Martin
4. Explain why Creoles were strong supporters of independence movements in Latin America.
5. Compare and contrast the similarities and differences of independence movements in Brazil, Mexico, Haiti, Venezuela, Argentina, Chile, Peru and other Latin American nations.
6. Did independence bring social advances in Latin American countries? Why or why not?

Checklist

Put a tick mark (✓) in boxes if you understand the following concepts and personalities:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 1. Latin America ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Cause of independence movements ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Colonial social structure ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Charles III----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. Toussaint Louverture, Miguel Hidalgo, Jose Maria Morelos, Simon Bolivar, Jose de San Martin, Augustine de Iturbide, King ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. Effects of independence movements ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. Napoleon Bonaparte ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. Pan-Americanism ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Summary

- The peoples of Latin America had been struggling desperately to throw off the rule of Spain and Portugal. The desires for freedom grow stronger all the time even though most of the revolts had been failed.
- Both internal and external factors contributed for the outbreak of independence movements in Latin America. Internally, a rigid social structure, economic and political restrictions, the imposition of Catholic Church, while externally, the Enlightenment ideas, the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and the Napoleonic Wars had dramatic impacts on the colonies of Spain and Portugal. By 1810, many colonists were in open revolt.
- Dedicated leaders such as Simon Bolivar and Jose de San Martin called as “Liberator of the North,” and “Liberator of the South,” respectively. They were great leaders who helped Latin Americans to achieve independence by the mid-1820s. The newly independent Latin American countries, however, lacked experience in self-government, and military dictators frequently came to power during the 1800s. Economic advancement was hampered by the huge social gap that divided wealthy land owners from impoverished farmers.

Self-Test Exercise-2

I. Choose the best Answer among the given alternatives and write the letter of your choice on the space provided

1. The first successful Latin American revolt against European control was took place in _____
A) Mexico B) Venezuela C) Haiti D) None
2. To whom do you associate a “Liberator” and Revolutionary leader of Venezuela who devoted his life to freeing Latin America from the rule of Spain?
a) San Martin B Simon Bolivar C) Bernardo O’Higgins D) Dom Pedro
3. Which one of the following causes **is not** included under external factors in the Latin American independence movements?
A) Ideas of Enlightenment
B) The American war of independence against British rule
C) The rigid colonial social structure
D) The French Revolution
4. Which one of the following statements is true?
A) The independence of Brazil against Portuguese rule was achieved almost in a bloodless struggle
B) After achieving their independence, most Latin America countries were able to establish national unity, social justice, self-governance and democratic governments.
C) Most of South American countries were under Portuguese rule
D) *Mestizo* was the most privileged social order that opposed the Latin American Revolution
5. Pan-Americanism was:
A) A movement in North America established to bring unity among the thirteen British colonies
B) A movement intended to increase cooperation among the nations of the New World though unsuccessful
C) An organization established by Europeans to bring socioeconomic and political cooperation among American nations.
D) A movement in America to bring cooperation among African nations against colonialism

II. Fill in the blank spaces

6. _____ was a social order stood at the top level which dominated the political, religious, and social life of the colonies.
7. A middle class which consisted of colonial born white aristocrats that strongly supported independence movements in Latin America was _____
8. _____ and _____ were the two prominent leaders of the Mexican Revolution (1810-1821) against the Spaniards.
9. _____ was the leader and the banner bearer of the Negro slaves against the French planters on the islands of Hispaniola.

UNIT THREE**THE USA IN THE POST REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD (1780s to 1860)****Introduction**

Dear learner! in the course Survey of European History (Hist. 212) you have learned about what factors caused the American War of Independence (1775-1783) and how the Americans were able to win the war against British. This unit focuses on some of the issues that were happening within the United States during the years from the 1780s to about 1860. It tells you about postwar difficulties and squabbles, origin and development of the United States constitution, the growth of democracy, the rise of political parties, some of the great founders and organizers of the nation- Washington, Hamilton, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Jackson, and other events during the first fifteen presidential administrations of American history. The unit concludes itself by discussing the causes,

course and consequences of the War of 1812, the westward movement and nationalism versus sectionalism.

Objectives

After studying this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the political and economic troubles that the United States faced after the revolution.
- List the strengths and weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation.
- Examine the arguments for and against the new federal constitution.
- Discuss issues contributed to the growth of political parties.
- Identify the key features of Hamilton’s financial plan and the leaders and groups who opposed it.
- Describe factors that caused the War of 1812 and its results.
- List events that showed a spirit of nationalism.
- Discuss the motives behind the westward expansionist feeling of the United States.
- Explain the term “Manifest Destiny.”
- Contrast the United States short-term and long-range goals in the war with Mexico.
- Identify the main objectives of the formulation of Monroe Doctrine.
- Discuss how nationalism versus sectionalism emerged.

Section 1: Organizing the New Government

Overview

After the Revolution, the Confederation government failed to meet the political, economic, and emotional needs of many citizens. Since 1785 many Americans had needed a more powerful and effective central government to serve their interests and fulfill their hopes. The Articles of Confederation did not bring stability to the new nation. America continued to have problems with other nations. To address these problems, a new constitution was drawn up.

3.1.1. Postwar Difficulties and Squabbles

What were the chief problems of the newly created United States of America in the late 1780s?

When the war was over in 1783, the thirteen states found numerous difficulties. The end of the war brought its inevitable economic troubles. There was a certain amount of unemployment, especially in the northern states. Another serious problem was debt. The farmers of the western regions the states had borrowed heavily from the merchants of the eastern towns. After the war, Britain closed the West Indian islands to American trade, and farmers could not sell their produce. Many of them were forced to sell their farms; others went to debtors prisons. The position was worst in the Massachusetts.

The Jealousy and quarrel existed between the separate states over minor matters of trade and claimed the ownership of territories, for example, the quarrels between New York and New Jersey; Maryland and Virginia; and Pennsylvania and Connecticut. Such disagreements threatened the Union among the states.

But the most serious post-war difficulties was that of relationships with foreign power, particularly with those two that still held territory in North America, Britain and Spain. The Treaty of Paris left various grounds for dispute. Moreover, in 1783, the British government issued an order in Council forbidding American vessels to trade with Canada or the West Indies. This action deprived Americans of valuable trade which they had carried on in colonial days. This order strengthened strong anti-British feeling in the states. It also strengthened the movement towards a more effective union.

3.1.2. The Confederation

The origins of the Federal constitution have interested historians for many years. In 1783, Great Britain recognized its former American colonies as an independent nation, the United States of America. The Americans now faced a task more difficult than winning a war; forming a stable government. From 1781 to 1788, the United States was a **Confederation** or a loose union of independent states governed under an agreement called the **Articles of Confederation**. But the Articles of confederation which had been drawn up by the continental congress during the war did not provide for a national government with the power to unite the states. The Confederation had difficulty of enforcing what little authority it had. It could not collect taxes. It also could not force the states to pay national

debts from the war or to raise armies. The states had more power than the national government did. The states argued among themselves.

Another of the Confederation's major problems was its failure to regulate the state's economic activities. Soon, states began competing against each other economically. At a time when the United States needed to establish its economy and gain recognition from the world as a stable government, states only quarreled, while the country accumulated more debt. And many people felt a new government was needed.

3.1.3. A New Constitution

The road to the constitutional convention was not direct. The process of revising or replacing the Article of Confederation began in 1785 when Maryland and Virginia signed an agreement over navigation rights on the Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay. The Confederation weaknesses led to calls for a stronger central government that would effectively unite the country. In February 1787, Congress invited the states to send delegates to a convention to revise the Articles of Confederation to be held at Philadelphia. Within four months, in May 1787, the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention had drawn up the American constitution after much discussion and debate. The delegates declared to abandon the Articles and created a new constitution. Members of the Constitutional Convention are known as "**The Founding Fathers.**" Some of the leading ones were: George Washington (President), Benjamin Franklin, James Madison, Robert Morris, James Wilson, John Dickinson, and Alexander Hamilton.

After further debates, the states finally ratified the United States constitution in 1788, and it went into effect the following year. The new constitution, the Federal Constitution, is still the constitution of the United States. It set up a federal system, or a government in which power is divided between a central government and regional or state governments. The constitution has been changed but little in form. For the various amendments of extensions and additions, it has been taken mature shape, chiefly in the direction of nationalism and democracy.

The national government was divided into executive, legislative, and judicial branches of governments. Careful checks and balances were arranged. Congress, acted as the legislative body; the President, head of executive body; and the judicial branches

headed by the Supreme Court. The Senate, the Upper House of Congress elected by the state legislative had the power to check and balance the House, which was elected by popular vote.

The Constitution achieves six major purposes:

- a) It establishes a republic. A republic is a form of government in which the power is in the hands of citizen qualified to vote.
- b) It establishes division of power between the state and federal government. The constitution grants certain specific powers to the federal governments. These are the powers that are not given to the federal and not denied to the states. They are known as the states **residual power** because they reside, or remain with the state governments or with the people. States also control matters of health, police, and fire protection.
- c) It provides for a separation of power among the branches of the federal government. No one branch becomes too powerful. This system of government can control the others. Each has enough power to make sure that no one branch becomes too powerful. This system of check and balance has worked well throughout our history.
- d) It establishes the qualification and duties of members of the various branches of government.
- e) It provides a means for amending or changing the constitution.
- f) It provides for future needs by making it possible to enlarge the meaning of the constitution- the “elastic clause” of the constitution.

However, the authors of the constitution did not specially set out to establish democracy. The word “democracy” does not appear in the constitution. But the constitution did provide the means by which democracy could be established, expanded, and preserved. It is a “living constitution” that can be expanded and revised by several methods:

- Amendments
- Court rulings on laws
- New laws passed by Congress
- Traditions that develop through the year.

The constitution remains the basis of the American democratic spirit. Under the new constitution, the United States was a republic with an elected head of the state instead of a

hereditary monarch. Elections held in 1789 made Georg Washington, the first President of the United States. One of the first steps taken by the United States Congress was the development of a **Bill of Rights**, which was added to the constitution in the form of amendments. The Bill of Rights protected personal liberties, such as freedoms of religion, freedom of speech and trial by jury. Between 1856 and 1860, the Republican Party was affected by several events. In 1860 the Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln.

Activity 3.1

1. Describe the positive and negative features of the Articles of Confederation.
2. What were the first steps taken toward changing the Articles of Confederation?
3. Who were the “Founding Fathers” of the Constitutional Convention? What contributions did they make to the constitution?
4. Why did the delegates decide to draw up a new constitution instead of revising the Articles of Confederation?
5. Identify Confederation and Federalism.
6. Identify the disagreements that divided the delegates at the Constitutional Convention.
7. Why the federalists helped win public support for the new constitution?

Section 2: The First Party System and the Growth of Democracy

Overview

Hamilton’s proposal created a sound basis for the nation’s finances. The plan, however, rekindled a national debate over the amount of power exercised by the national government. The growing controversy eventually resulted in the formation of the nation’s first political parties.

3.2. 1. The Formation of Political Parties

The democratic idea is well expressed in the declaration of independence. “All men are created equal” no equal in size, strength, intelligence or skill but equal in their right to “life, liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”

The first political parties in American history were the **Federalists** and the **Republicans**. The Federalists consisted of speculators in government securities, merchants, manufacturers, artisans, clerks, bookkeepers, and all who worked in trade. On the emerging Republican sides were many small farmers and southern planters, especially those of middle rank.

The two parties, federalist and Republican, began to take shape late in 1790 and early in 1791. The Democratic Republicans (Republicans) attacked government policy and ran rival candidates for office. The two parties arose during the 1790s, when the Americans began to differ sharply from each other over major political issues; in particular over financial policy and more importantly on foreign affairs. In finance, it was Hamilton's (new secretary of the treasury) policy that provoked the division.

Hamilton's political ideas reflect the opinions of the commercial upper class into which he married Elizabeth Schuyler, daughter of General, Philip Schuyler, one of New York wealthiest landowners. He became a member of the aristocracy wealth. He asserted that Americans could do no better than to model their new government after the British system. He also admired the British form of aristocracy based on hereditary nobility and the British system as the best in the world. He had no belief in democracy. He argued that the rich were more likely to be wise rulers than any other class, because were more educated and had more to lose by misgovernment. So, the rich must be won over to support the existing system of government. Rich men would support a government whose finances were secure. Hamilton believed that the common people were ignorant and incapable of governing wisely. He wanted to entrust political power to men of intelligence, education and wealth.

The leader of Hamilton's opponents (Republicans) was Thomas Jefferson of Virginia (secretary of state in Washington's Cabinet until 1794). He and other Republicans such as Madison, and John Taylor of Virginia regarded the Hamiltonian-federalist dream as misguided and dangerous. As a result, Hamilton proposed the following program:

1. The new national government was to promise to pay all its debts in full. These included the old debts of the national government under the Articles of Confederation.
2. The government was to assume, or takeover the debts of the states. Many of these debts were the result of expenses of the states that had during the Revolution. Hamilton argued that the federal government assumes that obligation.
3. The government was to raise funds through taxes. Hamilton proposed an excise tax on liquor produced within the country. These would also be additional revenue from tariffs, or

taxes on imports. The tariffs were also meant to encourage American manufacturing. They did this by raising foreign goods.

4. The government was to charter a national bank. The bank would be privately owned. The bank of the United States would provide credit to the new federal government.

Hamilton's program met with some strong opposition. Northern states with heavy unpaid debts favored the idea. But Southern states which had already arranged to pay their debts, did not like it. They did not want to be taxed to pay northern debts.

Thomas Jefferson and his supporters argued that the government had no power to set up a bank of the United States that did not mention in the constitution. The disputes finally led to the formation of political parties. Most of anti-Federalists favored a different system of government and they wanted power left in the hands of the states. The Anti-Federalists opposed strong national authority at the expenses of states' rights. Anti-Federalists favored extending voting rights to more people. Jefferson himself regarded the people as eminently trust worthy.

In the early 1800s, the United States was probably the most democratic nation in the world. Nevertheless, not all of the people were allowed to vote or to hold office. Opportunities to rise in politics, society, and business were limited in various ways. There was much poverty and ignorance and, worst of all, slavery continued to exist in half of the states. During the 1820's, 1830s, and 1840s many people in the United States undertook to reform the nation, to get rid of social and political inequalities.

During the period of strong American nationalism there was only one political party i.e the Republican Party. However, sectional differences increased in the 1820s and 1830s. With these differences, there was a gradual return to two parties.

The Republican Party went through a number of steps on its way to becoming two parties. In 1820, James Monroe, the Republican, had been elected President overwhelmingly. He had received all electoral votes except one. By 1824, sectional differences had produced four different candidates. However, they all still called themselves Republicans. In 1828 and 1832, the Republicans were split into two branches_ the **National Republicans** and the **Democratic Republicans**. By 1834, these branches had become two separate parties with different names. They became the **Whig party** and the

Democratic Party. The Whigs followed the ideas of the old Federalists Party. The Democrats followed the ideas of the old Republicans.

The Democratic Party was Jackson's Party. It was made up largely of small farmers, southern slave owners, and some northern interests. It supported the following program:

1. **A low tariff.** This would help farmers and planters who bought imported goods.
2. **A cheap money policy.** The supply of money in circulation would be large, prices would be high but interest rates would be low. This would help farmers and planters who borrowed from banks,
3. **A pro-slavery policy.** New lands would be opened to slavery. Laws would be passed to make it easier to bring back runaway slaves.
4. **A states' right policy.** The national government would recognize the authority of the states as higher than its own.

The Whig Party included western farmers and northern commercial and industrial interests. It also had some anti-slavery interests. Whigs supported the following programs:

1. **A high protective tariff.** This would help northern interests
2. **A hard money policy.** The money in circulation would be small, prices would be low but interest rates would be high. This would protect northern bankers who loaned money.
3. **No slavery policy.** Whigs were divided on the issue. So, the party usually tried not to take a position.
4. **A policy supporting the federal government** as the final authority over the states.

Of the two parties, the Democrats were more united. The Whigs had many good leaders, but they differed on many issues between 1829 and 1861. The Whigs were in control of the national government for only two short periods of time. During the rest of the time, there were Democratic administrations in Washington.

By 1840, there were two different views of the American system of government. The first view was that the states had the right to overrule the federal. They could even withdraw from the United States. The second view was that the federal authority was the highest in land. In this view, no state could withdraw from the Union.

Since the 1830s, the two major American political parties had been the Democratic Party and the Whig Party. The Democrats had been pro-slavery. Those American who

opposed slavery had no major party to speak for them. Several small parties were formed over the year to serve this purpose. Among them were the **Liberty Party** and the **Free Soil Party**. But these parties never gained much power.

In 1854, northern dissatisfaction with the Kansas-Nebraska Act weakened the Whig Party. Former Whigs and Free Soilers joined with anti-slavery Democrats to form a new party, the Republican Party. Republicans included many groups with different interests, namely:

1. Abolitionists and other reformers left the smaller parties. They wanted the Republicans to take a strong anti-slavery stand.
2. Southern Unionists feared Southern leaders might try to secede from the Union. They wanted to oppose this.
3. Northern business interests wanted higher tariffs and aid to the railroads.
4. Farmers in free areas of the west wanted a homestead law. This would make government land available of low prices. The first platform appeared in 1854.

As time went on democracy grew. State constitutions were made more democratic, giving more men the right to vote. Consequently, the federal government also became more democratic. Since the larger number of state voters took part in electing members of congress, the method of electing president, too was made more democratic as various states put into the hands of the voters, rather than of the state legislatures, the right of choosing the “electors” who in turn would choose the president and the vice president.

The original state constitutions did not provide for complete political equality. With few exceptions, they did not permit women, Negroes or white men without a specified amount of taxable property to vote or hold office; they allowed only white men owning a certain amount of taxable property to do so. At this time, the constitutions were adopted so as the states grew more democratic, the political parties became more organized and tightly disciplined. The Republicans who upheld the doctrine of state rights and represented the agricultural interests (now called Democrats) offered Andrew Jackson as their candidate. The Whigs and the Democrats had very different philosophies about the proper relationship between the government and economic life. According to the Whigs, the federal government should regulate and encourage economic activity by means of protective

tariffs, a national bank and expenditures for internal improvements. The Democrats insisted that the government should keep its hands off economic affairs. They believed that the government should allow free opportunity for all and should give special favors to none. According to the Democratic theory, individuals and companies would get a head in proportion to their own abilities.

Activity 3.2

1. What did you say conditions that led to the formation of political parties in America?
2. What economic, social and sectional differences tended to distinguish federalists from Republicans?
3. How did Hamilton's legislative program improve the nation's economy and strengthen the national government? Why did many people criticize his program?
4. Explain how the Federalists and Republican parties differed in economic policy, constitutional interpretation, political philosophy, and foreign policy.
5. What political developments brought about the end of the federalists era?
6. What contributions to the nation were made by the federalists?

Section 3: The War of 1812

In 1800, Thomas Jefferson, a Republican won the presidency from the Federalists. During his term office, the national debt was lowered and the Alien and Sedition Acts were ended.

What were the main causes and results of the War of 1812?

Washington, Jefferson and Madison tried to keep the United States out of European wars. But in 1812 war began with Britain. Two of the causes were the issue of freedom of the seas and the desire to expand American borders. The war ended in 1814. The other cause of quarrel was Canada. From 1793 to 1814 many Europeans, led by Britain were at war with Napoleon's France. Napoleon tried to fight back by forbidding any nation to trade with Britain. The British, in turn, blocked trade between other nations and French lands. American shipping was soon caught in the middle of this system of blockade. In 1793, President Washington issued a proclamation of Neutrality. He also wanted to keep the United States out of the European conflict. In 1807, he asked Congress to pass an **Embargo Act**. The embargo outlawed any American trade with foreign nations. But this had bad effects on the American economy. Ships had to stay in port, and the United States lost millions of dollars in trade. The Embargo Act was amended to permit trade with other neutral nations. But British ships still seized American shipping.

In 1808, a Republican, James Madison was elected President (1809-1817). In 1809, Congress replaced the Embargo by a **Non-Intercourse Act**, reopening foreign trade except with Britain and France, but allowing the President to restore trade with either country or both, if they ceased violating American rights. But like the Embargo Act, the Non-Intercourse Act imposed an intolerable burden on United States commerce. So, Congress dropped the policy of Non-Intercourse and replaced it with **Macon's Bill No. 2** in 1810 which reopened United States trade to all the world, but barred British and France warships from United States waters.

Some Americans had ambitions to take over lands in Canada and Florida. These "War Hawks" as they were called, favored a war to expand American boundaries. The War Hawks were mainly Southern and Western republican politicians. All these things brought on the war that Jefferson and Madison had hoped to avoid. The War of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States probably was not necessary. The United States declared war two days after the British blockade against neutral nations. Fortunately for the United States, the British were busy fighting Napoleon in Europe during the War of 1812. Even so, the Americans suffered several defeats. The people of the United States were militarily and politically unprepared for war when the fighting started in 1812. Bitter party feelings and jealous sectional loyalties divided the people and weakened the war effort.

Focus

President Madison listed a number of grievances against Great Britain in his war message. Among these were impressments, blockades, inciting Native American uprisings, and rejecting diplomatic efforts. But the war was not a popular one, especially in New England. The fighting ended in 1814 with the Treaty of Ghent. However, it did not settle the issues that had caused the war.

American invasion of Canada failed, though the Americans did capture and burn the city of York. The Americans received no assistance from the French Canadians, and nowhere did they make the gains they had expected to make. During 1812-1813, the United States army had been on the offensive, but their march on Upper Canada failed.

The British fleet blockaded many American cities. A British force captured Washington D.C and burn White House as revenge for the burning of York. The major American successes were won on the water. American ships won victories on Lake Erie and Lake Champlain. These victories blocked any British invasion from Canada. The greatest victory on land was won at New Orleans by troops under General Andrew Jackson. But once again the lack of quick communications was involved. The battle was actually fought after the peace treaty of Ghent (now Belgium) had ended the war in 1814. Moreover, this peace treaty did not really produce changes for Americans. But the war had a number of important consequences to all Americans, i.e.:

- a) The victory left Americans with a sense that they had defeated British tyranny for the second time. It created a new national hero in the person of testy, rough-hewn Andy Jackson, and a proud of new national mythology. The War of 1812 is sometimes called the “Second War of American Independence.”
- b) The war led to a growing feeling of patriotism and pride in this country. The people of the United States now shared another common national experience; they seemed to feel a new sense of unity.
- c) It led to the end of Federalists Party, which had strongly opposed the war. Federalists were now charged with “disloyalty.”
- d) It encouraged the growth of American industry. The British blockade of American ports had cut off trade. The nation had to develop its own industries to make up for shortage in goods from Europe. Industrial growth was stimulated and an increase in national wealth at the end of the war came from expanding manufacturing.
- e) The war ended the Indian menace, both on the Northwest and the Southwest frontiers and opened the way to expansion and settlement. Americans were now free to push into the west.
- f) After 1815, Americans began to pay more attention to domestic than to foreign affairs. They soon entered a long period of relative isolation for a hundred years from the international politics of Europe.

Activity 3.3

1. Why did the British policy of impressments become a hot issue between the United

- States and Britain?
2. Why did the United States fail to conquer Canada?
 3. Why did the Federalists oppose the war against Britain? What actions did they take to obstruct the war effort?
 4. Why did the United States fail to conquer Canada?
 5. How did changing conditions in Europe enable the United States and Britain to negotiate a peace treaty?
 6. Of what significance was Jackson's victory at New Orleans?
 7. What were the failures and successes of the War of 1812?
 8. What were the consequences of the War of 1812 for the United States?

Section 4: The Westward Movement

Overview

The years after the War of 1812 till 1850 were a time of national optimism and growth of democracy and the economy. Confident their future, Americans experimented with social reform movements aimed at bettering society

During the mid-1800s, the United States used war and diplomacy to significantly expand its western territory. By 1850, thousands of settlers moved into this area to create new homes. The first settlements were made in Kentucky and Tennessee even before the thirteen colonies had declared their independence from Britain. The first settlers were mostly Scottish-Irish farmers from the interior of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. The United States approximately doubled its territory.

3.4.1. Expansion of the United States: Manifest Destiny

Who were the western settlers?

Nationalism resulting from the War of 1812 affected domestic affairs in the United States. It was associated with the **Era of Good Feelings** (1817-25), the growth of the national governments and the westward movement. While many political upheavals shook Europe during the 1800s, the United States grew in size, wealth, and power. The vast area of forests and plains west of the original colonies lured American settlers by the thousands, and no European powers with colonial interests blocked their westward drive. The conflict between European countries during the early years of the nation had created opportunities for the United States to acquire more territory.

What were the major causes and motives for the United States' westward expansion in the 1800s?

Nationalism was also connected to the growing westward movement between 1810 and 1820, where the population west of the Appalachian Mountains doubled. New states were added to the Union. After the War of 1812 tribes no longer received aid from European nations. The United States had begun to stretch west of the Mississippi River. National pride and the desire to grow encouraged this westward movement and the increase in western settlement.

The United States gained its biggest territorial prize as a result of Napoleon I's desire to conquer his most hated enemy, Great Britain. In 1803, Napoleon was preparing to war against Great Britain and needed money to finance it. He offered to sell the French owned Louisiana territory to the United States with a payment of \$ 15 million. President Thomas Jefferson acquired the **Louisiana Purchase**_ all the land between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains. The area eventually formed thirteen states. With the Louisiana Purchase (1803), the United States approximately doubled its territory. The United States also gained land as a result of Spain's internal conflicts. Weakened by political and financial problems, Spain ceded, or gave up, Florida in 1819. Eventually, the United States would cover the whole continent of North America.

There were a number of motives behind this feeling of expansion:

A) **Economic motives:** Fur traders hoped to get free access to habitat of the beaver, without competition of foreigners. Farmers desired fresh fertile lands for farms, and planters for plantations. Merchants and ship-owners were interested in the great natural harbors of the Pacific Coast, especially those in San Francisco Bay and Puget Sound, from which it seemed possible to develop a profitable Pacific trade. Others hoped to strike it with gold, silver, furs or timber.

B) **Strategic reasons:** Some Americans wanted to acquire new territories for strategic reasons. They believed that some foreign powers-Britain, France, and Russia might try to increase their territory or their influence in North America. As a result, the national securities of the United States might be endangered.

C) **Idealistic or Psychological reasons:** Expansionism was in large part, an odd mixture of nationalism and humanitarianism. Many Americans believed that they had a duty both to make additional room for their rapidly growing population and to extend the benefits of

American democracy and civilization to neighboring peoples by force if necessary. This belief in expansionism came to be known as “**Manifest Destiny**” or ideological attitude of continentalism, which justified United States dominion over the continent-indeed, made it seem inevitable-on grounds of supposed American cultural, political, or even racial superiority. The phrase, which first appeared in print in 1845, came from the Pen of John L. O’Sullivan, the editor of a Democratic newspaper in New York City. It is “Our manifest destiny,” O’ Sullivan wrote, “to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which providence has given us.” Politicians soon picked up the phrase, and historians eventually adopted it to refer to the expansionist spirit.

Focus

“Manifest Destiny”- derive to expand the boundaries of the United States across North America- became a single-minded goal for many Americans. From the 1820s to 1840s, the American flag followed settlers westward to Texas, Oregon, and Utah. In the late 1840s, war with Mexico nearly completed this transcontinental expansion with the United States acquisition of California and New Mexico.

In the 1840’s the enthusiasm for Manifest Destiny reached its height, and the doctrine was put rapidly into practice. It meant that nothing could stop American from settling the continent all the way to the Pacific. From 1845 to 1848 territories were acquired: Texas, the Oregon country (larger than the state of Oregon), California, and all the land between California and Texas. In 1823, the Mexican government granted Americans permission to occupy lands in Texas, then part of Mexico. This in turn, led to the American annexation of Texas in 1845, and contributed to the outbreak of a war with Mexico in 1846. Thus, the advance of the frontier led directly or indirectly to most of the chief problems of American history in the 19th century to the terrible strife with the Indians, to the wars with Britain and Mexico, to the quarrel with Britain in the 1840s, to the growth of a new democratic section, the West and to the growth of quarrel between South and North over slavery.

James Monroe (1817-25) saw rapid westward expansion. Six new states were admitted to the Union. These were Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), Maine (1820), and Missouri (1821). In 1836, Arkansas was admitted to the Union as a state. By the end of 1861, ten more states had been admitted, all of them,

except Florida, were in the west. California was admitted as a state in 1850 and Oregon in 1859. Oregon was a vast territory extending from the Rocky Mountains westwards to the Pacific Ocean, and from the northern boundary of California to the southern boundary of Russian America. At one time, four nations had claimed over Oregon namely the US, Britain, Spain, and Russia.

3.4.2. The Mexican War (1846-48)

Later acquisitions of new land from other nations proved to be easy or peaceful. In 1845 the Republic of Texas was annexed to the United States. By 1846 this territorial gain resulted in a conflict between the United States and Mexico that escalated into war.

What main subjects of dispute between the United States and Mexico led to the Mexican War?

The causes of the Mexican war were numerous:

1. The Mexican government refused to recognize Texan independence. The Mexican government did not permit slavery in Texas. Hard feelings began to develop between the Mexican government and the Americans in Texas. The Mexican government limited self-government in Texas. The Americans who immigrated into Texas were supposed to become Mexican citizens. However, many of them continued to regard themselves as citizens of the United States. The hard feelings between Texans and the Mexican government led to civil war. In 1836, they won independence from Mexico. The Lone Star Republic of Texas was founded. When Texas joined to the Union, Mexico broke off diplomatic relations with the United States. Thus, in taking over Texas, the United States also took over the hostility which the Mexicans felt toward the Texans. The United States also inherited a boundary dispute. Trouble soon began over the border between Mexico and Texas.

2. The second source of trouble between the two nations was a large debt owed by the Mexican government to United States citizens. Some of these Americans had provided loans or supplies to the Mexican when the Mexicans were fighting for their independence in 1821. The Americans had never been paid. Other Americans had lost their property, and their lives as a result of revolutionary disorders following independence.

3. A third cause of difficulty with Mexico was the desire of the United States expansionists for additional Mexican territory, especially California. During the Mexican War, American forces took over the Southwest and California. The war was brief. There were three regions of American attack- California, New Mexico, and Mexico itself. The Californians rebelled against the United States. But they were quelled and by 1847 the land was safely annexed. The American troops also took Santa Fe' and New Mexico.

In 1848, the United States defeated the Mexicans. Finally, a peace Treaty of **Guadalupe Hidalgo** was signed between the US and Mexico on February 2, 1848. According to the treaty:

- a) Mexico gave up a vast area that later formed all of California, Utah, and Nevada, and parts of Colorado, Arizona, Wyoming, and New Mexico to the United States. Mexico would also recognize and confirmed the Rio Grande as the Southwestern Texas boundary.
- b) In turn, the United States agreed to pay \$15 million and to assume the \$3.5 million of American citizens' claims against the Mexican government.
- c) There was an appendix to this treaty in the **Gadsden Purchase** of 1853.

Farther north, the United States argued with Great Britain over the exact borders of the Oregon country. In a treaty with Great Britain, the United States gained this vast region- Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. In 1853 James Gadsden, the American Ambassador to Mexico, paid Mexico \$10 million for 45,000 square miles(116,550 sq.km) of land in Southern New Mexico and Arizona, south of the Rio Grande. This completed the territorial expansion of the United States. With the Gadsden Purchase, the United States finally stretched from "Sea to Shining Sea." This westward expansion brought new opportunities to settlers who forged communities and built states in the new lands. The expansion also brought suffering - loss of land, culture and often life- to Native Americans who had inhabited lands in the west for centuries. The results of the Mexican War were considerable in American history:

1. The United States' possession of California resulted in the discovery of gold in 1848.
2. The annexation of new lands aroused once more the bitter dispute over slavery. This unleashed force of sectional rivalry between North and South until they brought Civil War in 1861.

Activity 3.4

1. What is Manifest Destiny?
2. What was the strategic importance of Florida to the United States?
3. What were the motives behind the expansionist feeling in the early 19th century?
4. Explain how the philosophy of “Manifest destiny” combined nationalism and humanitarianism?
5. List the territories acquired by the United States between 1819 and 1853. What were the consequences of this territorial expansion?
6. Why did Americans become interested in California and New Mexico?
7. What was the American strategy which led to Mexican’s capitulation?
8. What were the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo?

3.4.3. The Monroe Doctrine

1. What is the Monroe Doctrine?
2. What were the immediate and long-range effects of the Doctrine?

In 1816, James Monroe (1817-1825) was elected against his Federalist opponents. With the dying of Federalist Party, ideological tensions declined. Historians have called the decade following the war of 1812, the **Era of Good Feelings**. In the Presidential elections, contests without clashes of parties with distinct ideologies existed. Political disagreements continued during these years, but they took the form of intraparty squabbling and personal rivalry, as in colonial times. But none of these men was as yet capable of evoking great enthusiasm among the voters.

The Presidents from Jefferson to Monroe (1800-1825) were part of what is known as the Virginia dynasty. Spain’s weakness created hazards as well as opportunities for the United States. But Spain still hoped to regain control of its former possessions. These hopes were encouraged by France, Prussia, Austria and Russia, whose monarchs in 1815 had established the **Holly Alliance** to resist the new forces of democracy and liberalism where they appeared. Among the European powers, only Great Britain opposed the alliance for fear that France might regain her lost influence in the Americas and that a revived Spanish- American empire would exclude Great Britain from the profitable trade that had developed with Latin America since its independence. To counter these dangers, the British foreign secretary, George Canning proposed that his nation and the United States work together to prevent Spain from regaining control of her former colonies.

The American government, like the British, was dismayed at the prospect of Spanish restoration and the intervention of the great European powers in the Americas. It also feared the spread of Russian trading posts in California. But for the United States to cooperate with Great Britain would put it in the position of “a Cockboat in the wake of the British man of war.” Far better for America, was to go it alone without relying on Britain’s uncertain backing.

Even before the independence of all the Latin American counties was well established, Spain had sought the support of other European powers in re-conquering its former colonies. Both the United States and Great Britain opposed Spain’s plan. The United States did not want a strong European power to close to its borders. Great Britain had developed good trade relations with Latin Americans and did not feel that its commercial interests would be served by the return of Spanish control to the Americas. Great Britain suggested to the United States that a joint warning be issued to the various European powers. However, President James Monroe and secretary of state John Adams decided to act alone. On Adam’s recommendations, President Monroe included a statement regarding Latin America announced an American foreign policy in a message to Congress on December 2, 1823. We now call this the **Monroe Doctrine**. Monroe warned the European powers not to interfere in the countries of the Western Hemisphere. He said the United States would oppose attempts by European powers to acquire new colonies in either North or South America, to interfere with any independent nation on these continents, or to extend a European system of government and diplomacy to any part of this hemisphere. He added that the United States would make no attempt to interfere in the “internal concerns” of any of the powers of Europe. This, then, was a policy of America for the Americans and Europe for the Europeans.

Monroe announced that four principles would guide the United States in its relations and the rest of the Western Hemisphere:

1. “No parts of the American continents were “to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.”

2. The new American nations must remain independent republics; any attempt of the European powers “to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere” we would consider as “dangerous to our peace and safety.”
3. The United States would respect existing European colonies in American and stay out of purely European concerns.
4. The fourth component of the Monroe Doctrine actually announced in a separate diplomatic note to the Russian minister in Washington-asserted that the United States would oppose any transfer of existing colonies in the Americas from one European country to another.

The Monroe Doctrine warned that the United States was ready to protect its interest in the Western Hemisphere. Actually, the United States had no power to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. It knew, however, that the British supported the American action. The United States was counting on Great Britain to stand behind it in case of challenge. Great Britain did not want Spain to regain its power in the Americas. No European nation attempted challenge the Monroe Doctrine until the 1860s.

Although the immediate consequences were slights, the long range-effects of Monroe’s message were extremely important. Later leaders of the nation repeated and elaborated upon his words. In time, the United States grew strong enough to make it dangerous for hostile powers to seek territory or political influence in the Western Hemisphere. Later generations of Americas could be counted upon to support their government in such a policy, for they had come to believe in the Monroe Doctrine as something almost sacred.

Activity 3.5

1. What conditions led to the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine?
2. Why did Britain want to keep away from European involvement in Latin America?
Why did the United States act alone when it developed the Monroe Doctrine?
3. Why were the years during Monroe’s administration referred as the Era of Good Feelings?
4. What were the main principles of the Monroe Doctrine?
5. What were some of the important consequences of the Monroe Doctrine?

Section 5: Nationalism versus Sectionalism

Overview

Although the United States of America had been made strong and it had gradually become more democratic, unity was difficult. The country had always been divided between East and West, competition and rivalry had always existed between North and South which finally led to five years of destructive Civil War, in 1861-1865.

This section deals with the story of period from the growth of nationalism after 1812 and how it was challenged by sectionalism from the 1820s to the 1860s.

3.5.1. The Rise of Nationalism

The War of 1812 marked a turning point in American history. It led to the growth of nationalism in the United States. A spirit of nationalism spread throughout the United States, a strong sectional rivalry was also developing. Issues such as land policy, the tariff, internal improvements, and slavery were favored or opposed by different regions. As times went on, sectional differences grew bitter and bitter enough to threaten national unity.

How did the War of 1812 change Americans' attitude about the United States?

After the Revolution ended, Americans often felt closely tied to Europe. The War of 1812 made Americans realize that their interest might be very different from Europe's nationalism. For Americans it meant thinking of the United States as independent of Europe. It also meant thinking of the whole United States rather than of any one section or state. Americans became more loyal to the national government and the country as a whole than to one section.

There were five main areas of change related to nationalism. Four of these were domestic changes, while one involved foreign policy:

1. During the Era of Good Feelings, there was lack of political conflicts. Only the Republican Party had much power though there were still actual political differences. However, most Americans were united by a feeling of pride in what the nation had achieved.
2. The power of the national government was increased through legislation.
3. The national government was also strengthened by the decisions of the Supreme Court, led by John Marshall.
4. The population of the United States began to move Westward in large numbers.

5. In foreign policy, the United States began to assert itself as a powerful state in the Western Hemisphere. Nationalism produced isolationism. The nation's main goal was to protect its interest in the Americas. As a result, it began to limit European power in the area. It also issued the Monroe Doctrine.

However, nationalism affected domestic affairs. For example, the end of the first bank of the United States led to inflation and confusion 1811. But later, the Second Bank of the US was set up in 1816 and the national government controlled the currency. Political party struggles decreased after the Federalist Party lost power. The United States signed several treaties to settle boundary disputes with European nations.

A) **The Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817:** It was between the United States and Britain to remove forts and warships from the Great Lakes area and later on demilitarization. Finally, the agreement included the border between Canada and the United States.

B) **The Convention of 1818:** It was between Britain and the United States concerning the border between Canada and the US.

C) **The Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819:** By this treaty Spain ceded Florida to the US, which in turn, gave up its claims to Texas. This treaty also formally established the western limits of the Louisiana Purchase.

3.5.2. The Rise of Sectionalism

In the 1820s, nationalism was challenged by increasing sectionalism concern for the interest of one section over those of the nation.

What is sectionalism?

The three main sections were the North, the South, and the West.

The North: In 1850, the area of the North included New England, the States of (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island), New York and New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin. Its population was growing fast, largely by immigration. Most peoples of the section were farmers. However, the national centers of commerce and industry were also in the North. The area was developing industry, and transportation, communication, education, literature, trade, urbanization and others. But not all parts of the nation were growing at the same rate. The Northeast gained less than the Northwest.

1. Why was there a large influx of immigrant to the United States in the 1840s? How was the population in the sections affected by this immigration?
2. What improvements were made in transportation and communication during the 1850? How did these improvements affect the trade between the sections?

The South: This section had almost no industry. It depended on raising cotton, tobacco, and sugar cane. These products were sent to northern and European factories. The south included “all states where slavery was legal”; but some states such as Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and parts of Virginia, Tennessee, and Missouri were on the northern side during the Civil War. The most important Southern states were the cotton states of the lower south- South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. North of these was a group more or less firmly attached to slavery, but in which little cotton was grown including North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri.

The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 led to greater cotton production. This, in turn, led to greater demand for slave labor. Most white southerners did not own slaves but much of the south’s cotton came from slave labor on large plantations. The plantation owners controlled the economy and the politics of the South. Crops varied from place to place. Cotton was grown in a “cotton belt” that stretched in a great arc from North Carolina, southward and westward to Texas and Arkansas. Rice was produced along the coast of South Carolina, and sugar in the lowlands of Louisiana.

The West: This was a less united section than the other two. The old West had been the area between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River. The northwestern areas were settled by Northeasterners and European immigrants. They usually had small farms. Southwestern areas had been settled in large slave plantations by southerners who needed fresh soil for cotton. Generally, however, it was agricultural. The above sections differed on most issues of the day.

a) **Protective tariffs:** The North favored high tariffs to protect its industry. The South opposed them, since it had to buy the manufactured goods it used. The West was divided on the issue.

- b) **The Bank of the United States:** The North favored the bank, because the bank's hard money policies helped business and industry. The South and West opposed the bank.
- c) **Immigration:** The North and West favored increased immigration. This would provide more labor in factories and more settlers on the frontier. The South saw no need for more immigrants.
- d) **Expansion of the frontiers:** The South and West wanted new land for more plantations and settlements. The North feared this could take away its labor supply.
- e) **Slavery:** The South favored taking slaves into new areas to establish plantations. The Northerners opposed extending slavery any further. The West was divided, with the Southwest supporting the expansion of slavery.

In 1824, Henry Clay, proposed what he called the "American System." He suggested the South and West support protective tariffs to aid the industrial North. In return, the North would support a system of internal improvements. The whole program would tie the different sections together in economic unity. But Clay's idea failed. The nationalist spirit could not overcome the growing sectionalism.

Activity 3.6

1. What were the five kinds of change related to nationalism?
3. What were some characteristics of the three main sections?
4. What were some of the major issues the sections disagreed about?
5. How did the economic interests of the North conflict with those of the South?
6. How did the social ideas of the South differ from those of the North?
7. Why did industry develop in the Northeast more than in other sections of the country?
8. In what ways were the interests of the Northeast and the South different?
9. What kinds of government aid did Southern planters favor?

3.5.3. The Growing Challenge: Slavery

After 1640, most Africans came to the Americas as slaves. Most American slaves worked on the plantations and farms of the South. There were fewer slaves in the North and West. After the Revolution, most Northern states reduced or prohibited slavery. However, the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 made slavery even more important to the South. The cotton gin thus made cotton an even more profitable crop. More land was planted in cotton; more people were needed to work on the new cotton fields. To fill the need, more slaves were brought from Africa.

Why did southerners say that "cotton is king?"

Focus

Cotton was the most important of the many southern crops. It was the largest export of the United States and the greatest source of wealth for the South. It became a symbol of the Southern way of life. It was referred to as “Cotton is King.”

Slavery was a basic feature of life in the Southern states. The South called it her “peculiar institution”- peculiar in the sense that it did not exist in the North. There were Northerners who felt that slavery was an economic threat. By 1830, slavery was threatening the unity of the nation. For the next thirty years, the debate over slavery continued.

By the 1850s, earlier efforts to avoid the issue of slavery or to compromise on it had failed. The 1846 resolution, the **Wilmot Provision**, would have prohibited slavery. It was passed by the House of Representatives but failed in the Senate. The **Compromise of 1850** did not decrease the tension between the sections. California’s admission to the Union caused a crisis that was settled by the Compromise of 1850.

The Compromise provided for a stronger **Fugitive Slave Act**. The Fugitive Slave Act was part of the Compromise of 1850. It was protested by many Northerners. One of them was Harriet Beecher Stowe, who wrote **Uncle Tom’s Cabin**, published in 1852. Her book is an emotional description of the lives of slaves on a southern plantation. For many Americans, it was almost a call to battle.

In 1854, the spirit of sectionalism was suddenly aroused again. **Kansas-Nebraska Act** provoked a violent and lasting political reaction in the North. It contained the following provisions:

- a) It created two new Territories, to be known as Kansas and Nebraska; and
- b) The people of each, through their territorial legislature, would decide whether or not permit slavery, according to the principle of “Popular Sovereignty”. So the people could choose slavery if they wished to do so.

Stephen A. Douglas (Democrat) of Illinois assumed that Kansas would ultimately become a slave state and Nebraska a free state. He thought this balancing of the two ought to satisfy both the South and the North. But, he provoked a much greater outcry than he had expected on the part of many Northerners. This apparently fair act was disastrous because of the vast number of Americans who did not want any further extension of slavery in the west. In Kansas the act provoked what was particularly a civil war. “Bleeding Kansas” was

full of disorder and crime. The “Kansas War,” which lasted for several years, was a preliminary to the civil war. One of the worst of these was the Pottawatomie Massacre (1856). In 1861, Kansas joined the Union as free and not as slave state.

A series of events in 1850s showed that the sections were drawing further apart. The Uncle Tom’s Cabin publication, Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Dred Scott decision of 1857 increased the anger in both North and South. In 1857, feelings again rose with the decision of the Supreme Court in the case Dred Scott V. Sanford. Scott was a Missouri slave taken north, by his owner for 4 years, he lived in the free areas of Illinois and Wisconsin Territory. After his return to Missouri, he was sold.

Some abolitionists became interested in helping Scott win in his freedom. Scott’s lawyers argued that he was free because he had lived on free soil from 1834 to 1838. A few days after the court’s decision, Dred Scott was freed by his owner. But the decision caused chaos in the North. Opposition to the decision, the Fugitive Slave Act, and slavery itself rose. For example, the New York Tribune called it a “wicked and false judgment.” The Dred Scott decision in 1857 led many anti-slavery Americans to join the Republican Party. In 1859, a radical abolitionist John Brown raid on Virginia. He hoped to obtain guns for a slave revolt that he planned to lead. But Brown and his followers failed. He was tried and hanged by the state of Virginia. The sections were divided sharply in the 1860 Presidential election. In that year’s election, there were four parties: Democrats, Whigs Constitutional Union Party, Republican and Southern Democrats.

3.6. Activity

1. How were North-South relations affected by the new Fugitive Slave Law and by the publication of Uncle Tom’s Cabin?
2. What were the arguments of the Northerners against slavery? What were the arguments of the Southerners in favor of slavery?
3. Why did Stephen A. Douglas introduce the Kansas-Nebraska Bill?
4. What were the major provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska Act?
5. What events caused Kansas to become known as “bleeding Kansas”?
6. What events occurred in 1860 and 1861 to precipitate the Civil War?

Checklist

Put a tick mark (✓) in the boxes for questions you can answer

<u>I can</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
1. Mention postwar problems the United States faced-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Describe the weaknesses and strengths of Articles of Confederation -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Compare and contrast the Federalist, Whig, Democratic, and Republican Parties-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Outline the achievements of new constitution-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Explain the main features of the American democracy -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Identify Hamilton, Jefferson, Washington, Franklin, Madison, Morris, Wilson, Dickenson-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Examine the causes and consequences of the War of 1812-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. List the motives of the westward movement-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Explain “Manifest Destiny”-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Analyze the objectives of Monroe Doctrine-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Describe the causes and effects of the Mexican War -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Differentiate “the Era of Good Feelings” with the “Era of Hard Feelings”---	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Discuss the rise of nationalism and sectionalism and their impacts on the socio-economic and political life of the Americans-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Explain why slavery was the fundamental cause for the 1861-1865 American Civil War-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Identify the Compromise of 1850 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Summary

- Under the Article of Confederation, the national government was weak and had difficulty in collecting taxes, enforcing laws, and mediating disputes between the states.
- The Constitution of 1787, created a powerful two- houses, Congress, a strong chief executive, and a national judicial system.
- The disagreement between Hamilton and people who believed that the federal government should not wield much power, eventually led to the formation of the nation’s first political parties: the Federalists and the Republicans.
- During Jefferson’s Presidency, a major event was the expansion of the United States boundaries towards the west, which led to the Louisiana Purchase that doubled the size of the United States.

- Under James Madison, the United States involved in an unpopular war with Britain which finally ended in 1814 with the treaty of Ghent.
- After the War of 1812, a spirit of nationalism swept the United States.
- In foreign affairs, an assertive United States proclaimed the Monroe Doctrine in an effort to close the Western Hemisphere to further European colonization.
- The period from the 1820s to the 1850s was a time of reform. During the administration of Andrew Jackson, the power of the Presidency increased, the American definition of democracy broadened, and the people began to expect more from their political system.
- During the second quarter of the 1800s, the United States expanded into new western territories. As a result of the end of Mexican War in 1848, the United States received territories such as Texas, California, and New Mexico.
- In the election of 1860, slavery was the basic issue which led Lincoln victorious representing the Republicans. Most of the Southern states secede from the Union and formed the Confederate state.

Self-Test Exercise

I. Matching the appropriate items from column “B” to column “A”

<u>“A”</u>	<u>“B”</u>
1. Bill of Rights	A) a philosophy of America’s greatness, expansionism or trans continentalism
2. Manifest Destiny	B) a document which contains basic personal rights
3. Congress	C) the United States’ foreign policy which prohibits the European interference in the Western Hemisphere
4. Monroe Doctrine	D) a Bill signed in 1854 to end slavery but it arouse the spirit of sectionalism
5. Kansas-Nebraska Act	E) Articles of confederation
6. Compromise of 1850	F) A series of measures intended to narrow sectionalism, to satisfy northern and southern demand
7. Guadalupe Hidalgo	G) A peace Treaty between the U.S.A and Mexico in 1848
	H) Legislative body in the U.S
	I) Executive body in the U.S

II. Choose the best answer

8. Which one of the following was not a member of “Founding Fathers” of the Constitutional Convention that created a new constitution?
- A. Abraham Lincoln
B. George Washington
C. James Madison
D. Alexander Hamilton
9. The new constitution in the USA after 1787 had failed to achieve _____
- A. Division of power between the state and the federal government
B. The formation of a Republic
C. Separation of power among the organs of the federal government
D. None
10. Which of the following was the cause of the Mexican war (1846-48)?
- A. the Texas complex
B. the United States’ interest to expand and annex California, New Mexico and Mexico
C. A large debt to be paid by the Mexican government to United States citizens
D. All of the above
11. The main objective of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 was:
- A. To remove the French presence from the western border of the United States
B. To provide United States settlements with vast potential for expansion west of Mississippi River
C. Napoleon I demand to get finance against Great Britain
D. All of the above E. None
12. Which one of the following statements is not true?
- A. Multi party democracy was the main feature of the Era of Good Feelings
B. the Democratic Party followed anti slavery policy
C. the War of 1812 led to the growth of patriotism and nationalism in the US
D. After 1815, the Americans began to pay more attention to foreign affairs more than domestic issues.

III. Fill in the blank space

13. The first two parties in the history of the United States were _____ and _____.
14. “As Europe was for the Europeans, so America was to be for the Americans.” This historical speech was delivered by _____.
15. _____ was an act issued in 1809 by the United States’ Congress to reopen foreign trade with other countries except Britain and France.
16. Before the introduction of the federal constitution in 1889, USA was governed by an agreement called _____.
17. A system of sharing of governmental power which ensures that no one branch of federal government can control others and no one concentrates power in its hand is _____.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD (1865-1877)

Introduction

The Southern part of the U.S.A lay in poverty and ruin as the war between states ended. Nearly all that it had built up and accomplished seemed to be wrecked. What happened to the South in the Civil War was a catastrophe with no parallel in America's experience. The region in 1865 was a desolate place. Towns had been gutted, plantations burned, fields neglected, bridges and railroads destroyed. Many white southerners stripped of their slaves through emancipation. It would require a generation to get on its feet again. The task of reconstruction was enormous.

Dear learner! the unit, therefore, tries to outline the major plans and measures that have been undertaken by the Union's successive leaders to reconstruct the South and the response of political parties, in the period under discussion. Moreover, the major social, economic, and political reconstructions conducted from 1865 to 1877 will be given due emphasis. The effects and positive and negative sides of the reconstruction will also be the other themes of the unit.

Objectives

After studying this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain changes in southern society that occurred after the Civil War.
- Compare the Lincoln's and Johnson's plans for Reconstruction with the plans of Radical Republicans
- Describe Southern resistance to reconstruction.
- Discuss the political, social and economic changes in the South after Reconstruction.
- Examine how the black codes and the return of former Confederates to power affected the reconstruction

Section 1: Socioeconomic and Political Reconstruction

Overview

Northern leaders varied in their opinions of the best way to deal with the defeated South. President Lincoln had contended that the task was to restore the nation quickly and without bitterness. Others however, felt that the South should be punished.

During the years of Reconstruction, all Americans agreed that racial and political readjustments were necessary. But what changes and how to make them deeply divided

contemporaries, North and South, black and white, Republican and Democrat. Peoples' view tended to cluster around five major positions: Radical Republicans, Southern Unionist, Northern Conservative, Southern Freedman, and Southern Conservative.

4.1.1. Economic Reconstruction

The Civil War brought about economic changes in both North and South. The South was ruined. Farms, cities, industry, and transportation had been seriously damaged. The breakup of plantation system led to tenant farming and sharecropping. Freeing the slaves had resulted in a huge unemployed work force. In the North, there had been a great growth of industry. This was aided by high tariffs and the growth of rail transportation. In addition, to make more money available, the government issued greenbacks, currency without gold or silver backing. The green back printed during the war. The other was the national banknotes issued by private banks belonging to the National Banking System and guaranteed by the United States Treasury. The greenback could not be exchanged for gold. As a result, they fluctuated in value. The greenback advocate's desired inflation. They believed that rising prices would encourage business, provide jobs, and make it easier for farmers to pay their debts.

In 1875, Grant signed the **Specie Resumption Act**. This provided that more banknotes would be issued, that greenbacks would be kept in circulation, and that greenback as well as the banknotes would be exchangeable for gold after 1879. The Specie Resumption Act was a compromise, and it did not satisfy all those who favored inflation. Some of them formed a new party, the **Greenback Party**, which nominated a Presidential candidate in 1876.

Industry was recovered. Between the 1860s and 1880, Southern manufactories increased in value by 55%. The Republicans and for that matter many of the Democrats believed that the South could recover its prosperity only if trades were encouraged by the Reconstruction of additional railroad. The States issued bonds and gave them to the railroad companies in exchange for company bonds; the companies then sold the state bonds to investors in the North. The states, also borrowed money for aiding other purposes, such as the building of schools and the rebuilding of streets, roads, bridges, levees and court houses. Consequently, the state debts increased. Some of them were as high as the

prewar debts. Taxes also went up, both to pay interest on the debts and to meet increased running expenses. There was a drastic drop in agricultural prices, failure in tens of thousands of business and increase in unemployment. Farmers suffered because their production and marketing costs remained high while the prices of their crops fell. Labor troubles became serious towards the end of the depression. A railroad strike in 1877 led to bloody and destructive rioting.

4.1.2. Social Reconstruction

Despite the imperfect economic adjustment, the end of slavery brought considerable social and cultural gains for black Americans. Black men and women enjoyed a new freedom of movement. At the end of Reconstruction, several thousand blacks left the lower South and moved North or West. A large movement of “exoduses” to Kansas after 1878 alarmed Southern white leaders, who feared that the South might lose its labor force.

The end of slavery freed blacks to express themselves in ways never before possible. Blacks withdrew from white churches in large numbers and formed their own. These churches gave talented former slaves an opportunity to demonstrate leadership. The protestant ministry continued to provide the leadership opportunities. The end of slavery also expanded educational opportunities for blacks. Before the war slaves had been legally denied education. After 1865, northern educators and Philanthropists went to South to establish schools and bring the blessings of literacy. The Freedmen’s bureau also labored to end illiteracy and sought to train blacks in trades. Every Southern state had made some provision for educating black children. The Southern educational system long remained poor and segregated (except for a time in the cosmopolitan city of New Orleans). Southern State governments founded separate black Colleges and Universities.

Despite the gains, segregation by race became a central fact of life in the South. In 1875, Congress passed a strongly worded **Civil Rights Act** guaranteeing to all persons, regardless of color, “the full and equal enjoyment of all the accommodations of public conveyances- theatres, and other places of public amusement”; but separation and social inequality persisted, in fact, the separation of the races became more complete than before the war. In most communities, trains, buses, and theatres had white and black sections. In

private life, the racial spheres were still more exclusive and blacks almost never entered the homes of white people except as servants.

4.1.3. Political Reconstruction

A. Presidential Reconstruction

Reconstruction or rebuilding the South was discussed even while the Civil War was being fought. In 1863, President Lincoln proposed a **lenient plan** for readmitting the Southern States. The plan suggested that **ten percent** of a state's voters took a loyalty oath proclamation to the Union. The State would be readmitted.

The Radical Republicans were those who wanted to punish the south. They wanted to treat it as a conquered territory and completely reorganize it. They opposed Lincoln's ten percent plan in Congress. In 1864, they passed the Wade-Davis-Bill. In 1865, Lincoln was assassinated. The new President, Andrew Johnson, at first favored the Radical view. But he soon accepted Lincoln's ideas. By the end of 1865, he announced that all Southern states were eligible for readmission. The Radicals immediately attacked Johnson. They feared that they would lose power to the Southern Democrats. They were also angered by the fact that most Southern states had passed "**Black Codes**" to define the legal position of the former slaves. According to some of these codes, Negroes were to be compelled to work for a white employer. They were a set of laws to govern race relations. These codes did extend to the freedmen several rights of normal citizens. They legalized marriages between blacks, including earlier slavery era relationships; permitted ex-slaves to buy, own, sell and transfer property, and gave the freedmen the right to appear, plead, and testify in court in cases involving fellow blacks. But the codes also sought to give the ex-slaves permanent second class legal, economic and political status. Under the Black Codes, black southerners could not offer their labor freely on the market. According to the Mississippi Code, Negroes could not own land to farm independently. Blacks eloquently protested the codes.

B. Congressional Reconstruction

In 1866, the Radical Republicans gained control of Congress. They passed a series of Reconstruction Acts. These were vetoed by President Johnson but passed by Congress over his vote. The Reconstruction Act set two conditions for read mission of Sothern states:

1. Each Southern State was to hold a constitutional convention. The Constitution would draw up a new state constitution. Each new constitution was to guarantee black men to vote.
2. Each Southern state was to ratify the **Fourteenth Amendment** to the constitution before being readmitted to the Union. This amendment declared that blacks were citizens and could not be refused the protection of the law. It also prohibited former Confederate leaders from holding office again.

Reconstruction under these acts began in 1867. The entire Confederate area was divided into the military districts. Federal troops were kept in the South until 1877 to protect blacks and to enforce federal laws. By 1870, all the Southern states had been readmitted to the Union. In nearly all, Republicans, supported by blacks controlled state politics.

President Johnson's opposition to Radical Reconstruction led to many disputes with the Congress. In 1868, the Radicals impeached Johnson and charges were provided for the Senate trial. Johnson was accused of breaking the **Tenure of Office Law**, passed by the Radicals in 1867. This law limited presidential power to remove officials. After the Senate trial, the vote fell one short of what was needed to remove Johnson from office. The effort to remove the President shocked the nation. Greater power would have in the hands of the Republican controlled Congress.

Focus

To stop the President from interfering with their designs, Radicals in Congress passed two remarkable laws in 1867. One, the Tenure of Office Act, forbade the President to remove civil officials including member of his cabinet, without the consent of the Senate. The other law, the command of the Army Act, prohibited the President from issuing military orders except through the commanding General of the Army. (General Grant) who could not be relieved or assigned elsewhere without the consent of the Senate.

Activity 4.1

1. Why did many Northerners want a harsher policy toward the South?
2. Explain how black codes prevented African Americans from achieving equality.
3. Specify the differences between the Reconstruction plans of Presidents, Lincoln and Johnson and those of the Radical Republicans.
4. Identify sharecropper, impeach, ten percent plan, Tenure Office Law and Black Codes.
5. How did Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction differ from the Wade-Davis Plan?

6. What economic, social, and political changes did take place in the South after 1865?

Section 2: Reconstruction in the South

Overview

Dear learner! reconstruction did involve much more than merely rebuilding and repairing the war damage inflicted on the South. There remained questions in regard to reconstructing the Union and reconstructing the Southern states. The South needed to be reconstructed physically as well as politically and socially. The results of war and defeat were appalling.

The economic reconstruction of the South was delayed because of disputes over political and social reconstruction. The majority of white southerners thought their states ought to be readmitted to the union promptly with as little change as possible in society and government. The majority of Northerners thought that the states should not be admitted until certain more or less drastic changes had been made. Some Northerners even believed that political power ought to be taken from the former slave owners and given to the former slaves.

Through the Reconstruction Acts, the Republicans in Congress intended to put Republicans in control of the Southern states. The Reconstruction of the South began in 1867, under the Radical Republican plan. By 1870, all the former confederate states had been readmitted to the Union. But the policies and programs of Reconstruction continued until 1877.

1) **The Thirteenth Amendment** had already been ratified in 1865. It abolished slavery in the United States. To reinforce their Reconstruction plan, the Radical Republicans passed additional amendment to the constitution.

2) The **Fourteenth Amendment** was ratified in 1868. It granted citizenship to all former slaves. It also stated that no citizen of a state could be deprived of life, liberty or property without “due process of law.”

3) The **Fifteenth Amendment** was ratified in 1870. This amendment stated that citizens could not be denied the right to vote because of race or color or because they had once been slaves.

The above amendments helped given blacks political power in the South. The black vote was important to Reconstruction. Since most whites were not allowed to vote, black votes were a majority in many areas. This suited the Republicans, who could count on the black vote. For the first time, black people voted and held office. Blacks served as state and local officials, legislators, and even as United States representatives and Senators, but they never had majority offices except in the South Carolina legislature. Though some attained state office as high as lieutenant governor, none was ever elected governor.

The name “Black Reconstruction” is somewhat misleading. The sight of ex-slaves voting and serving in elected offices was shocking to many white Southerners. Many Southerners claimed that black people were not able to understand how government worked. The new governments rested up on the support of these ex-slaves, most of them illiterate, who had been given the vote, and upon two groups of whites whom hostile white Southerners nicknamed “Carpetbaggers” and “Scalawags.” Southerners were also angered by the white politicians who worked with the blacks. Some were Northerners who had moved to the South. Southerners called them “Carpetbaggers.” Southern whites who worked with them were called “Scalawags.” Some Southerners argued that blacks were being misled by such white politicians. The Democrats termed them Carpetbaggers in order to give the impression that they were fortune-seekers who had gone South with all their possessions in a carpetbag.

The carpetbaggers included a variety of men from the North: well off and poor, honest and dishonest such as ex-soldiers from the Union army, teachers with a mission to educate the colored people, Federal officials businessmen, tax collectors, planters as well as adventurers. Scalawags were native white southerners who temporarily at least, joined the Republican Party. Some of them were independent farmers who had never liked planters or the confederacy, poor whites, businessmen and merchants who wanted to co-operate with the North to restore law and order, as well as self-seekers. Scalawags were condemned as disloyal.

Southerners also complained of corruption in their state governments during Reconstruction. They charged that Republican Carpetbaggers and Scalawags used fraud to win elections and became wealthy from bribes. White Democrats also complained of

“Negro rule.” Southern Democrats pointed to increase state debts as a result of rebuilding southern transportation and providing needed help for the poor. Some claims of corruption were of course true. But corruption in government was not limited to one area or party. Democrats in the North were guilty also.

Southern Democrats were determined to regain control of their states. To do this, they acted to prevent blacks from voting. Secret organizations like the **Ku Klux Klan** were founded. The Klan’s founder was the Tennessean Nathan Bedford Forest, a former slave trader, planter and confederate cavalry commander. Wearing night hoods and robes, Klansmen went on night rides to terrorize Negroes and their Scalawag or Carpetbagger associates. The Union leagues too were secret societies, but Republican ones, which enrolled blacks and trained them in politics.

To check Klan terrorism, Congress in 1870 and 1871 passed three Enforcement (or Ku Klux) Acts which outlawed the Klan and authorized the use of the United States army against it. Martial law was declared in nine South Carolina counties. There and elsewhere, Klansmen were arrested and some were convicted and imprisoned. But “Ku Kluxism” (the use of terror for political ends) continued.

What methods did the Ku Klux Klan use to strike at Republican control? How did the Republicans combat the Klan?

The freedmen’s Bureau had protected blacks. Congress has passed the Fifteenth Amendment, which guaranteed the black to vote. It also passed several laws aimed at controlling white violence. The Democrats gained strength in most southern states under pressure; Congress restored the vote to most Southern whites in 1872. By 1876, only Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina remained under Republican control.

Map 1
Ku Klux Klan



In 1875,
Tennessee
was the first
state to
adopt **Jim**
Crow laws.

Secret societies like the Knights of the White Camelia, the Pale Faces, and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan organized to frustrate Reconstruction. Describing itself as an "institution of Chivalry, Humanity, Mercy, and Patriotism," the Klan violently intimidated blacks.

Jim Crow laws established legal segregation of blacks in the South. Jim Crow was enforced not only by local police but also by unofficial groups like the Ku Klux Klan. Lynching, the illegal hanging of a person by a mob, became a common act against southern blacks. Hanging and other forms of violence remained problems for many years. There were black leaders who fought Jim

Crow laws and others forms of inequality. Some of the early leaders had been active in the abolition movement.

In the Presidential election of 1876, the Democratic candidate was Samuel J. Tilden. He was opposed by Republican Rutherford B. Hayes. All the disputed votes went to the Republicans. Hayes made him President. In return, Hayes withdrew federal troops from the south. The withdrawal of these troops in 1877 marked the end of the period of Reconstruction in the South. And for many years following the end of Reconstruction, blacks in the South would not have equality. The end of Reconstruction brought to blacks the fear of a new kind of slavery. Frederic Douglass, Sojourner Truth encouraged blacks to resettle in the West after the Civil War; Booker T. Washington founded Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, which provided practical education; W.E.B-Du Bois helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people (NAACP) in 1910; and Ida B. Wells-Barnett-campaigned against lynching through her newspaper and her other writings since 1890s.

4.2.1. The End of Reconstruction

What did Reconstruction accomplish?

The 1876 election dispute between the Republicans and Democrats was concluded and settled by the “Compromise of 1877.” Congress set up a special electoral commission from the House, the Senate and the Supreme Court. 18 of the 15 members were Republicans and 7 Democrats. By a vote of 8 to 7, the commission ruled in favor of the Republican. The Republican leaders had persuaded the Southern Democrats by promising that Hayes would remove the last of the Federal troops from the South, appoint a Southern Democrat to his cabinet and give lesser government jobs to other Southerners. In addition, the Republicans in Congress would approve federal expenditures for railroad construction and river and harbor improvements in the South. Historians call this agreement the Compromise of 1877. As a result of that Compromise, the Republicans retained the President. But the Democrats took over all the Southern states. Southern Negroes were left somewhere between slavery and freedom.

The Democrats regained control of the south, and the period of Reconstruction was over. The value of Reconstruction is still hotly debated today. Many people see the entire period as a series of bad mistakes. Others feel that Reconstruction did accomplish much. They argue that the negative side has received too much attention.

Reconstruction was affected by the problems of race relations. It had both positive and negative sides. The negative included a number of problems:

1. In attacking Johnson, the Radicals hurt the image of the office of chief executive and threatened the balance of power. Their effort to impeach the president was a serious error.
2. Reconstruction angered the South. Many Southerners felt that they were being oppressed by the North.
3. Southern whites came to distrust and fear black voters. During Reconstruction, many whites felt that the black vote kept the Republicans in power.
4. There was a great deal of corruption in state governments.
5. Fear, hatred and unsettled conditions in the South led to the rise of corrupt and prejudiced leaders. Many of them relied on race hatred to win. They kept blacks from voting and used racism to win white support.
6. The two party systems in the South weakened. Southerners turned away from the Republican Party.

Despite all this, there were positive sides to reconstruction. Some of the improvements were:

- a) The legal bases for black citizenship were established. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments for a time, blacks did vote and hold office. The amendments are a legal basis that is still used today in action to end inequality.
- b) New state governments were set up in the South based on new state constitutions. Many of these constitutions were modeled on more liberal Northern ones. As a result, certain reforms were came to Southern life. For example, local officials were elected, rather than appointed. Representation was reapportioned more equally, and provisions of public education.
- c) Election of black officials who spoke for democracy.
- d) Expansion of the railroad system of the South

Reconstruction did not accomplish Lincoln’s grand goal. As a program to rebuild the South, or as a program to help the newly freed slaves, it had many weaknesses. In some ways it failed completely. But in other ways, Reconstruction did succeed.

Activity 4.2

1. What steps did Johnson take during 1865 to reconstruct the Southern states?
2. What was the status of the Southern Negroes under the state governments reconstructed by Johnson?
3. How did the Republican Party keep political control in the South?
4. Identify carpetbaggers, scalawags, Jim Crow, Fourteenth Amendment, Fifteenth Amendment, and Ku Klux Klan
5. List the long -term successes and failures of the Reconstruction for Southern Africa Americans
6. What were the negative sides of Reconstruction?
7. What were the successes of Reconstruction?
8. How did the Democrats regain control of most of the Southern states after the readmission of some states to the Union?
9. How was the dispute over the outcome of the election of 1876 resolved?
10. How was the status of the blacks in Southern society after 1877?
11. Who was to blame for the partial failure of Reconstruction?

Checklist

Put a tick mark (✓) in the boxes for the questions you can answer

I can

1. Describe why Reconstruction policies differed -----
2. Discuss the social, economic and political Reconstructions -----
3. Describe the strategies and tactics used by the Ku Klux Klan -----
4. List the long-term successes and failures of the Reconstruction period-----
5. Identify the Radicals plan of Reconstruction-----

6. Examine the impact of Jim Crow and black codes on African American -----
7. Name some sectors of the Southern economy that improved after the Civil War--
8. Compare and contrast the differences and similarities between the Reconstruction plans of President Lincoln and Johnson -----
9. Explain the reasons how the power of the Radical Republicans first grew and later diminished-----
10. Evaluate the negative and positive sides of Reconstruction-----
11. List series of Amendments during the Reconstruction period -----
12. Outline what the Compromise of 1877 established -----

Summary

- The American Civil War left the South's land, government, and transformation system in disarray.
- African-Americans and whites set out to rebuild the South. Economically and politically, however, African-Americans were thwarted by segregation and "black codes."
- The Radical Republicans' version of Reconstruction, advocating voting rights for African-Americans and harsh treatment of former Confederates, was set in motion when the Radicals gained control of Congress.
- Reconstruction governments were often handicapped by corruption.
- Eventually, white Southerners regained control of Southern state governments.
- Although Reconstruction was only partially effective for African-Americans, a degree of cooperation was achieved between the North and the South.

Self-Test Exercise- 4

I. Write true if the statement is correct or false if it is wrong

1. Although Reconstruction made some important contributions to the former slaves to achieve dignity and equality, it was in the end largely a failure.
2. The Fifteenth Amendment abolished slavery and guaranteed blacks and women the right to vote and to hold public office.
3. Sectional fraud, intimidation, corruption, and barefaced racial exclusion were not avoided during the Reconstruction era

4. Radical Republicans were the supporter of Lincoln's lenient plan.
5. The black codes guaranteed the African-Americans to have equal rights and status with the whites.

II. Match the appropriate items from column "B" within the items under column "A"

- | <u>"A"</u> | <u>"B"</u> |
|------------------------|--|
| 1. Ten-percent plan | A) a method in which the planters supplied the land to the |
| 2. Jim Crow | tenant, in return, the tenant provided the labor for the |
| 3. Radical Republicans | common usage of the yield |
| 4. Carpetbaggers | B) Northerners who wanted to punish the South after the |
| 5. Scalawags | Civil War |
| 6. Sharecropping | C) White Southerners who supported the Northerners |
| 7. Greenbacks | D) Laws which legally segregated blacks from whites in |
| | any daily life interaction in Southern United States |
| | E. Black Codes |
| | F. Northerners who went to the South and held public offices |
| | G. Lincoln's Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction |
| | to the Southerners how they readmitted to the Union |
| | H. Currency issued during time of Civil War but could |
| | exchanged for gold or silver |
| | I. National banknotes |
| | J. Wade-Davis Bill |

III. Fill in the blank space

8. An amendments which was passed by Congress to granting political power of the right to vote to the blacks was _____.
9. A secret organization founded by the Southern Democrats to prohibit blacks from voting and holding office and terrorizing them as well as the scalawags and carpetbaggers was called _____.
10. The 1876 election dispute between Republicans and Democrats was settled by _____.

11. Who was impeached by the Radicals in 1868 and his charges were presented to the Senate trial? _____

UNIT FIVE

THE GILDED AGE (1865-1900)

Introduction

Dear learner! in unit four you have seen how the United States mainly the South up to 1877, was rebuild or reconstructed after the Civil War.. But the post-Civil War period was not only the period of social, economic, and political Reconstruction, rather it was characterized by both great achievements and enormous problems.

American political life reached a low point between 1865 and 1900. Corruption in the form of graft and bribery became almost routine activities in local, state and national governments. Both the Democratic and Republican parties came under the influences of lobbyists and other special interests. On the other hand, the cultural and intellectual life of the United States underwent a colossal transformation in the half century following the Civil War. Development in literature, painting, architecture, education and other popular culture made the United States one of the cultural centers of the world.

Objectives

After completing this unit, you will be able to:

- Analyze the characteristic features of Gilded Age.
- Identify the major causes of increased political corruption.
- Explain some of the manifestations of corruption at local, state, and national levels.
- Discuss the reforms made during the 1870s and the 1880s.
- Identify the problems farmers faced during the later 1800s.
- Describe the developments in literature, art, architecture, and higher education.
- Examine how various leisure activities or popular culture expanded
- Discuss the Populist movement, and
- Explain the rise and fall of the Grange.

Section 1: A Blemished Image

Overview

This section discusses the major causes and forms of political corruption during the Gilded Age. It emphasizes on how the rapid growth of cities contributed to corrupt city governments, many of them dominated by political machines and ruled by party bosses, were models of inefficiency and corruption. Corruption was not limited to local government, but it also was widespread at the state and federal levels.

5.1.1. Politics in the Gilded Age

How “gilded age” was the political and cultural life of America in the generation following the Civil War? Did it perhaps contain some nuggets of real gold?

In the Post Civil War period, the most ambitious and talented people were no longer attracted to politics but to business. Indeed, politics became something a business. The goal of political entrepreneurs was to achieve power and position through political office often politicians were able to line their pockets with money. The Gilded Age deals with human types who came to the top of the social pile in the post Civil War era. The characters are self seeking, insincere, corrupt, hypocritical, coarse, and materialist. Beneath society's glittering surface of growing wealth lay unsightly political corruption, ruthless economic warfare between businessmen, and a general lack of concern for the welfare of others. Some of the most outrageous examples of graft, or thievery in office, were those at the grass root levels of city government. A factor that contributed to corrupt city government was the rapid growth of cities. An alliance between business and politics that fostered corruption resulted.

Focus

The "Gilded Age" was an era of the generation following the American Civil War, referring to a thin veneers of imitation gold applied to a base metal. By contrast "Gold Ages" are eras of creativity, high ethical ideas, and benevolent political relationships. The Gilded Age was a phrase coined by authors of the period-Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner (1873) in a novel about corruption of Grant administration. In the years following the Civil War, politicians were irresponsible, loyalties were shallow, and money was tainted.

The most notorious of city machines was the "**Tweed Ring**" in New York City. In 1868 "Boss" William M. Tweed gained control of New York's Democratic machine, known locally by the name of its central meeting place- Tammany Hall. For the next three years, he and his underlings managed to steal millions of dollars of city funds. The usual way this was done involved a process known as the "**Kickback**." A kickback was an arrangement whereby contractors would pad, or increase, the amount of their bills for city work and pay or "Kickback" a percentage of that amounts to politicians in the ring.

Corruption was not limited to local governments. It also occurred at the state and federal levels. In addition to corruption, government in the late1800s was affected by a marked lack of leadership. Neither Congress nor the President provided the direction the nation needed. Corruption spread even to elections. In many states, big business stood to gain or lose large amounts of money as a result of legislative votes on various matters, such

as tax rates and internal improvements. Thus companies spent large sums to influence votes. Businesses now began to employ lobbyists-people paid to represent a company or a special interest group. Money was also offered in the form of outright bribes.

In general, there was more corruption in state and local politics than in national politics. By far the worst misconduct in the federal government occurred when Grant was President. Grant had been a great general, but he was a poor President. Although he was personally honest, he seemed unable to distinguish decent people from dishonest. Dazzled by wealth, he fell under the sway of financial speculators, James J. Fisk and Jay Gould, who reaped millions of dollars from their relationship with the President. Members of Grant's family, personal staff, and cabinet peddled influence and jobs in return for cash. Nearly all the Presidents of the time 1877-97 were colorless figures, men whom the "**machine politicians**" could control and who were unlikely to strike out any independent course. Four of them-Rutherford B. Hayes (1877-81), James A. Garfield (1881), Chester A. Arthur (1881-85), and Benjamin Harrison (1885-89, and 1893-7). Cleveland was a resolute man, abler than the other four, and courageous in following his own line.

Focus

The "machine politicians" were those party leaders or "bosses" who managed the party organizations worked the party "machines" at election times. Typical of them was Mark Hanna, a wealthy business man of Ohio, who got "Bill" McKinley, elected in 1896.

When the graft in his administration was uncovered, Grant declared that he would "let no guilty man escape." However, he protected many accused of wrong doing from both investigation and punishment. The two political parties, Republicans and Democrats also contributed for the Gilded Age problems. Although fairly evenly matched in strength, the two parties were hardly identified. Though both parties received support from people in every walk of life, each had a distinctive base of support.

Besides outright corruption, the independents also deplored the spoils system, or patronage, which had emerged during the 1820s and 1830s but came to full flower during the Gilded Age. Under the Gilded Age, spoils system, parties were in effect financed by the government, largely in the form of job patronage. And vast amounts of patronage were available. But the system was wistful and often inefficient. Although government was

becoming ever more complex and technical, the spoils system made flattery, party loyalty and political know-how the sole measures of merit.

Focus

“Spoils man” is the American term for the man who hunts an office or place for himself or for his friends in the Federal or state governments, as spoils of victory in an election.

Section 2: Reforms for Good Government

Overview

Dear learner! during the 1870s and 1880s social reformers tried to raise the alarm that official corruption threatened democracy and economic development in the United States. They were disappointed and reformers wanted rebellion, through their efforts, a slow and steady movement away from the abuse of Grant administration began. The first hopeful sign was the election of Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876.

Dear learner! in this section you are going to have explanations on the activities of reformers to bring series of changes in the period under discussion

5.1.1. Civil Service Reform

Under the circumstances of the politics of discontent, it was hard to enact extensive national reforms. Yet, while the major parties hesitated to take a definite stand on any important issue, more and more of the people began to think that something should be done about what they considered to be serious evils, such as the spoils system, the tariff and the trusts, the high rates charged by railroads, and the scarcity of money. These people, especially the farmers, grew more and more discontented with the federal government's slowness to act. Many of them finally tried to express their discontent in national politics by bringing pressure to bear upon the major parties and by setting up a separate, third party.

Before the administration of Rutherford B. Hayes, one of the common practices had been patronage- the assumed right of elected officials to control political appointment of unelected positions. Patronage employees made the federal government the epitome of apathy and astonishingly idle. Under the spoils system, government jobs rarely went to the men who were best fitted to perform the duties; they usually went to the men who had done

the most for the party and its leaders. Thus, the spoils system led to governmental inefficiency, irresponsibility, and corruption.

Reformers demanded that the spoils system be replaced by a merit system, under which offices would go to the best qualified applicants regardless of their political views or party services. The outstanding leader was George William Curtis. Hayes intended to lead Congress and the country and he hoped to bring a measure of purity into political life. Hayes named Carl Schurz, a civil service reformer, as secretary of interior, and Schurz proceeded to set up a merit system in his own department.

The patronage practice was soon curbed. Hayes also forbade the practice of “shaking down” federal workers—forcing them to make political campaign contributions. Hayes not only cut down on corruption but began to restore the balance of power between Congress and the President. Hayes’s reforms brought him enemies and the Republican Party had divided into factions: One group, the “**Stalwarts**,” a group of Republican machine politicians who strongly opposed civil service reform and another, “**Half-breeds**,” who pretended to favor reform but actually differed very little from the Stalwarts.

The Pendleton Act: In 1883, the Act was passed which authorized the President to appoint a three-man bipartisan Civil Service Commission. This law allowed candidates to compete for jobs through examinations. Appointments could be made only from the list of those who took the exams. A civil service official could not be removed for political reasons. The law also prohibited the enforced collection of campaign contributions from federal office holders and protected from dismissal men who refused to make such party payments. The federal government had finally begun a shift away from the spoils system.

Tariff Reform: The public question that Grover Cleveland studied seriously was the tariff. During the Civil War, duties had been raised from an average of 19% in 1861 to more than 40% in 1865. There were different views on tariff. Protectionists argued that if rates were reduced, cheap foreign goods would flood the country, resulting in ruin for firms in the United States and unemployment for their workers. Free traders (farmers, consumers, shippers and importers), on the other hand, argued that a protective tariff was unfair government interference with the normal laws of demand and supply. High tariff rates were constantly attacked by these free traders.

Shortly, after Cleveland took office, he argued that the surplus was a sign of over taxation. Most economists agreed that the existing rates were much too high for the good of the country. Nevertheless, no serious efforts were made to deal with for more than 20 years after the Civil War. Though some new laws were passed, no significant reform was accomplished. The tariff became the major issue in the Presidential election of 1888. William Henry Harrison was elected President, but he had far from complete control over his administration. He was too cold to deal effectively with people. An ardent protectionist, he was conservative in fiscal policy

Congress proceeded to handout money more freely than ever. It made large appropriations for pensions, river, and harbor improvements, government buildings, coast defenses, and other purposes. Newspapers began to call it the “billion-dollar Congress.” Congress put together a tariff bill with higher duties on manufactured goods than the government ever before had levied. The measure was intended to cut down the treasury surplus while protecting manufacturers.

Moving into the election-winning tariff issue, the Republicans passed the **McKinley Tariff Act** of 1890, which was the highest in the country’s history. It dried up revenue by levying rates so high that some foreign products were kept entirely out of the country. Nearly every foreign product that competed with American made goods was heavily taxed. Western silver states supported the tariff in exchange for the passage of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, which authorized the federal government to buy up 4.5 million ounces of silver a month.

The Republicans’ position on protective tariffs, which had helped them win the Presidency in 1888, hurt them two years later. Republicans also pushed prohibition at the grassroots level. Democrats used these issues, together with that of a backfiring tariff, to attack the Republicans. The Democrats re-elected Cleveland as President in 1892. Cleveland tried again to bring about a downward revision of the tariff. The Wilson - Gorman Tariff Act, which Congress adopted in 1894, ended the sugar bounty and restored the sugar duties. On the whole, the new law established rates lower than those of the McKinley Tariff. Cleveland refused to sign the Wilson-Gorman bill but allowed it to become a law without his signature.

After the Republicans had returned to power, they raised the level of duties again by passing the **Dingley Tariff Act** (1897). This imposed a steep duty on steel rails that British manufacturers could no longer sell them in the United States.

Section 3: Agrarian Unrest

Overview

In the late 1800s, most people in the United States still lived in rural areas, but the balance was rapidly shifting. The country's attention was on the future—on booming industry and bustling cities. While much of America prospered, farmers were struggling. As conditions grew worse, they organized to protest their exclusion from the table of plethora.

5.3.1. The Rise of Populist Party

In the late 19th century, most Americans continued to live on the farm. By the 1880s, however, agriculture was in crisis. Farmers blamed their difficulties on abuses by the railroads, greedy bankers, and Eastern industrialists. Farmers began to band together to fight these problems which in turn led to the creation of a new political party, the **Populist**. The agricultural revolution brought more food to more people. However, it left farmers discontented. The farmers had four main difficulties: falling prices, high transportation rates, high tariffs, and a high cost of borrowing money.

Focus

The discontented farmers of the country demanded a number of other national reforms. But the farmers needed to form combinations of their own to give effect to their demands. Although they still had a national organization, the National Grange, it was no longer the large, crusading body it had been in the 1870s.

The last thirty years of the 19th century were a period of chronic discontent among American farmers with wide spread movements of protest. Behind the discontent lay the harsh physical conditions of the farmer's life, especially on the Great Plains- the frozen cold of winter and the savage droughts of summer, the plagues of grasshoppers, the erosion of treeless soil, the dust storms, above all perhaps the terrible loneliness, in days without automobile, radio and telephone, a loneliness felt most by the farmer's women folk and at times of illness or child birth. But the basic cause of the discontent was economic.

For most of these years, particularly in the 1880s, farm price began to decline. This decline was largely the result of overproduction of crops. New inventions such as steam-powered harvesting and threshing machines had improved yields, and more efficient techniques greatly increased farm production. The trouble was that American farmers were producing more than American cities could consume. As prices declined, farmers had to borrow more and more money. Costs of the new farm machinery were high. Often farmers could afford such equipment only on a mortgage. High too, were the costs of shipping crops to market. The more farm prices fell, the harder it became for farmers to pay back their loans. Farmer organizations, most notably the Southern Alliance, began to look for other ways to finance and market crops. Many farmers also began to call for railroad regulations for a variety of reasons.

The rail companies-whose advertising had tempted many Americans to “go west,” they charged excessive rates for carrying his produce east and often also controlled the warehouse charges he had to pay for storing it. The railroads were particularly hated because they charged very low rates to favored industrial companies in the East, and compensated themselves by asking rates several times as high from Western farmers. Grain elevator owners demanded exorbitant fees. Bankers and loan companies charged extortionate interest rates.

Some railroad companies exercised unethical business practices. They spent millions of dollars in bribes to state legislatures and other public officials in exchanges for special favors, such as land grants, cash subsidies, pro-railroad laws, and tax exemptions. Another abuse was called “stock-watering,” the practice of increasing the number of shares of a company without adding to the companies’ assets. It also hurt the public because the railroads had to keep their rates high to pay dividends. But farmers responded in other ways also to their desperate economic plight. From the late 1860s onwards, a series of farmers’ movement, aiming at getting states and, later the nation, to pass laws dealing with grievances, spread through the farm belt from the Dakotas and Minnesota to the south. These included the Patrons of Husbandry, better known as the Grange, strongest Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota. The Grange was founded in 1867.

The Grange was a nationwide farm organization, however, that began a movement against the unfair practices of the railroads. This organization tried to end railroad abuses with laws passed by state legislatures. At first the main purpose of the Grange was to relieve the isolation and loneliness in the lives of farm families by providing social activities. Also, recognizing the importance of women on the farm, the Grange was the first fraternal organization to admit women on an equal basis.

The Panic of 1873, however, turned the Grange into a reform lobby. Farmers began to talk about how to solve their common problems. Local Grange organizations pooled farmers' resources to set up mills, factories, banks, insurance companies, grain elevators, and cooperatives, or nonprofit stores owned by farmers. Granger business usually failed. It had lost most of its members and had become essentially a fraternal recreational society. Advocates of reform began to develop new, politically active organization after 1886.

The fall of the Grangers did not stop other organizations from forming. One of the important local groups was called the National Farmers' Alliance in the 1880s and Industrial Union was referred to as the Southern Alliance. Affiliated with it was a separate organization for Negro farmers, the National Colored Farmers' Alliance. The Farmers' Alliance groups also demanded cheap money and higher farmers' prices. They wanted federal regulation or ownership of railroads, telegraph systems, and grain elevators. The alliance movement was at its height from 1885 to 1892. By 1892, it was replaced by a new political party. This was the people, or Populist Party.

Rise and fall of Populism

Discontent grew to new heights in rural areas. Farm prices continued to fall, money was in short supply and more and more people were losing their land to creditors.

Greenback Party of the 1870s: An eastern movement which wanted the federal government to continue "greenbacks" (the paper currency issued during the Civil War) in circulation and which appealed to debtor farmers. The green backers opposed any plan to take the paper greenbacks out of the circulation. They wanted the government to print more paper money. This would create cheap money and raise prices. The Greenback movement won support for a time, but it began to die out in the middle 1880s.

What were the main demands of the Populist Party?

In 1892, a new political party was formed to represent the interest of the farmers. This party was the **Populist Party**. The platform of the populists included the following radical demands:

1. A drastic inflation of the currency, either through the issuance of new paper money through the production of additional silver coin i.e. the Populists called for “free and unlimited coinage of silver.”
2. Government ownership and operation of the railroads and telephone and telephone **systems**.
3. A federal income tax, to be “graduated in such away as to take a much higher protection of larger than of small ones.
4. The establishment of postal saving banks.
5. A shorter working day for workers in industries, and restrictions on immigration.
6. The **initiative** and **referendum**. The initiative would enable the people, by petition to introduce bills for the consideration of Congress or state legislatures. The referendum would permit the people to vote on, and to defeat if they wished, bills that already had been passed.
7. Election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people instead of election by the state legislatures.
8. A single term for the President and the Vice president. They favored a single four year period with no reelection allowed.

In the 1892 Presidential election, the Populists nominated their own candidate, James B. Weavers. He lost, but in 1894, a number of Populist candidates won in Congressional election. In 1896, the Populist joined with the Democratic Party in backing William Jennings Bryan for President. He ran on a free -silver platform. Bryan was defeated, and the Populist Party soon disappeared from American politics.

Section 4: Society and Cultural Life in the Gilded Age

Overview

The post-Civil War period was a time of rapid change in cultural life. During this time, important changes in popular culture and “high culture”-in the ideas and activities of intellectuals and elites had taken place. Although most cultural activities attracted people of

widely varying background and targeted people of all classes in the early 19th century, elites by the late 19th centuries, however, were developing a cultural and intellectual life quite separate from the popular amusements of the urban masses.

In the half century following the Civil War the United States produced a flood of authors, painters, architects, thinkers, artists, and educators who made it one of the cultural centers of the Western World. There was also an exuberant and vigorous growth of “low” culture- the song, dance, theatre, and amusements of average men and women- that helped make America a cultural beacon to people of other lands. Americans were not completely preoccupied with material things. Many people devoted themselves to cultural matters too:

- Art
- Literature
- Architecture
- Education
- Painting
- Social Darwinism
- Theatre
- Sculpture
- Music
- Sports and entertainment, and recreation
- Newspapers and magazines

American scientists, writers, artists, and teachers did as much in their own way to shape the nation as did the industrialists and politicians.

Education

The late 19th century was a time of rapid expansion and reform of American schools and Universities. In this period, the nation reformed its educational system. Public education and higher education benefited from the reforms. The most far-reaching development in education during the late 1800s was the expansion of higher education. Some of the changes were seen in

- Public education
- Private colleges and universities
- State universities
- Education for women

Literature

One of the strongest impulses in late 19th and early 20th centuries, American literature was the effort to re-create urban social reality. During the 1870s and 1880s, three important writers- William Dean Howells, Henry James, and Mark Twain produced some of their

best works. Although they differed from one another in subject and style, all the three were interested in some form of realism and were revolting against *romantism*, against a fanciful and sentimental approach to literature. All tried to write fictions that would be true to human experience that would portray men and women as they really behaved.

Howells, served as editor of the *Atlantic monthly* in the 1870s and contributing editor of *Harper's Monthly* in the 1880s, was the leader of the realist school. He recorded in his novels some of life in industrial America. His most widely read novel, *the Rise of Silas Lapham* (1885), dealt with the problem of a self made businessman in a changing society.

Henry James, found the United States, with its materialistic atmosphere, uncongenial as a place in which to write. His was a psychological realism that often dealt with the impact of sophisticated Europe on innocent Americans. One of his finest novels was the *Portrait of a Lady* (1881), one of America's greatest and more successful writers than any other writer in capturing the tone, the values, and the attitudes of contemporary American society was **Mark Twain**, whose real name was Samuel L. Clemens. He became an author of international stature. His book the *Gilded Age* (1873), written in collaboration with Charles Dudley Warner, ridiculed the materialism and the get -rich quick spirit of the times. Some of Twains books were:

- The Adventures of Tom Sawyer (1876) - Life on the Mississippi (1883)
- The Adventure of Huckleberry Fin (1885) - Innocents Abroad (1869) and others

In his greatest novel, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, he exposed-through the sharp witted but uneducated. Huck Finn and his Negro friend Jim - the brutality, greed, and hypocrisy he found in the American society he knew.

By the 1890s, a new breed of women authors had made gender an issue in literature. American Women had been successful and admired authors as far back as the colonial era. After the Civil War, women entered the front ranks of literature.

New Journalism

Journalism took new forms. With the introduction of the Linotype machine (1886), printers no longer had to set type by hand and newspapers therefore could be printed much

more quickly and cheaply. This improvement in technology, together with increased literacy, enabled newspapers to reach a much larger reading public in the late 19th century.

During the late 1800s, improvements in printing led to the inexpensive mass production of newspapers, magazines, and books. Improved printing technology also led to rapid growth of the publishing industry. It also led to increased competition among newspapers publishers to get out the “latest editors.” Since both papers used yellow ink in their comics sensational, lurid, and sometimes cutthroat methods came to be known as “**yellow journalism.**” Yellow journalism had some redeeming qualities.

Art and Architecture

Realism was also an important force in American painting during the Gilded Age. Rejecting the classicism and romanticism of the first half of the 19th century, realist painters portrayed ordinary people in every activity. Among American’s great painters were Winslow Homer, and Walt Whitman.

American painting during the 1860s and 1870s was dominated by borrowed European romanticism, and Europe of the “Old Masters” remained for many years the measure of good taste in painting. During the 1880s, a more distinctively American school appeared. Led by Winslow Homer, John La Farge and Thomas Eakins, their work was direct and vivid, but its subject matter lacked relevance to the world in which most Americans lived.

Some of America’s greatest painters, however, became expatriates-people who choose to live outside their native country. John Singer Sergeant, James Abbott McNeil Whistler and Mary Cassatt lived in Europe. The architecture of the Gilded Age was heavy and ornate. It is often called “Victorian,” after Queen Victoria of Great Britain (1837-1901). Some dismissed the Victorian style as vulgar- a symbol of greed that characterized the Gilded Age. Others have celebrated the gaudiness as a symbol of the world’s vitality and exuberance. Many younger painters were exploring the grim aspect of modern life that was becoming the subject of American literature. Members of the so called Ashcan school produced work startling in its naturalism and stark in its portrayal of the social realities of the era.

Activity 5.1

1. What were the main features of the Gilded Age?
2. Why did corruption in the federal government spread during Grant administration?
3. How did Hayes attempt to reform the spoils system? What successes did he achieve?
4. Identify graft, patronage, free trader, protectionist, political machine, Kickback, lobbyist, realism, and yellow journalism.
5. Mention examples of corruption that occurred in governments?
6. State how the Republican and Democratic Parties differed concerning the role of the federal government?
7. Why did Arthur introduce the civil service reform? How was the merit system expanded?
8. Describe political reforms made during the 1870s and 1880s?
9. Explain the controversy over raising or lowering the tariff?
10. What subjects did realist artists seek to portray?
11. How did a linotype machine and improved methods of printing and typesetting affect the publishing?
12. What changes took place in higher education and journalism after the Civil War? Between 1865 and 1900? what types of literature developed in the United States?
13. Why were the farmers' alliances organized? By what means did the various alliances attempt to achieve their objectives?
14. What were the objectives of the Populist Party and why it did rapidly disintegrate after 1896?
15. Explain why farmers failed to share in the economy's prosperity.

Checklist

Put a tick (✓) in the boxes if you know and can explain the following:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. Gilded Age ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Causes of political corruption ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Spoils system----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Mark Twain ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. Kickback ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. Political machine ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. Political reforms in the 1870s and 1880s----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. Rutherford B. Hayes ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. Pendleton Act ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. Grant administration ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. Civil service reform ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. Tariff reform ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13. McKinley Tariff Act ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14. Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 15. Populist Movement ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 16. Grange ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 17. Greenback Party ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 18. Interstate Commerce Act ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19. The Presidential Election of 1896----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |

- A) Cities B) States C) Federal D) All
3. The first kind of reform introduced by President Rutherford B. Hayes in the late 1870s was:
- A) Revision of the federal constitution C) Interstate Commerce Act reform
B) Civil service reform D.) The Omaha platform
4. The Populist Movement was:
- A) A religious movement to spread Catholicism in the United States
B) A feminist movement stood for the equality of women
C) A group of Republicans who defended tariff as a means of nurturing fledging industries in the United States
D) A third farmers political party which formed to represent the interest of farmers
5. The Grant administration was characterized by:
- A) Honesty in politics
B) Widespread of corruption at all levels of government
C) Improvement of government efficiency and integrity
D) The abolition of spoils system
6. Which one of the following cultural lives developed during the Gilded Age?
- A) Literature C) Music and theater
B) Sports and entertainment D) All of the above

II. Fill in the blank space

7. A group of Republican Party which stood for machine politics and spoils system by opposing the civil service reform was called _____
8. A party-linked political organization that maintained power by controlling votes controlling the courts, and controlling the police _____
9. A law which allowed the President to declare federal jobs to be filled based on rules set by a bipartisan civil service commission through examinations and competitions was _____.
10. _____ was an early farmer organization founded in 1867 to relieve the isolation and loneliness by providing social activities.

11. _____ was a system by which contractors arranged to increase the amount of their bills for city work and pay a percentage of the amount to politicians in the ring.

UNIT SIX

THE RISE OF BIG BUSINESS AND TRUSTS

Introduction

The United States developed into a great industrial power in the latter decades of the 19th century. By the year 1900, United States industrial production was the strongest in the world. This remarkable growth was the result of many factors. The growth did much to increase the wealth and improve the lives of many Americans. But the benefits were far from universal. While industrial titans and a growing middle class were enjoying prosperity without precedent in the nation's history, workers farmers, and others were experiencing a disorienting and often painful transition that slowly edged the United States toward a great economic and political crisis.

Dear learner! this unit tells how the Unites States became a great industrial nation in the decades following the Civil War. It has three sections. The first section discusses about sources and factors for the industrial growth, of the big business and technological innovation. The second section deals with patterns of immigration. The last section concluded itself by discussing the growth of cities and problems resulting from an increase in the urban population.

Objectives

After studying this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain factors that caused American industry to grow so rapidly.
- Discuss the methods a big business used to become successful.
- Identify who were captains of industry.
- Explain Social Darwinism.
- Examine the reasons why immigrants came to the United States.
- Evaluate the relationships between the “natives” and new immigrants.
- Identify factors that led to the growth of cities during the late 1800s, and
- List the physical, social and political problems resulting from an increase in the urban population.

Section 1: Industrialization Takes Hold

Overview

The tremendous industrial growth that occurred in the United States after the Civil War resulted from foundations that had been laid over the previous half century. Agriculture flourished in the South and Mid-west, and manufacturing increased in the Northeast. A transportation network spread, people, products, and information across the nation. Yet greater growth was ahead.

6.1.1. Sources of Industrial Growth

What were the causes for the rise of industries and the economic surge after 1865?
--

In the half century following the Civil War, the United States became the largest and richest industrial nation in the world. Between 1850 and 1900, the United States was becoming more and more industrialized. Immigrants and unemployed farm workers were pouring into the cities in search of jobs and the cities needed to house them. The end of the American Civil War in 1865 brought about many important political, social, and economic changes in the U.S.A. In politics, the supremacy of the federal government over state governments was established. One great social change was the end of slavery in the South. The biggest economic change was the expansion of the industrial system in the North.

The Civil War stimulated the growth of certain industries, such as meat packing, flour milling, and cloth particularly uniforms and shoes, building of ships, and guns had to be manufactured. But the war was not responsible for the development of the oil and steel

industries, and it temporarily setback some occupations, such as railroad and building construction. The industrial revolution came first to the North. It soon affected the whole nation. The rapid industrial development resulted from a number of factors:

1. The technological skill and inventiveness of the Americans. Rough measure inventiveness is given by the United States Patent Office records.
2. Business leadership. There happened to be, an unusually large number of “**Captains of Industry**” with outstanding ability to organize and direct extensive and complicated business operations. Andrew Carnegie, Philip D. Armor John D. Rockefeller, J. Pierpont Morgan, and “Commodore” Vanderbilt, were the principal agents.
3. A large and growing labor force supply. A Majority of workers in the unskilled and low paying industrial jobs were immigrants.
4. In addition, the rich natural resources of the country contributed to its industrial growth vast stores of natural resources-- oil, coal, iron ore, and other mineral, as well as timber and fertile soils were available within the United States.
5. Government policies also favored industrial development. Much of the fertile lands originally owned by the federal government were given to businessmen and corporations. High tariffs protected manufacturers from foreign competition; government loans and land grants encouraged the building of railroads; and the national banking system provided a uniform and dependable currency (the national banknotes). Neither the federal government nor the state government interfered with business activities by seriously attempting to regulate them.
6. Finally, the United States constituted a great and expanded domestic market for the products of manufacturing the kind of mass market that mass production requires. The population more than doubled between 1860 and 1900, growing from less than 32 million to more than 75 million. Trade flowed freely from one part of the country to another without restrictions. The construction of new railroads, creating a nation-wide rail network, made it possible to move finished products as well as raw materials rapidly from sellers to buyer.

6.1.2. Growth of Big Business

Define corporation, trust

The rapid industrial growth and transformation going on in the United States had a number of effects on the country:

- a) Machines were able to produce goods in large quantities than the old way of making goods in the home by hand. This in turn, meant lower price. As a result, more people could afford to buy the goods.
- b) With the growth of industry came the growth of cities. Many people from farm areas took jobs in city factories.
- c) Industry replaced agriculture as the major economic activity of the American people. The entire nation took a greater interest in industry and trade. However, the United States continued to lead the world in agricultural production.
- d) Transportation and communication improved. Rapid transportation and communication made possible the rise of large scale industry. Big business in the late 19th century depended up on the railroad lines from coast to coast and improvement of railroad service and development of type writer and a national telegraph system.

Other forms of transportation were also improved: in land waterways, highways after 1890s led to a new invention-the **bicycle**, automobile, and postal service message were delivered faster. Two inventions that further helped to facilitate were the typewriter and telephone. The first practical writing machine was developed by Christopher L. Sholes and his associates between 1867 and 1872. In 1874, they arranged for the well known gun makers E. Remington and Sons to manufacture a number of typewriters; telephone, by Alexander Graham Bell.

- e) An increasing number of corporations were formed. A corporation is a business that sells shares of ownership to the public. The shares are called stock. Selling the stock makes it possible to raise large sums of money. The money can then be used to buy machines, built factories and produced goods. Steelworks, textile factories, electric power industry and oil industry, for example, Standard Oil Company, the United States Steel Corporation.

Focus

As railroads gave industrialists access to raw materials and markets; great opportunities developed for business expansion. The result was "Big business." By 1900 gigantic companies owned scores of plants, sold products nationwide and had hundreds of millions of dollars in capital and credit behind them.

Thomas Alva Edison originated and worked out improvements up on many existing devices such as the telegraph, the incandescent light, the electric motor and the generator. His most original production, the phonograph (1877), while he trying to find a way to record telegraph messages. He devised a method for sending a number of messages at once over the same telegraph wire. In 1879, he succeeded in making the first practical electric light for indoor use (DC). Then in 1882, he opened a steam operated electric power plant, to 400 of his newly invented lamps in 59 neighboring buildings. In 1886, George Westinghouse, Westinghouse Company designed and builds much water powered or steam powered plants on Edison's plan. By the end of the century, electricity was lightening many homes and factories.

6.1.3. Social Darwinism

There were in equalities of wealth. Many of the wealthy believed in a philosophy known as *Social Darwinism*. Most of the men who got rich were understandably satisfied with the economic system which had made it possible for them to do so. They had earned their money by being shrewd, industrious and thriftily. For example, Andrew Carnegie was making \$ 25 million a year at a time when there was no income tax. His workers on the other hand, earned \$ 8 or 9 a week. He made steel so cheaply and competed so mercilessly that remaining steel companies faced bankruptcy. Carnegie and most other great industrialists claimed that they had attained their wealth and power through hard work, acquisitiveness, and thrift the traditional virtues of protestant Americans. Those who succeeded, they argued, deserved their success. They believed that God rewarded such virtues, and if most people were less well off, this was simply because most people were unintelligent, lazy, and wasteful. Those who failed had earned their failure through their own laziness, stupidity, carelessness. Such assumptions became the basis of a popular social theory of the late 19th century: *Social Darwinism*, the application of Charles Darwin's laws of evolution and natural selection among species to human society. Social Darwinists claimed that what applies to the biological world also applied to society. Competition and the "survival of the fittest" constituted the only way to achieve progress. Just as only the fittest survived in the process of evolution, so in human society only the

fittest individuals survived and flourished in the market place. After 1865 defenders of inequality could also turn so Social Darwinism to make their case.

The English philosopher Herbert Spencer was the first and most important proponent of this theory. Society, he argued benefitted from the elimination of the unfit and the survival of the strong and talented. Spencer's books were popular in America in the 1870s and 1880s. His teachings found prominent supporters among American intellectuals most notably William Graham Sumner, Professor of Yale University, his famous book, *Folkways* (1906). He wrote that "we cannot go outside this alternative: liberty, inequality, survival of the fittest; not liberty, equality, survival of the unfit test."

Even Andrew Carnegie and a typical business tycoon in so many ways accepted the necessity for inequality on Darwinian grounds. In his famous essay, the *Gospel of wealth* (1901), in which he wrote that the wealthy should consider all revenues in excess of their own needs as "trust funds" to be used for the good of the community; the person of wealth, he said, was "the mere trustee and agent for his poorer brethren." For Carnegie, the achievement of great power and wealth was not enough. He practiced what he preached. In 1901, he sold his steel properties to the newly formed United States Steel Corporation for \$ 250 million and withdrew from business to devote the rest of his life to philanthropy. He died in 1919. He had donated \$ 350 million- mostly to building public libraries, improving education, promoting research institutions. He believed the rich would help the poor to help themselves. Rockefeller also returned much of his fortune to society in gifts that totaled more than \$500 million.

Most of the people in the United States admire and envied the very rich but resented the practices of big business. Trust became a word with bad connotations. Books denouncing the economics systems were widely read.

Activity 6.1

1. List reasons for the growth of industry in the United States?
2. What natural resources helped industry in the United States grow? How did technology help to develop the resources of production?
3. What innovations helped create new jobs?
4. Why was the growth of railroads so important to the development of the United States?
5. Who were some of the great industrial leaders after 1865? What “big business” did they establish?
6. Describe how specific technology accelerated the growth of industry.
7. How was the transportation network improved between 1865 and 1900?
8. In what ways was communication improved between 1865 and 1900?
9. What contributions did Thomas Edison and George Westinghouse make to the development of the electric power industry?
10. What were some of the important results of the rapid growth of industry?
11. Compare the methods used by Rockefeller and Carnegie to build their industrial empires.
12. What were the major principles of Social Darwinism?
13. What is philanthropy?
14. Would social Darwinists support or oppose laissez-faire government policies? Explain why?

Section 2: Patterns of Immigration

Overview

Between 1860 and 1900 almost 14 million people came to American. Another 14.5 million came between 1900 and 1915. Even more significant than the increase in numbers was the changing character of immigration during these years. The vast majority no longer came from northern and western Europe but from southern and eastern Europe.

6.2.1. Immigration to America

The industrial workforce expanded dramatically in the later 19th century as demand for factory labor grew. The source of that expansion was a massive migration into industrial cities - the great wave of immigration from Mexico, Asia, Canada, and above all Europe in the decades following the Civil War. The 25 million immigrants who arrived in the United States between 1865 and 1915 were more than four times the number who had arrived in fifty years before.

One source of soaring urban populations in the half century following the Civil War was foreign born newcomers. In the 1880s, more than 5 million people entered the United States. Although the depression of the 1890s reduced the number of immigrants, between 1900 and 1910 over 8 million more foreigners arrived. Yet most immigrants by far,

remained in the United States, and by the end of the century a majority of them made the cities their home.

From 1860 to 1890, the total population of the United States increased by about 31 million. Before the 1880s, almost all the immigrants had come from the British Isles or other parts of north –Western Europe mainly from Ireland, Germany and Scandinavia. The Irish Potato Famine of the 1840s had caused nearly 1 million Irish people to immigrate to the United States. The failed German Revolution of 1848 had prompted many disappointed liberals and intellectuals to leave their homeland. They carried with them their knowledge in the fields of science, medicine, agriculture, music and crafts.

Focus

In the 1870s and 1880s, most of the immigrants to eastern industrial cities of the United States came from the nation's traditional sources: England, Ireland, and northern Europe. By the end of the century, however, the major sources of immigration had shifted with large numbers of southern and eastern Europeans (Italians, Poles, Russians, Greeks, Slavs, and others) moving to America and into the industrial workforce.

After the Civil War, the flow of immigrants from northern European countries decreased. Then more and more immigrants began to come from eastern and southern Europe especially from Italy, Russia and Austria-Hungary. By 1900, immigrants from these three countries made up more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of the United States immigrant population.

Why did many Americans demand restrictions on immigration?

For a number of reasons, some Europeans chose emigration, leaving their homelands to settle elsewhere. Some looked for higher-paying jobs and better working conditions. Others sought to escape discrimination and persecution by oppressive governments. Still others hoped to escape famine.

Advertisements of steamship companies, along with low fares, lured many immigrants to the United States. Industries looking for cheap labor offered additional encouragement. Some American industrialists sent recruiters whose task was to urge people to leave Europe and obtain permanent jobs and homes in the United States.

Like previous immigrants, Gilded Age arrivals were moved by both “push” and “pull” factors. The chief “pull” of America for immigrants of this era, was economic. Immigrants from every land were attracted by the possibility of improving themselves in some material way; only minorities were drawn by America's reputation for religious and

political freedom. Through letters from previous arrivals and from the newspapers and magazines in their native lands, immigrants were remarkably well informed about American economic conditions. During the hard times, the United States, such as the mid-1890s, foreigners stayed home. During good times, such as the 1880s and the first decade of the 20th century, the current of immigrants became a flood. American business actively encouraged immigration in these years. The western mining companies to dig for gold in California and Nevada; the central Pacific railroad to construct the first transcontinental line; and in 1864 Congress provided business with a means to recruit workers from abroad.

The “push” from other lands was predominantly economic. Unable to compete with the lower production costs in the newer grain-growing regions of Canada, the United States, Argentina and Australia, European landlords introduced machinery and drove out the peasants, thousands of whom sought haven in the United States.

After 1890, a wave of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe more than offset this north European decline. These so called **New Immigrants** were a diverse lot. Many were Slaves-Bohemians, Poles, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Serbs, Croatians, Ruthenia’s, and Russians- from the Hapsburg Empire (Austria –Hungary) or Russia, the Empire of the Romanov Czars. The push from northern Europe soon slackened. Industrialization, plus falling birth rates through northern Europe, provided new opportunities for displaced farm people in their own nation’s factories and mines. British emigration more and more was deflected to the “dominions”- Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Many came from Europe’s south-the largest from Italy and Greek. Other eastern European immigrants included Hungarians, Rumanians, Turkish dominions (Armenians and Syrians) and the Jews from either Austria-Hungary or imperial Russia. Though the push was largely economic, political and religious factors also played a part in propelling people from the Czarist and Ottoman lands a cross the Atlantic. The Czars often treated their non Russian subjects harshly.

However, the new pattern of immigration that emerged toward the end of the 19th century disturbed many Americans. Once they had landed, the newcomers generally got an indifferent or hostile reception from native born Americans. This was due in part to nativism, the feeling on the part of the native born that they were somehow superior to the

foreign born. Hostility toward immigrants was due also to the fear, on the part of native born workers that the foreigners would compete for jobs and thus keep wages down. Workingmen generally supported demands that the federal government act to cut down immigration. Companies employing large numbers of workers opposed such demands. Although it imposed a few restrictions, the governments did little to halt immigration to the United States until the end of the 19th century.

The **Chinese Exclusion Act** (1882) stopped the few Chinese who wanted to come to the United States. Another act of Congress (1885) prohibited employers from bringing in immigrants and holding them to labor contracts made before the immigrants arrived. Not until 1943 were foreign-born Chinese allowed taking up legal permanent residence in the United States. Still other laws forbade the entry of undesirable individuals such as paupers, lunatics, convicts, and those with certain kind of diseases. Anti immigrant sentiment in these years, however, was not solely economic in origin; nativist feelings had also cultural roots. Many native-born Americans were certain that the newest immigrants were inferior to those of the past. They seemed more alien and illiterate. They came; it was said, from more backward lands where democratic institutions were unknown.

The hostile response to immigrants was reinforced at the turn of the century by the racist theories of men such as Josiah Strong and Madison Grant, who proclaimed the natural superiority of “**Nordics**” over darker haired, darker-eyed white people of Southern and Eastern Europe. Racist ideology and traditional prejudice against foreigners led in 1907 to the appointment by Congress of the Dillingham Commission to investigate immigration. The Commission’s report confirmed all the common negative stereotypes. Generally, the report endorsed the common view of the inferiority of the New Immigrants and branded them undesirable.

Many old-stock Americans endorsed nativist organizations dedicated to reducing the flow of immigrants or to limiting their role in American public life. In the 1880s and 1890, the American Protective Associations (APA) demanded that noncitizens be excluded from political office and attacked “the diabolical works of the Roman Catholic Church.” In 1894, a group of New England bluebloods organized the **Immigration Restriction League** with a program to impose literacy tests on the new arrivals, many of whom, the League

believed, could not pass such a test. In 1896, and again in 1913 and 1915, Congress passed measures requiring that all immigrants admitted to the United States be able to read and write either English or their own language. Though many Americans feared the foreign deluge, others opposed restriction. Businessmen resisted cutting off the inexhaustible supply of cheap labor, and the national Association of Manufacturers constantly lobbied against restrictions on immigration.

Activity 6.2

1. Why the United States of America attracted a large number of immigrants in the second half of the 19th century?
2. How did the pattern of immigration to the United States change after 1880?
3. Explain why people migrated from Europe to the United States?
4. Identify some attempts that were made to reduce levels of immigration to the United States?

Section 3: City Life and Problems

Overview

With the rise of industrialism, the landscape of the United States changed. Where farms once stood, factories spewed forth black smoke. Thousands of Americans left the nation's farms hoping to make their fortunes in the city. Millions of immigrants came to better their lives and share in the benefits of the new industrial age.

The great migration from the country side to the city was unique to the United States. It was occurring simultaneously throughout much of the western world in response to industrialization and the factory system. But America, a society with little experience of great cities, found urbanization particularly jarring- but also particularly alluring.

6.3.1. The Urbanization of America

Having begun its life as a primarily agrarian republic, the United States in the late 19th century was becoming an urban nation. The urban population of America increased seven fold in the half-century after the Civil War. In 1840, 1 out of every 12 Americans lived in a city with a population of more than 8,000. By 1900 however, 1 out of every 3 Americans lived in a large city. Especially, in the northern, cities were growing rapidly.

Why were so many people attracted to the cities?

One reason was that rising new industries held out the promise of jobs and opportunity. The cities of 1890s held the promise of excitement and activity in contrast to

the isolation of rural farm life. There was running water, modern plumbing, museums, libraries, theatres, shops, convenient transportation, and countless things to see and do. To serve industry such facilities as banks, insurance companies, docks and warehouses developed. These, in turn, attracted more industry and workers.

The United States was becoming a more urban country. The movement from the rural areas to the cities increased each year. In 1870, only about 25% of all Americans lived in urban areas. By the end of the 1890s, the figure has risen to nearly 40%. For example, the population of New York City rose 3,400,000 by 1900, Chicago grew from a city of 30, 000 in 1850 to 1, 600, 000 in 1900.

Joining Americans in the cities were millions of new immigrants. Between 1881 and 1900, nearly 9,000,000 people arrived in America. In 1914, 50% of the Americans were city dwellers. These new immigrants were, to some extent, different from those who had come earlier. There were large number of Japanese and Europeans from eastern and southern Europe.

Focus

The movement of people into the cities resulted in the urbanization, or the spread of city life of the industrialized countries. A country is urbanized when more people live in cities than in rural areas.

The period saw the arrival of second large wave of Jewish immigrants. Jews, who had arrived earlier, around the 1850s, were largely from Germany. But the Jews entering the United States after 1880 were usually from Poland, Russia, and other eastern European countries. From that year until 1930, some 2,250,000 Jews left the old world for America. Many of them had come to escape religious persecution. The jobs that attracted the immigrants and others to the cities were the result of expanded American industry. The city had many attractions. Here were new comforts and conveniences, such as the telephone and the electric light.

6.3.2. Problems of the City Life

Although the city was alluring, it proved a difficult and disagreeable place in which to live for the great majority of those who flocked there. They found traffic congestion, hazards noise, filth, poverty, disease, crime, fire and misgovernment. As the cities grew, so did their problems physical, social and political.

A) Physical problems

- Problems of transportation - Sewage disposal, and
- Street lighting Social problem -Water supply.

B) Social Problems: The worst of these arose from poverty. Cities were schools of crime and disorder, prostitution, shanties, slum, crime (street gangs turned to murder and robbery).

C) Political Problems

- Weak and inefficient and corrupt government,
- Confusion of authority made possible the rise of the political “boss” and “machine”

Activity 6.3

1. List factors that led to the growth of cities during the late 1800s and summarize the problems that developed as the population grew?
2. What problems did residents of apartments in the nation’s larger cities face?
3. How did the benefits of industrialization compare to the problems it raised?

Checklist

Put a tick mark (✓) in the boxes if you answer and can explain the following:

1. Factors for industrial growth -----
2. Big business -----
3. Andrew Carnegie -----
4. John D. Rockefeller -----
5. Thomas Alva Edison -----
6. Alexander Graham Bell -----
7. Captains of industry -----
8. Corporation -----
9. Trust -----
10. Standard Oil Company -----
11. United States Steel Corporation -----
12. Social Darwinism -----
13. Philanthropy -----
14. Herbert Spencer -----
15. Reasons for the immigration of peoples to the United States-----

16. Factors for the growth of Cities -----	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. City life problems -----	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. Chinese Exclusion Act -----	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. Nativism -----	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. Slavs -----	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. New immigration -----	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. Dillingham Commission -----	<input type="checkbox"/>

Summary

- The United States had all the necessary ingredients for industry to grow - abundant natural and human resources, investment money, a free enterprise economic system, and new inventions and technology.
- By 1900 huge companies dominated the economy. Corporations, monopolies, and trusts became the norm. Industrial leaders used social Darwinism to justify their actions
- An important influence on labor was the large numbers of immigrants who provided unskilled labor for urban industries. They were primarily southern and eastern Europeans and Chinese immigrants who flocked to the cities, where they created their own ethnic communities. Their unfamiliar languages and customs aroused anti-immigration sentiment.
- Along with the influx of immigrants, rural Americans came to the rapid growing cities. In this urban environment that was faced with daunting human and technical problems, a new way of life evolved.

Self-Test Exercise- 6

- I. **Match the appropriate items from column “B” within the items under column “A”**
- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| “A” | “B” |
| 1. Thomas Alva Edison | A) Survival of the Fittest |
| 2. Andrew Carnegie | B) Invented the incandescent light and phonograph |
| 3. Social Darwinism | C) Telephone |
| 4. Alexander Graham Bell | D) Gospel of Wealth |
| 5. William Sumner | E) People’s leaving their home lands to settle elsewhere |
| 6. John D. Rockefeller | F)Folk ways |
| 7. Immigration | G) Standard Oil Company |
| | H)People’s coming to settle permanently in a foreign land |

D) Urbanization

II. Fill in the blank space

8. When corporations in the same business united among themselves and formed a large companionship it is called _____
9. The movement of people into the cities resulted in the _____, or the spread of city life, of the industrialized countries
10. After the late 1880s, a large number of “New Immigrants” came from nations of _____ and _____ parts of Europe to the United States.
11. _____ is a business organization owned by stockholders who buy shares in the company and vote on major decisions concerning the future of the business.
12. Write the four “Big Business Barons” of the United States the year after 1865. _____, _____, _____ and _____.
13. Write at least six factors that caused for the growth of industry in the United States
 - A. _____
 - B. _____
 - C. _____
 - D. _____
 - E. _____
 - F. _____

UNIT SEVEN

THE GROWTH OF IMPERIALISM IN THE U.S.A

Introduction

At one time the United States had little need to look beyond its own borders for growth. Raw materials were abundant, and the home market was immense. By the 1890s, the country had developed into a great industrial nation, able to compete with European producers.

The foreign policy of the United States before the late 19th century had been dominated by two ideas. The first was President Washington's isolationist warning against entering into "entangling alliances." The second was President Monroe's warning to Europe against interference in the Americas. War with Spain, however, resulted in a more aggressive foreign policy and the acquisition of overseas colonies. Suddenly, the United States had become a major world power.

Dear learner! this is the seventh unit of the module. It has three sections. The first section describes how increased United States' economic and political power led to the acquisition of an overseas empire and assumed responsibilities in many areas of the world. Section two deals with imperial America and how confrontation with Spain resulted in war over Cuba and why Americans moved away from a policy of isolationism and building empires. Section three focuses on United States' foreign policy and its relations with the rest of the world, particularly with Latin America and the Far East across the Pacific, with China.

Objectives

After completing this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain why the United States acquired overseas territories and the main features of imperialism.
- Discuss the emergence of the United States from isolationism.
- Examine the reasons why the United States declared war on Spain and its results.
- Describe the reasons for the involvement of the Philippines in the war.
- Analyze the American foreign policy and how did Latin Americans respond to the growth of American influence in their region
- Give examples of Roosevelt's "Big Stick" diplomacy.

- Evaluate why the United States pursued an active foreign policy in the Far East.
- Discuss the goals and results of the United States' "Open Door" policy in China.
- Explain America's concerns over the Russo-Japanese War

Section 1: America Looks Overseas

Overview

Beginning in the 1500s, European nations built vast colonial empires. By the mid-1800s, many of these colonies had become independent. The industrial revolution caused new empire building. Germany, France, Belgium, Portugal and Japan joined the race for colonies. The United States had grown entirely by expansion.

In the last years of the 19th century, with little potential left for territorial growth on the North American continent, United States expansionism moved into a new phase. In the past, the nation had generally annexed land adjacent to its existing boundaries into which American citizens could move relatively easily and which could ultimately become states of the Union. But the expansionism of the 1890s, the new Manifest Destiny involved acquiring possessions separate from the continental United States.

7.1. 1. The Beginning of Overseas Expansion

1. Define imperialism
2. Explain the main reasons for the growth of imperialism in the 1800s.

During the 1880s, the foreign policy of the United States was expanded to include the winning of colonies. Many Americans became interested in the idea of imperialism. Before the 1880s, the United States had little interest in imperialism. The nation was engaged mainly in expanding westward and in building industries at home. The United States followed a policy of isolationism. But by the end of the 1880s, the United States had become more interested in imperialism. Some of the reasons were:

1. The United States wanted greater prestige. Gaining colonies across the world would strengthen the prestige of the United States.
2. Industrial Revolution. The closing of the United States frontier in the 1880s and 1890s released energy for new projects. The Industrial Revolution had brought new wealth to Americans. Many investors had surplus money to invest in foreign lands. After the 1880s,

there was a steady flow of United States money to foreign territories. Imperialism appealed to these investors as a way to protect their interests in foreign lands.

3. The need for raw materials. New colonies would be sources for raw materials. These colonies would also be markets for surplus manufactured goods.

Before the Civil War, the United States had enlarged its boundaries repeatedly, by 1853; they embraced the whole area of the present adjoining forty-eight states. The spirit of expansion_ of Manifest Destiny remained strong in the 1850s and additional territories have been acquired. After the war, Alaska (1867) and the Midway Islands (1867) were obtained, but further expansion had to wait because the American people were preoccupied with the reconstruction of the South, the settlement of the west, and the development of the industrial system.

Why further expansion was delayed after 1850s?

The American expansion of the 1890s- the new Manifest Destiny differed in important ways from the expansionism of earlier times. That of the early 19th century had been concerned with obtaining new territories which were:

- A) Contiguous to the already existing territory of the United States
- B) Sparsely populated and suitable for settlement by migrating Americans, and
- C) Expected to be organized sooner or later as states.

The new expansionism, on the other hand, was concerned with the acquisition of territories which were

1. Separated from the United States by water, by thousands of miles of it in some cases
2. Already densely populated or otherwise unsuitable for settlement by Americans, and
3. Expected to remain indefinitely, if not forever, in a territorial or colonial condition.

The acquisition of overseas territories or the exertion of influence or control over them is often called **imperialism**. In the case of the United States as well as that of the late 19th century was an outgrowth of both nationalism and industrialism. Colonies were desired as means of increasing a nation's strength; they could serve as the bases and coaling stations up on which the steam-powered navies of that time depended. Colonies were also desired as means of increasing a nation's prosperity and wealth. Colonies were expected to serve as

places for disposing of surplus products, excess funds (in railroads and other enterprises), and producing scarce raw materials.

Focus

The term imperialism is a Latin word from the day of the Roman Empire. Imperialism means one country's domination of the political, economic and social life of another country. About 2, 000 years ago, imperial Rome controlled most of the Mediterranean World. By the end of the 1800s, many European countries together with the United States controlled nearly the entire world. The era between 1800 and 1914 has come to be known as the **Age of Imperialism**.

Alfred Thayer Mahan, an Officer of the United States Navy, was the most influential American advocate of overseas expansion. In 1890, Mahan declared that “whether they will or not, Americans must now begin to look outward.” He wrote a number of books and articles on the influence of sea power in history. Mahan believed that a great nation, to insure its safety and prosperity, must control ocean routes throughout the world. He advocated that the United States build up its navy and merchant marine and take possession of islands in the Caribbean and in the Pacific for use as naval bases and coaling stations

The imperialism of European powers which were dividing Africa into separate colonies and were threatening China. This made it seem to men such as Mahan that the United States, for its own trade and its defense must join the rush to acquire overseas territories. Still there was another reason for adopting imperialistic policy in the minds of some American leaders. Many of the American people were bitterly discontented and quarreling among themselves. The nation was divided by the Populist movement, the free silver agitation and the labor disputes. Some of the leaders thought that the attention of the people would be diverted from their domestic problems and would reunite the nation in a surge of patriotism.

As the United States grew in strength during the late 1800s and early 1900s, it began to make its power felt in Latin America. Early in the 1890s, the phrase “Manifest Destiny” began to appear once more in political platforms. The United States, possessing both the people and the resources for rapid industrial development, turned to the Caribbean and the Pacific islands in pursuit of markets and investment opportunities. Hawaii and some islands of Samoa were annexed by the United States in the late 1890s. By acquiring stepping

stones of islands across the Pacific Ocean, the United States secured fueling bases and access to lucrative East Asian ports.

How did Hawaii and Samoa become territories of the United States?

Hawaii: The islands of Hawaii in the mid Pacific had been an important station for American ships in the China trade since the early 19th century. It was the natural stopping point for ships over the greatest oceans. The soil of Hawaii was well suited to the production of sugar. Americans invested millions of dollars in sugar plantations in Hawaii, and soon were asking to have the territory annexed to the United States.

American missionaries and traders joined the sugar plantation owners in urging annexation. They had greatly improved the living conditions of the natives and they had also used their influence to keep Hawaii free from European control. By the 1890s, Hawaii was closely connected to the United States. In 1875, the islands were practically converted into a United States protectorate by allowing Hawaiian sugar to the United States duty free.

In 1887, the United States negotiated a treaty with Hawaii that permitted to open a naval base at Pearl Harbor. Trouble began in 1891, when Queen Liliuokalani came to the Hawaiian throne, Native Hawaiians did not accept their subordination and they elevated a powerful nationalist to the throne. The Queen set out to challenge the growing American control of the islands. In 1893, the American residents in Hawaii carried out a revolution and the Americans deposed the Queen, set up a provisional government, and requested annexation. But debate over the annexation of Hawaii continued until 1898 when the Republicans returned to power and approved the agreement. In 1898, Hawaii was annexed by a joint resolution, which required the approval of both houses of Congress but only a simple majority in each.

Samoa: is the group of islands some 2000 miles southwest of Hawaii. It is a natural stopping point for ships bound Australia. As American commerce with Asia increased, business groups in the United States regarded Samoa with new interest, and the Americans navy began eyeing the Samoan harbor of Pago Pago. Almost land-locked Pago Pago harbor, one of the finest natural harbors in the South Pacific was an ideal spot for a naval base. In 1872, a Samoan king and a United States naval officer made a treaty giving the United States the use of the harbor. Britain and Germany were also interested in Samoa,

especially on account of its valuable coconut crop, and they were aware of its naval potentialities. A three-way bitter rivalry came to a climax in 1889. A great hurricane suddenly appeared, however, and sank both squadrons, thus preventing war. In the same year, the three powers agreed to a tripartite protectorate over the islands. But this resulted in renewed disputes. Finally, in 1899, Germany and the United States divided the islands between them, compensating Britain with territories elsewhere in the Pacific. The United States retained the harbor at Pago Pago.

Section 2: The Spanish American War (1898)

Overview

Dear learner! This section gives much attention to the involvement of the United States in the Spanish-American War. Struggling for freedom under Spanish rule for years, Cubans had gained only greater repression. When a new revolution took place in 1895, Americans were moved by two impulses to intervene. Many urged American support for the repressed Cuban people, while others saw the revolt as an opportunity to expand the American empire. In this section how the United States finally dominated Cuba and acquired outright possession of Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Guam will be given due emphasis.

7.2.1. Venezuela Border Dispute

In 1895, when Great Britain was in conflict with Venezuela over the boundaries of British Guiana, the United States urged that the dispute be submitted to arbitration or settlement by a third party that is agreeable to both sides. The cause of the intensification of the boundary dispute was the discovery of gold in the disputed area. President Cleveland had begun to fear that Britain might use its superior power to impose its own interpretation of the boundary upon weak Venezuela. After a series of debates, Britain agreed to submit the Venezuela boundary to arbitration. Aware of the power of the United States and involved with problems in its empire, Great Britain agreed to a peaceful settlement.

7.2.2. Controversy over Cuba

Imperial ambitions had begun to stir within the United States well before the later 1890s. But a war with Spain in 1898 turned those stirrings into overt expansionism. The war transformed American's relationship to the rest of the world, and left the nation with a far flung overseas empire

In 1904 President Theodore Roosevelt extended the Monroe Doctrine in what became known as the **Roosevelt Corollary**. Under this addition, the United States government would actively intervene to force Latin American countries to honor their foreign debts. Soon after the Guiana border dispute was settled, the United States turned its attention to Cuba. Cuba and the neighboring island of Puerto Rico and the Philippine islands were still Spanish colonies in the late 1890s. Cuba was particularly important to Spain, which reaped huge profit from the island's many sugar and tobacco plantations.

Spanish mismanagement of its colony of Cuba had long angered many Americans. The Cubans fought many times against the Spanish force for independence. In 1895 Jose Marti, a writer and political activist, led Cubans in a revolution against Spanish rule. Cuba's Spanish leaders embarked on a bloody attack on the rebel forces. Marti was killed in a battle against the Spaniards. Diseases and starvation soon claimed more than 400,000 Cuban lives. The American newspapers sided with the Cubans and they stirred up feelings for war against Spain. Also some people had economic reasons for wanting to end Spanish control of Cuba. They wanted the United States to take Cuba as a colony.

Soon, American politicians began bellowing war with Spain. Finally, in January 1898, President William McKinley ordered the battleship **Maine** to Havana, the capital of Cuba, to demonstrate growing American interest in Cuban affairs. In February, an explosion sank the Maine and 260 American sailors were killed. The cause of the explosion has never been determined; it may have been accidental. The United States blamed Spain and, two months later in April 1898, declared war. US naval and land forces moved into action.

The Spanish-American War was short and lasted four months and ended with a victory and brought new territories for the United States in the Pacific and the Caribbean. The war costed fewer than 3000 American lives, of these perhaps more died from disease than from battle wounds. The Philippine Islands, the Pacific islands of Guam, and Puerto

Rico became American territories. Spain was forced to agree to a treaty in Paris that ended the war. The treaty had several terms:

1. Cuba was recognized as independent from Spain but came under American protection. The United States withdrew direct control in 1902.
2. Spain ceded Puerto Rico and Guam to the United States. The most difficult question the peace makers faced was what to do with the Philippines.
3. Finally, Spain ceded the Philippine Islands to the United States only after the United States promised to pay \$ 20 million to Spain. Thus, the war, which had began as a crusade to free Cuba from Spain, ended with the transfer of others Spanish colonies to the United States.

Activity 7.1

1. Explain why the United States acquired overseas territories since the late 19th century
2. Why did the United States declare war on Spain?
3. How did the United States gain control of the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico?
4. Identify imperialism, Queen Liliuokalani, Alfred Thayer Mohan, Maine,
5. Discuss why Hawaii had fewer difficulties accepting its position as a United States possession than did Puerto Rico or the Philippines.
6. How and why did the United States establish a protectorate in each of the following: Panama, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Haiti?

7.2.3. The American Empire

7.2.3. The Philippines

How did the spread of empire building affect peoples in Latin America?

The United States became a world colonial power, but it soon found that imperialism created problems. American soldiers had to putdown the rebellion in the Philippines, which continued to demand independence. The war had undoubtedly legitimized imperialism, but many opponents of expansion remained. Mugwump reformers, along with many intellectuals and clergymen, believed that acquiring colonies was immoral or damaging to American traditions. Many people began to feel that imperialism violated the ideas of democracy.

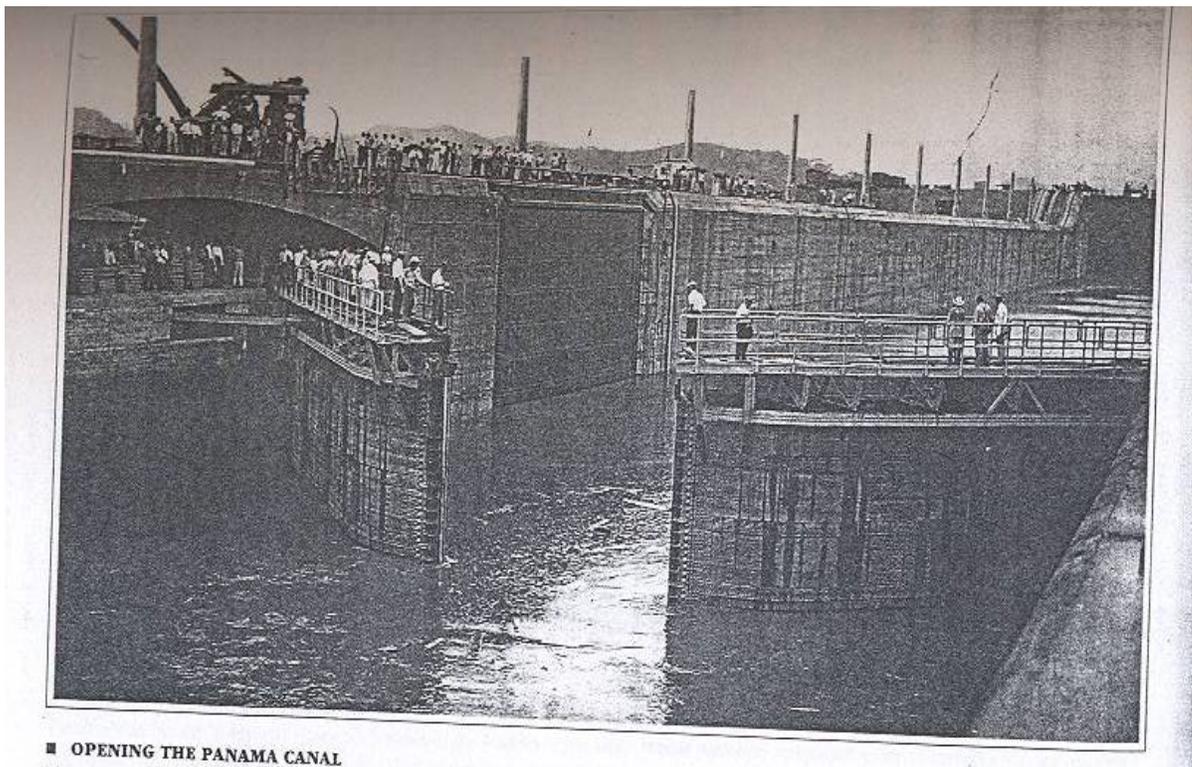
1. How did colonial peoples respond to American rule?
2. Why did the United States decide to make the Philippines a colony instead of granting them Independence?

When Spain was defeated, the Filipino people felt that they should become independent. Many rebelled when they learned the islands would become a colony of the United States. Cuba presented another problem. The United States imperialism was often resented by the people in the colonies. The American troops were not withdrawn until the newly established Cuban government had agreed to the **Platt Amendment** to the army appropriations bill of 1901. The Platt Amendment (which was to remain in effect until Congress repealed it in 1934) made Cuba a United States protectorate. The United States troops also remained in the Philippines, where they had to fight to put down an insurrection (1899-1901). The Filipinos then were given a share in their own government, but the United States retained control of it through the appointment of the governor and other officials. They received their independence in 1946.

During the immediate post-war years, Americans in and out of Congress debated the question of imperialism, especially with reference to the Philippines. In their foreign policy in the later 19th century, the American people looked in or across the Pacific Ocean. The policy which brought the United States an empire was a Pacific policy. The empire stretched across the Pacific from Alaska to the Philippines by way of Samoa. Imperialists insisted that the United States should keep the island; Anti-imperialists demanded that they be set free.

The Panama Canal is a vital link in American imperial communications. The last American annexation, the Danish West Indies, came in 1917, purchased for \$ 25, 000,000. These small islands of which St. Thomas is the chief became American Virgin Islands. Most of these small islands were used as naval bases and as station on the Trans-Pacific air route. Of the larger ones, Alaska became a territory of the United States in 1913 and a State in 1959. Hawaii became a territory in 1900 and a State in 1959. William Howard Taft was the first American governor of the islands. The **Jones Act** of 1916 gave them self-government and promised eventual independence. The outbreak of WWII brought the Filipinos into world history which they achieved independence in 1946.

Picture 2



Section 3: American Foreign Policy

Overview

Americans expected President Roosevelt to adopt an aggressive foreign policy. Roosevelt was resolved that the United States should be a great power. In the Western Hemisphere, he enlarged the scope of the Monroe Doctrine and secured United States domination of the Caribbean. In the Pacific and East Asia, he attempted to keep a balance of power and restrain first Russian and the Japanese ambitions.

7.3.1. The USA and Latin America

Americans' attitude toward its closest neighbors in Latin America during 1900s was that of a strict older brother. It would protect them against outsiders but they must behave or face American wrath. This policy worried and offended Latin Americans. The United States was the only great power in the Western Hemisphere, and Americans found this situation comfortable. Without American protection, a number of the weaker Latin American states would almost certainly have fallen again into the hands of one or another

of the great European powers. Yet Latin America undoubtedly paid a high price for this protection. The United States insisted that its own strategic, political, and economic interests came first and often acted in ways that left a legacy of resentment.

At the end of the Spanish-American War, the United States found that in order to maintain the dominant power in the Caribbean Sea, the United States followed a policy of intervention which led to steadily deteriorating relations with the nations of Latin America. Expansionists were eager to take over Cuba in order to control the approached to a future Canal across Central America. The United States did not annex Cuba, but neither did it grant the immediate independence that Cubans wanted. The terms imposed on Cuba by the United States became known as the Platt Amendment to the Cuban Constitution (1901). This amendment provided that:

1. Cuba should make no treaties which might impair its independence and should allow no foreign power to be paid from the islands own revenues.
2. Cuba should contract no public debt to large to be paid from the islands own revenues,
3. The United States should have the right to intervene in order to preserve Cuban independence or to maintain law and order, and
4. The United States should be permitted to lease certain parts of the islands and use them as naval bases. Those provisions had to be written into the Cuban constitution and into a treaty with the United States before the United States troops were removed from Cuba. In effect, Cuba had become a protectorate of the United States. After being withdrawn in 1902, troops were sent back on several occasions to putdown unrest and restore order.

How did the Platt Amendment make Cuba a protectorate of the United States?

There were more ways of making conquests than by going to war, and the USA has found dollars almost as effective as guns in the Caribbean area. It forms one side of the relationships between the USA, and the countries of Latin America. Another side is the movement for the strengthening of the ties between all the republics of the American continents- the movement called **“Pan Americanism”**. Sometimes these two methods have worked hand-in-hand. More often, they have contradicted one another.

Towards the end of the 19th century, Americans began to invest money in the small republics of the Caribbean Sea area. There were plenty of opportunities for investment; as

for example in Cuba, “the Sugar bowl of the World,” or in Costa Rica and other central states where, in 1899, the Boston United Fruit Company began operations. Hence this area became a United States sphere of influence. The United States became increasingly sensitive to any form of European intervention in Latin America. When Britain, Germany, and Italy landed troops in Venezuela in order to collect money owed those countries, Roosevelt developed a Corollary or additional principle to the Monroe Doctrine and became the “police man” of the Caribbean area. President Taft applied a version of **dollar diplomacy** to Latin America. President Wilson, however, denounced dollars diplomacy in the Caribbean area and announced a new policy of friendship for Latin America.

President Theodore Roosevelt (2), 1901-09, frequently followed an aggressive foreign policy, called **Big Stick Diplomacy**. This diplomacy was an aggressive foreign policy followed by Roosevelt in many United States negotiations including an isthmian canal route, the Alaskan boundary dispute with Canada, the Venezuelan problem, and the European dispute over Morocco. A conspicuous example of Roosevelt’s aggressiveness involved the republics south of the Rio Grande and in the Caribbean. Disorders in that area led Roosevelt to formulate a Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, which had been designed to prevent European powers from intervening in the Western Hemispheres. In 1904, Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine declared the right of the United States to intervene in Latin America to keep order and to prevent European intervention there, such as occurred in Venezuela in 1902. First applied in the Dominican Republic in 1905, the Corollary justified United States control over several Caribbean republics. The Corollary justified intervention by the United States in the internal affairs of the Caribbean countries to maintain order and to keep out European governments.

Roosevelt’s successor, William Howard Taft, worked out a policy, which has come to be known as Dollar Diplomacy. Taft did not content himself merely with the protection of United States property and investments abroad; he encouraged United States bankers and industrialists to invest money in foreign lands. He applied that policy unsuccessfully in China, but with some success in Latin America. In the Caribbean, notably in Nicaragua (1911), the policy was applied to prevent possible European intervention in United States canal area. Whereby the American government intervened to safeguard American

investment, and there by obtained political control, was criticized as “Dollar diplomacy.” It was not merely a matter of dollars. There were strong strategic arguments, especially after the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914, for American interest in the Caribbean republics.

Roosevelt defended his Big Stick diplomacy in Panama on the ground that he advanced “the needs of collective civilization” by speeding up the building of inter-Ocean Canal. His action was widely condemned in the United States as unjustifiable aggression. In Latin America it aroused dislike and distrust of the United States. The engineering difficulties involved in cutting through the Isthmus of Panama were enormous and were compounded by the tremendous health problems encountered in the tropics.

Venezuela: Roosevelt defended Venezuela from possible European aggression, strengthening the Monroe Doctrine. By 1902, Venezuela owed money to citizens of several European countries. After consultation with the American State Department, Great Britain and Germany, Venezuela’s two principal creditors blockaded Venezuelan ports to force payment. The blockade was very unpopular in the United States because it was perceived as a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Public anger moved Roosevelt to press for an end of the blockade and the submission of the dispute to arbitration. Whenever, an American republic was guilty of “chronic wrongdoing” said Roosevelt, the United States might have to intervene itself.

Dominican Republic: The Roosevelt Corollary was first applied in the Dominican Republic. In 1905, the United States assumed the responsibility of collecting Dominican customs. The Dominican Republic became the third United States protectorate in the Caribbean area. Taft’s secretary of the state Philander C. Knox, promoted American business interests abroad with the slogan, “every diplomat a salesman.” In Latin America this “dollar diplomacy” resulted in increased sales of United States goods- including warships and in efforts to increase American investments there. Dollar diplomacy brought gain to American investors.

Activity 7.2

1. State the reasons why the United States abandoned isolationist policies after the Civil War.
2. Why did the United States encounter difficult problems in trying to govern the Philippines?

3. What role did Roosevelt play in obtaining United States control of the Isthmus of Panama?
4. What was the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine?
5. How and why did President Taft apply Dollar diplomacy in Central America?
6. In what ways did Wilson intervene in the Caribbean area?
7. Explain how Roosevelt's Big Stick diplomacy led to ill feeling against the United States throughout Latin America.
8. Point out why the United States needed to build the Panama Canal?

7.3.2. The Open Door Policy in China

What was the Open Door Policy?

After the Spanish-American War, the United States stepped up its participation in the international politics of Asia and soon became an important power in that part of the world. Secretary of State, John M. Hay, set for his successors the pattern for relations with the Far East. His policy known as the Open Door Policy was based on the principles of commercial equality in China and the preservation of China's territorial integrity.

Roosevelt realized that the position of the United States in East Asia was weak. He called the Philippines the "Achilles' heel" of American defense; they were easily vulnerable to attack by Japan. China and Russia also posed problems. The acquisition of the Philippines greatly increased the already strong American interest in Asia. Americans were particularly concerned about the future of China, with which the United States already had an important trade and which was now so enfeebled that it provided an tempting target for exploitation by stronger countries. By 1900, England, France, Germany, Russia and Japan were beginning to carve up China among themselves.

In 1898 and 1899, Russia, Germany, France and Great Britain forced China to lease its ports, some of them for 99 years. Each "lease-hold" was expected to become the center of a sphere of influence an area where a European nation controlled economic developments. The United States and Great Britain decided to oppose the parceling out of Chinese territory. Early in 1898, the British government proposed a joint declaration with the United States in favor of the "Open Door" _ with the goals of preserving equal trading opportunities in China for all foreign nations.

John Hay thought that the days of American isolationism must end. Having defended the acquisition of an overseas empire, he agreed with Great Britain on the policy of an Open Door in China. In September 1899, Hay sent notes to countries with leaseholds

in China asking that they keep the ports open to vessels of all nations on equal terms. These dispatches known as the first Open Door notes, asked these nations to support equal commercial opportunity for all nations in China, even in areas they dominated as their spheres of influence. All the replies were either qualified or evasive; in effect, the powers turned down Hay's request without openly rejecting it.

While foreign countries debated control of China, Hay's Open Door Policy was put to a test when a violent anti-western uprising, the **Boxer Rebellion**, broke out in China. This was one of Chinese secret societies that were organized to oust foreign control. It was called "the Boxers" by Westerners because of the physical exercises they practiced. In June 1900, powerful bands of Chinese nationalists, over ran Peking China's capital, and besieged the foreign legations in the city. With secret aid from the Chinese government, the Boxers killed more than 200 foreigners, mostly missionaries and their families. For seven weeks the Boxers laid siege to foreign embassies in Beijing.

In August an international army, which included some 2500 United States troops rescued the trapped Europeans and Americans. The Chinese government was forced to pay an indemnity to these powers whose citizen had been killed and property damaged. During this crisis, Hay worked to prevent full-scale retaliation and war against China and to persuade the lease holding powers not to use the Boxer Rebellion as an excuse to partition the country. In July 1900, at the height of the crisis, Hay sent a second set of Open Door notes called a Circular, to several powers asking them to preserve China's territorial integrity as well as freedom for trade.

The United States lacked sufficient military power to enforce Hay's Open Door notes of 1899 and 1900. That policy included two principles. The first was equal commercial opportunity, and the second the "preservation of Chain's territorial integrity and administrative entity" lay in maintaining a "balance of power" among the nations with ambitions in East Asia.

The Open Door Policy was a perfect mirror of American ambivalence. Unprepared by its history and traditions to take up the burdens and responsibilities of blatant colonialism, the United States sought to protect its share of the Chinese market in some less costly way than political control. Whatever the motives, the concern of the United States for an

independent China would serve on more than one occasion to keep it from being dismembered by the European colonial powers and an expansionist Japan. Hay's Open Door Policy did not save China, for the great powers did not pay much attention to it. What saved China from dismemberment was the mutual jealousies of the powers. Even though the United States would not back the Open Door Policy with force, it did give the impression of being particularly concerned over China's fate.

7.3.3. Russo-Japanese war

China's two closest neighbors Japan and Russia were especially threatening. In 1893 Japan established a protector over the independent kingdom of Korea and obtained Formosa and other islands off China's northeast coast. Japan had designs on the resource-rich-Chinese province of Manchuria in which Russia was already established. The Russians hoped to move into Korea. This clash of interests led to the Russo-Japanese War in 1904. Since all the land fighting in the Russo-Japanese war took place on Chinese soil, that conflict endangered the Open Door Policy.

As soon as the war began, President Roosevelt reasserted the Open Door Policy. He asked Japan and Russia to respect China's neutrality and independence. Although Roosevelt and the American people sympathized with the Japanese, the President decided that the nation's interests in Asia would be served best by a balance of power between Japan and Russia. So, he tried to mediate peace that would not drive Russia out of eastern Asia.

Although the Japanese were winning victory after victory, the war was driving them to bankruptcy. In the spring of 1905, therefore, the Japanese asked Roosevelt to mediate. Both countries were ready to make peace. After consulting the Czar, Roosevelt formally offered to make peace. Both nations accepted the President's proposals and sent diplomats to a peace conference in Portsmouth, New Hampshire in August 1905.

7.3.4. Treaty of Portsmouth

The President induced Japan to give up claims for a money indemnity, and Russia to give the Southern half of the island of Sakhalin. Japan also took over Russian interests in southern Manchuria. The Japanese people believed that the compromise arranged by

Roosevelt had robbed their nation of the fruits of victory. They turned against the United States, and anti-American riots swept over Japan.

The Treaty of Portsmouth marked the first victory of an Asian nation over a major world power, aroused a new nationalism in parts of Asia, confirmed Japan as a world power and as the dominant power in Korea and Southern Manchuria. Developments within the United States increased tension with Japan. There was mounting pressure in the nation for the exclusion of Japanese immigrants. Roosevelt followed a policy of firmness toward the Japanese, combined with efforts to find a peaceful solution for the differences. Roosevelt arranged a compromise in 1907 and 1908, known as the **Gentlemen's Agreement**. In a complicated series of maneuvers, he soothed Japanese anger and showed the Japanese that he was not afraid of them. To check Japanese expansion toward the Philippines, Roosevelt recognized Japan as dominant in Korea and Manchuria. The Root-Takahira Agreement signed in Washington D.C. in November 1908, by secretary of state Elihu Root and Japanese ambassador Baron Kogoro Takahira, also helped ease the crisis. In that agreement both nations agreed to respect the Open Door Policy in China and to support the existing state of affairs in Asia.

The resolution of the Russo-Japanese war was an example of Roosevelt's efforts to use arbitration rather than war to settle controversies. Although he upgraded America's military power, he believed that the United States had an obligation as a leader of an interdependent world to act responsibly.

Activity 7.3

1. Explain why the United States favored an Open Door Policy in China.
2. What conflict of interest led to the Russo-Japanese War?
3. Identify Boxer Rebellion, Treaty of Portsmouth
4. Indicate how President Theodore Roosevelt acted as peacemaker in the Russo-Japanese War.
5. In the early 20th century in what ways did the United States act as a mediator in the settlement of international disputes?

Checklist

Put a tick mark (✓) in boxes if you understand the following

1. What is imperialism-----
2. Why did the United States abandon isolationism in the late 19th century-----
3. Compare and contrast the use of Manifest Destiny by the Americans before the Civil War and after 1890-----
4. Why the United States concentrated her interest on the islands of Hawaii and Samoa
5. What were major causes, course and consequences of the Spanish-American War --
6. Explain Spain’s economic interest in Cuba -----
7. List the terms of the peace Treaty of Paris signed between Spain and the United States after the end of the war?-----
8. Discuss the establishment of empire by the USA in Latin America after 1898 and examine the response of the native people towards the US -----
9. Evaluate American foreign policy in Latin America and in the Far East -----
10. Who was Alfred T. Mahan and what he contributed for America’s expansionism-----
11. Explain why the Philippine Islands were difficult to govern -----
12. Why did the United States look abroad -----
13. Identify, arbitration, sphere of influence, Jose Martin, Maine, Platt Amendment, Jones Act, Big Stick diplomacy, Roosevelt Corollary, Open Door policy, Theodore Roosevelt, “White man’s burden,” Monroe Doctrine, McKinley, -----
14. Evaluate the main objectives of the building of the Panama Canal by the United States-----

Summary

- After more than a century of continual expansion on the North American continent, the United States joined the community of colonial nations in the 1890s and acquired a substantial empire far from its own shores. During this time, Americans reassessed and abandoned their traditional isolationist policy. Because of growing industrial power, trade and contacts with Latin America increased. In the Pacific, American interest in Hawaii led to its annexation in 1898.
- In 1898 the United States went to war with Spain. In the beginning, American’s new internationalism took the form of a supposedly humanitarian intervention in a civil war in Spanish-Cuba. Americans sympathized with an independence movement in Cuba seeking to over throw Spanish control. But through the efforts of some committed internationalists in the McKinley administration, among them Theodore Roosevelt, the Spanish-American War soon transformed from a fight to free Cuba into a fight to wrest important colonies from Spain.

- As a result of the war, the United States gained possession of new territories in the Caribbean (Puerto Rico) and in the Pacific—the Philippines and, Guam. A vigorous domestic anti-imperialist movement failed to stop the annexationist drive, and by 1899 the United States found itself in possession of colonies.
- As the United States expanded into the Pacific, Americans were anxious to renew trade opportunities with the Chinese. To protect any potential trade between the two countries, Secretary of State John Hay asked the Chinese in 1899 to grant an “Open Door” trade policy.
- President Theodore Roosevelt strengthened American involvement in world affairs. He defended Venezuela from possible European aggression and he issued the Roosevelt Corollary, a statement that attempted to justify United States intervention in Latin America. In addition, Roosevelt negotiated an end to the Russo-Japanese War. He also quickly negotiated a treaty for the rights to build a canal across Panama.

Self-Test Exercise 7

I. Match the appropriate items from column “B” within the items under column “A”

- | “A” | “B” |
|---------------------|---|
| 1. Isolationism | A) An American warship exploded in Havana Harbor, Cuba |
| 2. Big Stick Policy | B) Leader of Cuban Revolution against Spanish rule. |
| 3. Maine | C) An aggressive foreign policy followed by Roosevelt in many United States’ negotiations |
| 4. Jose Mariti | D) United States’ foreign policy over China |
| 5. Open Door Policy | E) Dollar diplomacy |
| | F. Separation from the political affairs of other countries, established by George Washington |
| | G) Manifest Destiny |
| | H) Monroe Doctrine |

II. Choose the best answer for the following questions

-
6. A huge area which was purchased from Russia to the United States in 1867 was:
A) Hawaii B) Alaska C) Texas D) California E) Pago Pago
7. The Roosevelt Corollary:
A) Reduced the power of the Monroe Doctrine
B) Was an extension of Monroe Doctrine which gave the United States the right to intervene in Latin America and to prevent European intervention there
C) Limited United States' power in Latin America
D) Granted European powers the right to rule Latin America
E) None
8. During the age of imperialism U.S.A's overseas expansion mainly focused on:
A) Africa and Northwest America D) Alaska and Texas
B) The Caribbean and Pacific Islands E) Mexico and Venezuela
C) Middle East and Far East
9. Who was the most influential man and advocator of American imperialism?
A) Truman D) Abraham Lincoln
B) George Washington E) None
C) Alfred T. Mohan
10. Which one of the following countries was the cause for the outbreak of 1898 Spanish-American?
A) Puerto Rico D) Hawaii
B) Cuba E) the Philippine Islands
C) Guiana
11. As a result of the Spanish-American War the United States took over:
A) Hawaii and Samoa D) Alaska
B) The Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico E) None
C) Mexico and Brazil
12. Except one, the following events promoted for the development of imperialism and establishment of overseas empire in America:
A) The need for raw materials D) A belief in racial superiority
B) The demand for greater prestige E) None
C) The rise of fascism

UNIT EIGHT

THE PROGRESSIVE ERA, 1893-1920

Introduction

Well before the turn of the century, many Americans had become convinced that the rapid industrialization and urbanization of their society had created intolerable problems, that the nation's most pressing need was to impose order on the growing chaos and to curb industrial society's most growing injustices. In the early years of the new century, that outlook acquired a name Progressivism.

In the late 1800s, the Grangers and Populists had sought to resist corrupt government and unfair business practices. By 1900 their installed efforts were given fresh life by a new group of reformers- progressives. These optimistic, largely urban middle class reformers were confident in their ability to improve government and the quality of life. Their reforms were based not only on traditional democratic values but also the new philosophy of pragmatism and study of the social sciences.

Dear learner! this unit has four sections. The first section describes the sources and varieties of progressivism. Section two gives a cross section picture of the reformers and of their successes. The third section deals with some limits of the progressives. The last section is about White House reformers focusing mainly on the United States Presidents: Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson.

Objectives

At the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the sources and types of reform that progressive leaders advocated.
- Discuss the role of muckrakers, social gospel, women and other reformers in identifying social ills and promoting social change.
- Examine how methods and strategies used in business and education influenced social reform.

- Analyze why reform efforts were successful in correcting the worst abuses of big business and government and how reforms strengthened democracy.
- Describe the advances made by social reformers and government in protecting adult and child workers.
- Mention some of the limitations of progressivism
- Describe progressive attitudes towards immigrants and social minorities and explain how African-American leadership changed
- Examine why Theodore Roosevelt became known as a “trust buster” and his legacies to the United States.
- Identify Taft’s leadership and reactions of the public to him.
- Explain how a split in the Republican Party helped lead to Woodrow Wilson’s election in 1912
- List the accomplishments of Wilson’s domestic and foreign policies.

Section 1: Sources of Progressivism

Overview

The 1900s saw many challenges and opportunities for change. As city populations exploded with immigrants and rural Americans attracted by jobs, squalid slums and workers discontent also grew. In the face of threats of radical changes, a variety of moderate reformers worked to protect, preserve, and improve American society.

8.1.1. Origins of Progressivism

1. What were the roots and accomplishments of Progressivism?
2. How did the view of the progressives differ from the laissez-faire views of the early 1800s?

Focus

Progressivism was, first, an optimistic vision. Progressives believed, as their name implies, in the idea of progress. They believed that society was capable of improvement and that continued growth and advancement were the nation’s destiny.

Historians usually refer to the first sixteen years of the twentieth century as the Progressive Era. In these years, many Americans devoted themselves to a reform movement that sought to eliminate the worst economic, social, and political injustices from their society. Since these Americans believed in the idea of social progress, their program is known as the **Progressive movement**

The progressive movement did not come to life suddenly as the new century began; it had its roots in the American past. It also was affected by reform programs in Europe. The new views first appeared in the cities during the 1890s. A little later they came to the state

houses. Finally, about 1904 or 1905, they arrived in Washington D.C. When they did, they were given the name “**Progressivism**” and they helped transform the nation.

1. What were some major reform movements of the 1890s?
2. How did the views of the progressives differ from the laissez-faire views of the early 1800?
3. What did the reformers want, and what did they accomplish?

American reform movements before 1865 had been concerned with several issues. These included free public education, the abolition of slavery, and women’s rights. After 1865, the reform movements expanded to improve more areas of life. The reform movements of the 1890s set out to reform society as a whole. They argued that the United States should offer a better life to its entire people.

Reformers during the 1890s sought a wide range of social changes such as:

- The Populist Revolt of the 1890s sought better conditions for the farmers. Although Populism failed, many of its reform ideas were adopted in later years;
- Reformers sought improvement of housing conditions in the big cities. Many reformers were determined to improve the lives of the poor;
- Reformers worked to eliminate corruption from local politics. Corruption was not limited to any one political party, nor to national politics alone;
- Reformers wanted to end child labor, low wages, sweatshop conditions in the factories;
- Reformers began to demand better treatment for American Indians;
- Reformers sought to reduce control of the nation’s economy by huge business monopolies; and
- Reformers sought to prevent the sale of impure foods and harmful drugs.

After 1900, those who became reformers were not content merely with intellectual protest. In large numbers they entered politics and achieved some practical result. The reform movement found a leader during the period of Theodore Roosevelt. The assassination of President McKinley in 1901 brought Roosevelt the Presidency. He introduced a new reform program based on progressivism. Progressivism was a movement for social, political, and economic reform. The progressives believed in the right of the government to regulate society. The attitude of the progressives marked a change from

earlier times. The earlier national belief had been that a government should stay out of as many areas of life as possible. The reformers believed that government action should be in the interests of all the people. This belief became the cornerstone of the progressive movement.

Despite widespread social, political, and economic change in the late 1800s, the Gilded Age produced no broad effort to improve society. Populism was a large movement, but it was farm based and did not attract urban workers to its goals. The labor movement was also large, but it involved primarily with issues related to workers jobs, wages and working conditions. Alternating periods of prosperity and depression accompanied industrialization in the late 19th century. Economic contractions shook the United States in the mid-1870s and well into the mid-1880s. The depression that followed the Panic of 1893, however, was the worst the nation had yet seen. As the split between rich and poor became too wide to ignore Americans of all classes began to ask hard questions about the nation's political and economic systems, and they saw match that armed them. Some of the sources were:

1. Inequality in America
 - The gap between the rich and the poor
 - Socialist solutions
 - The wobbliest
 - More moderate voices
2. Progressive leadership
 - The social Gospel
 - Women reformers
 - Striving for big business efficiency
3. Educators and investigators
 - The influence of pragmatism
 - The muckrakers

8.1. 2. Varieties of Progressivism

Although the Progressives were not united behind any one program of reform, they had a number of common objectives. Most progressives believed that society should advance to a point where all Americans could enjoy social and economic justice. The reformers wanted to do away with privileges gained through the corruption of government. They wanted to make political life more democratic by bringing more people actively into the working machinery of government.

The progressives did not always agree on the means for achieving their objectives. One powerful impulse was the spirit of “antimonopoly,” the fear of concentrated power and the urge to limit and disperse authority and wealth. The social workers among them insisted on economic reforms that would protect human beings from exploitation. Other progressives insisted that clearing the city governments of corruption and freeing state governments from control by big business was of the first importance.

Another progressive wish was a belief in the importance of social cohesion: the belief that individuals are not autonomous but part of a great web of social relationships, that the welfare of any single person is dependent on the welfare of society as a whole. That assumption produced a concern about the “victims” of industrialization. A large number of progressive initiatives and reforms involved efforts to help women, children, industrial workers, immigrants and to a lesser extent- African Americans

Still another impulse was a deep faith in knowledge in the possibilities of applying to society the principles of natural and social sciences. Many reformers believed that social orders were the results of intelligent social organization and rational procedures for guiding social and economic life. Most progressives believed, too, that a modernized government could and must play an important role in the process of improving and stabilizing society.

One of the important factors that turned middle class Americans into reformers was fear of the wealth and power that the great financiers had gathered into their hands. These reformers believed that such a concentration of economic power would limit the economic and political opportunities for many Americans. Some middle class Americans also looked with alarm on the discontent of the industrial workers. They disliked the growing strength of organized labor but even more, they hated the increasing influence of socialism, which threatened to change the structure of the society. The progressives, therefore, wanted to use

the power of the government to guarantee equal economic opportunity for all. They wanted to make the government more democratic than it had been during the Gilded Age so that it would respond to reform efforts.

The above mentioned varied reform impulses were not always as mutually in compatible as they seemed. Many progressives mad use of these ideas and others, separately or in combination, as they tried to bring order and progress to their turbulent society.

A. The Muckrakers: a group of talented editors, journalists, and essayists known as the muckrakers more directly to the new reform movement by focusing the public’s fears and discontent. They aimed dazzling spotlights into every dark cranny of American political and social life to reveal existing abuses.

What social and economic problems did the muckrakers expose?

Focus

The muckrakers gained their name from Theodore Roosevelt who accused one of them of raking up muck through his writings. Roosevelt compared them to a morose character in John Bunyan’s “Pilgrim’s Progress” (1678) who “continued to rake to himself the fifth of the floor” even when offered a “celestial crown.” The muckrakers were committed to exposing scandal, corruption, and injustice to public view.

The muckraker formed the literary voice of the progressive movement. Although they had begun their first exposures of corruption in trusts and governments particularly the railroads earlier, they did not gain wide spread attention until 1902. Exposés of the great corporate organizations began to appear as early as the 1860s. When Charles Francis Adams, Jr, and others uncovered corruption among the railroad barons. The most notable of them was Ida Tarbell’s enormous and influential study of the Standard Oil Company (published first in magazines and then a two- volume book in 1904).

By the turn of the century, many muckrakers were turning their attention to government and particularly to the urban political machines. Perhaps, the most influential, perhaps, was Lincoln Steffens, a gifted reporter for McClure magazine, described shocking graft and corruption in city governments across the nation. A third muckraker, Ray **Stannard Baker**, wrote an article attacking unfair labor practices and the malpractices of a Union during a coal strike in Colorado in early 1903. Other popular magazines such as *Colliers* and *Cosmopolitan* began to publish articles of economic and social significance

and many of the nation's best known authors wrote muckraking articles for them. Three of the most sensational exposures appeared in 1906. David G. Phillips published a book, based on his articles for *Cosmopolitan*, called the *Treason of the Senate*, about links between big business and 75 United States senators. In 1906, John Spargo's the *Bitter Cry of the Children*, wrote about abuses of child labor and described in painful detail the exploitation of children working in factories. Still other muckrakers were novelists who used fiction to criticize existing social conditions. In *The Octopus*, Frank Norris told how railroads dominated wheat farmers a rich western valley.

The muckrakers reached the peak of their influence in the first decade of the 20th century. They investigated governments, labor unions and corporations. They explored the problems of child labor, immigrant ghettos, prostitution, and family disorganization. They denounced the waste and destruction of natural resources, the subjugation of women and even occasionally the oppression of blacks.

Despite their revelations of society's ills, most muckrakers were not activists. They merely identified problems and argued for reform but counted on others to accomplish it. In 1909, muckraking began to die out and three years later it had passed from the American scene. It lost its effectiveness because business had grown increasingly hostile to it, and the people had grown tired of sensational exposures. The muckrakers, however, had aroused the public conscience, stirred the politicians to action and given a push to the entire progressive movement.

B. The Social Gospel

Progressives among Catholic priests, Jewish rabbis, and protestant ministers began to preach a new social gospel: religious organizations should work to improve society as well as to meet the spiritual needs of their congregations. Leaders such as Walter Rauschenbusch, Washington Gladden and Josiah Strong were concerned about social problems.

By the early 20th century, the social gospel had become a powerful movement within American Protestantism (and to a lesser extent, within American Catholicism and Judaism). It was chiefly concerned with redeeming the nation's cities. In 1908, the National Council of Churches of Christ was founded to support social reform. In every large city the

Salvation Army-a religious group devoted to helping the needy provided food, lodging, and hope for the despairing and poor. Like the settlement houses of the late 1800s urban churches began to consider the whole person by providing recreational facilities, adult education classes, nurseries and counseling.

C. Women Reformers

What prominent roles were played by women in the reform activities of the progressive era?

Women were among the most active workers for social reform before and during the Progressive Era. They also became a driving force for progressive reform. That women figured so largely in the progressive movement was an indication that their status was improving. The prominence of women in reform movements is one of the most striking features of progressivism. In most states until the early 20th century, women could not vote and they almost never held public office. By the end of the 19th century, however, more and more women were looking for activities outside their home, in the factory or the office. Declining family size, the spending of more time by children schools at earlier ages, and technological innovations changed the lives of many women. Some educated women shunned marriage entirely, believing that only by remaining single could they pay the role they envisioned in the public world

Higher levels of education also contributed to the prominence of women in reform activities. The proliferation of women's colleges and of coeducational public universities in the late 19th century produced the first generation of women in which significant numbers had education above the high school level. The post civil war era saw an important expansion of educational opportunities for women, although such opportunities continued to lag far behind those available to men and were almost always denied to black women. By 1900 women's colleges in the North and East had been turning out well trained graduates for two generations. These women were aware of and interested in the various issues of the day.

Among the most visible signs of the increasing public roles of women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were the women's clubs-a large network of women's associations that proliferated rapidly beginning in the 1880s and 1890s and that became the vanguard of

many important reforms. Women's clubs began largely as cultural organizations to provide middle and upper class women with an outlet for their intellectual energies. A more conservative group, including Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe, had formed the American Woman Suffrage Association. In 1890 the two organizations merged under the presidency of Elizabeth Cady Stanton as the National American Women Suffrage Association (NAWSA). In 1892, when women formed the General Federation of women's clubs to coordinate the activities of local organizations, there were more than 100,000 members in nearly 500 clubs. The national women's club devoted to the study of various issues. By 1910 these clubs had nearly 1 million members.

Although black women occasionally joined the clubs, most such clubs were dominated by whites and excluded blacks. So, African Americans formed clubs of their own, some of which affiliated with the General Federation, but more of which became part of the Independent National Association of Colored Women. These clubs took positions on issues of the blacks; they crusaded against lynching as a federal crime. Others protested aspects of segregation. Furthermore, the rights of women were expanding. By 1900 every state recognized the right of women to make a will. Most states recognized the right of women to dispose of their own wages, and some states had given them the right to equal guardianship of children. More importantly, five western states had adopted woman suffrage.

The settlement house movement expanded into broader areas of the reform such as slum clearance and legislation to limit working hours and outlaw child labor. The women's club movement raised few overt challenges to prevailing assumptions about the proper role of women in society. But it also extended their influence beyond the traditional female sphere within the home and the family. Among few club women, Charlotte Perkins Gilman in her 1898 book, *Women and Economics* argued that the traditional definition of gender roles was exploitive and obsolete, and women's subordinate economic role had stunted their personalities and damaged their effectiveness as wives and mothers. Crystal Eastman, an active suffragist, also advocated sexual emancipation of women and free dissemination of birth-control information and devices. Florence Kelley founded the National Consumers League, Julia Lathrop, became the first head of the Federal Children's

Bureau, created the Department of Labor in 1912 and now, part of health and human services. Other female progressives work included Carrie Chapman Catt widely known for her in the woman suffrage movement and Elizabeth Platt Decker headed the General Federation of Women's Clubs. In 1914, Eastman and Ali Paula organized the congressional union to agitate for a suffrage amendment of the constitution in place of a state by state approach.

D. The Influence of Pragmatism

Coupled with educational reform was a new way of thinking known as pragmatism, an approach to problem solving that was popularized by William James. Pragmatism questioned the absolute truth of science. They believed that scientific laws stated only what was probably true and that ideas must be tested to see they worked.

Pragmatist John Dewey argued that the value of the government actions should be measured by the good they do. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. in his book the *Common Law*, wrote that law should not be an absolute set of principles but a tool to meet the needs of society. His ideas began to influence the decision of courts.

E. Western Progressives

The Americans west produced some of the most notable progressive leaders of the time: Hiram Johnson of California, George Norris of Nebraska, William Borah of Idaho, and others. For western states, the most important target of reform energies was not state or local governments, but the federal government.

F) African-Americans

Among African Americans, the progressive era produced some significant challenges to existing racial norms. But race was received little attention by the white progressives. African-Americans faced greater obstacles- legal, economic, social, and political than any other group. As a result, so many African-Americans (blacks) embraced the message of Booker T. Washington in the late 19th century, to “put down your bucket where you are” to work for immediate self improvement rather than long-range social changes. Formerly enslaved Washington founded Alabama's Tuskegee Institute in 1881 to train African Americans. But not all blacks were content with this approach. Washington argued that equality would be achieved not through campaigns for reform but when African-Americans

gained the education and skills to become valuable members of their communities. By the turn of the century, a powerful challenge was emerging to the philosophy of Washington and race relations. The chief spokesman for this new approach was W. E. D. Du Bois.

What organization did Du Bois help to form?

Du Bois, a Harvard educated history professor at Atlanta University was the most prominent new African leader. In 1903, in the *Souls of Black Folk*, he attacked Washington as a man who had “practically accepted the alleged inferiority of the Negro,” and urged prominent black Americans to cease flattering the white south and to speak out on the race issue. He argued that suffrage was the way to end white supremacy, stop the lynching of African Americans, and gain better schools. In 1905, Du Bois and a group of his supporters met at Niagara Falls (on the Canadian side of the border) to demand full political rights and responsibilities for African Americans as well as an end to racial discrimination.

The convention issued a manifesto demanding true manhood suffrage, the end of racial discrimination, the freedom of blacks to criticize African American society, and free access for blacks to liberal education as well as to vocational training. The participants established what became known as the Niagara Movement. In 1909, the Niagara Movement militants merged with a group of white progressives, including Oswald Garrison Villard, Jane Addams, Clarence Darrow, William Dean Howells, and John Dewey, to establish the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Whites held most of the offices at first, but Du Bois, its director of publicity and research, was the guiding spirit. The NAAP quickly came to the forefront of the battle to defend the legal and constitutional rights of blacks wherever they were threatened or denied. The modern movement for racial equality was now under way.

Activity 8.1

1. Examine the main sources of reforms during the period of Progressivism?
2. How did progressivism differ from Populism?
3. What objectives united the progressives?
4. Define social gospel, pragmatism.
5. Identify Ida Tarbes, John Dewey, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Muckrakers, Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois
6. List five problems in American society that muckraking journalists called attention to in their writing.

Section 2: Progressive Reforms

Overview

Progressive reforms affected government, consumer's rights, and education. People began to speak out against children working in mines, mills, and factories and to back temperance and women suffrage. Although early accomplishments were mainly local changes, later reforms occurred at state and national level.

8.2.1. Reforms in Government

8.2.1.1 Changes in City Government

One of the first major successes in municipal reform came in Galveston, Texas. When the political machine that controlled city government proved incapable responding to the disaster of 1900 hurricane that devastated the coastal city of Galveston, local reformers and business leaders convinced the state legislature to allow them to take control. In April 1901, the mayor and city council were replaced by five commissioners chosen in a non partisan election. Then, the commission plan was adopted. Reformers in other cities were impressed and soon followed.

1. What problems in the cities did reformers try to solve? How did reformers combat these problems?
2. Describe the new forms of city government developed by the progressives?

By 1915 more than 400 cities had adopted commission or city manager plans. Even in cities where progressives could not reshape government, reform mayors fought powerful political bosses, unethical business leaders, and corrupt city officials. Local party bosses to bring the spirit of reform into city government.

8.2.1.2. Change in the State Governments: Voting Reforms

The assault on boss rule in the cities did not, however, always produce results satisfying to reformers. As a result, many progressives turned to state government as an agent for reform.

1. Why Wisconsin was called "laboratory democracy?"
2. What reforms were initiated by progressives in control of state governments?

In 1903, La Follett pressured the state legislator to require that each party hold a direct primary, a preliminary election in which voters choose candidates for the general election. To reduce the control that big business and the party bosses had over state legislators, La Follette introduced three other reforms. The **initiative** allowed a group of citizens to

introduce legislation and required the legislature to vote on it. The **referendum** allowed proposed legislation to be submitted to the voters for approval, and the **recall** allowed voters to remove an elected official from office by holding a special election. Although none of these ideas originated in Wisconsin, La Follette's great success in enacting them there gave the state a reputation as "the laboratory of democracy" and progressive in other states copied Wisconsin's reforms.

8.2.1.3. Change at the National Level

One of the most important political reforms that the progressives accomplished at the national level was the direct primary election of senators. Because they were chosen by their state legislatures, senators were shielded from direct public pressure. The direct primary allowed the people to nominate the party candidates in special electors. The call for this reform became so great that in 1913 the Seventeenth Amendment to the constitution provided for direct election of senators.

At the same time that parties were declining other power centers were beginning to replace them: What have become known as "interest groups." Beginning late in the 19th century and accelerating rapidly in the 20th century, new organizations emerged outside the party system designed to pressure government to do their members bidding: professional organizations, trade associations, labor organizations, farm lobbies, and many others social workers, the settlement house movement, women's clubs and others learned to operate as interest groups to advance their demands.

Slow Progress for Women

It was difficult to argue that the people should have a great voice in government affairs without including women, especially because they were increasingly holding jobs in factories, business offices and schools as well as taking prominent roles in reform movements. In addition, some progressives believed that if women gained the right to vote, their influence would help push through other reforms. Perhaps the largest reform movement of the progressive era, in American history was the fight for woman suffrage.

By 1914, eleven western states had granted women full suffrage. In the East, women promoted their cause by holding parades and circulating petitions. Advocates of woman suffrage considered this social progress. So they turned to the federal government for

action progressives sought the aid of the national government on other issues, too, for progressivism had now become a power full force in national politics.

1. Explain why progressive reform strengthened the cause of woman's suffrage?
2. What were the functions of the initiative, the referendum, the recall, and the direct primary?

By 1919, thirty-nine states had granted women the right to vote in at least some elections; fifteen had allowed them full participation. In 1920, finally suffragists won ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, which guaranteed political rights to women throughout the nation. To some feminists, however, the victory seemed less than complete. Alice Paul, head of the militant national Woman's Party (founded in 1916), never accepted the relatively conservative "separative sphere" justification for suffrage. Many women needed more a constitutional amendment that would provide clear, legal protection for their rights and would prohibit all discrimination on the basis of sex. But there was disagreement between women over the Equal Rights Amendment. Others showed no interest in the Equal Rights Amendment. In the end, the suffrage movement did not produce a coherent movement behind any issue other than securing women the vote. On most other questions, in fact, women were generally no more in agreement than men.

Which region of the nation was first to grant women suffrage?

D) Consumer Protection

Progressives argue that consumers had no way of knowing when meat was prepared under unsanitary conditions.

a) Regulating the Insurance Industry

In 1905, Charles Evans Hughes, a lawyer who worked for the New York legislature, investigated the insurance industry. He uncovered bribery of elected officials and huge salaries insurance executives paid to themselves and to family members they hired. Consequently, New York and later other states passed laws to regulate insurance companies and to protect the interest of policyholders.

b) Making Buildings Safer

Building codes prohibited some of the worst features of tenements by setting minimum requirements for light and air, fire escapes, room size and sanitation.

c) Ensuring the Safety of Food and Medicine

Passage of pure food and drug laws demonstrated the effectiveness of the muckrakers in influencing consumer protection. The Pure Food and Drug Act and the Meat Inspection Act of 1906 were the first steps taken to safeguard America's health by outlawing harmful foods and drugs. These laws regulated the content and inspection of food, prohibited the use of addictive drugs in non prescription medicines, and required accurate labels on food and drug products. State governments followed with similar legislation to regulate food and drug that did not cross state lines.

II) Protecting Workers

One of the grim realities of industrialization was the frequency of industrial accidents.

a) Workers' Compensation

Workers who suffered industrial accidents had little protection. Employers argued that industrial accidents were not caused by unsafe conditions but by carelessness and they often fired employees who were seriously disabled.

Progressives joined labor union leaders to pressure state legislatures for workers' compensation laws. These laws established insurance funds into which employers made payments. In 1902, Maryland was first to pass such legislation, and by 1911 ten of the states had workers' compensation laws on the books. Related progressive legislation established state agencies to inspect factories, limited workers' hours, and attempted to end crowded, unsanitary work environments.

b) Protecting Women

Many progressives were especially interested in improving working conditions for women. By 1900, about 20% of all workers were women, and progressive reformers believed women workers needed special protection. In 1903, Muller V. Oregon passed a law limiting female factory workers to a 10-hour day. Employers challenged the law as violating a woman's civil right to work as long as she chose, and in 1908 the case was appealed to the Supreme Court. The court began to weigh what was best for society when it decided cases. In so doing, it took the first step toward becoming an instrument of social reform.

c) Protecting Children

The campaign against child labor was one of the most emotional progressive labor reforms. Urban children found factory work dangerously monotonous and conditions often unhealthy or unsafe. Reformers established a national child labor committee in 1904 to campaign for the abolition of child labor. Public opinion was so stirred that by 1914 all but one state set a minimum age for employment and many established other limits on child labor as well.

How was child labor reform achieved?

III) Other Reforms

Although many reformers directed many of their energies at the political process, they also felt in other area such as:

- Public utilities
- to curb prostitution
- Health, recreation, and education, - to limit divorce
- to restrict immigration
- the fight against alcohol use and others (temperance crusade)

The progressive era was also a time when reformers called for regulation of public utilities such a street carlines, waterworks, and electric light companies. It resulted in play grounds and dental clinics for children. Progressive also began to show concern about American's natural resources. State and federal governments passed conservation laws and set aside public recreation areas. The reform impulse also resulted in great progress in education.

The reformers crusaded on behalf of what they considered moral values. There were campaigns to eliminate alcohol from national life, to curb prostitution, and to limit divorce. Many progressives considered the elimination of alcohol from American life a necessary step in restoring order to society. And there were efforts to restrict immigration or curb the power of monopoly in the industrial economy.

Activity 8.2

1. What types of reform that progressive leaders advocated?
2. What major reforms were introduced during the progressive era?
3. Why reform efforts were successful in correcting the worst abuses of big business and government?
4. List the improvements in city governments achieved through progressive reform efforts.

5. Explain why reform was more successful at state and local levels than at the national level?
6. How values and beliefs shaped the program of the progressive Era?
7. Discuss the status of women and African Americans during the Progressive Era?
8. Why did many middle-class Americans become reformers at the turn of the century?
9. Identify reforms that improved the lives of industrial workers.
10. To what extent did reforming government extend democracy in the progressive era?

Section 3: Limits of Progressivism

Overview

While progressivism resulted in many lasting changes, the reform had its limits. Much progressive reform was based on traditional American attitudes about race, sex and nationalism. As a result, not all Americans shared equality in the benefit of reform.

8.3.1. Some Limits of Progressivism

Progressivism was not a complete success even in its own terms. While progressivism resulted in many lasting changes, reform had its limits. It did not end the dangers inherent in a society with large inequalities of wealth and power; it did not end the insecurity that afflicted many Americans. Much progressive reform was based on traditional American attitudes about race, sex and nationalism. As a result, not all Americans shared equally in the benefit of reform. It would remain to later generation to tackle these problems again, with some greater success.

Even though the achievements of the progressives did not fulfill their hopes, they had fought for political and corporate honesty, for social justice, and for high public morals. The United States was more honest and more just in her politics and economics than at any time in the past. Most Americans had a better chance to enjoy a better life with the progressive reforms in effect than with them. The reformers of 1900-1917, were the first generation to grapple with the problems of an urbanized nation. For all their failings, they laid the foundation for much that would follow. Despite the failure of most progressives, progressive reform helped change American society in a number of ways. Although they excluded large groups from their efforts, the progressives expanded democracy, reformed the education system, and improved the quality of life for millions of men, women, and children.

Activity 8.3

1. Discuss the major limitations of Progressivism.

Section 4: Progressivism and White House Reformers, 1900-1914

Overview

After the turn of the century, progressive reforms at the national level were aided by three strong-minded presidents: Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson. These Presidents had different political philosophies, styles, and temperaments. Yet each worked to control big business, gain protection for workers, and protected the American people from social evils.

8.4.1. Theodore Roosevelt (1901-08)

After the assassination of William McKinley by Leon Czolgosz on September 6, 1901, his Vice President Theodore Roosevelt moved up to the Presidency of the United States. Roosevelt, the “Cowboy,” the reformer, was the first president to work for reform on a national scale. In his first annual message to Congress, he recommended a cabinet level department of commerce and labor to protect labor's rights and to publicize inflated corporate earnings, stronger measures to protect the country's forests and conserve its national resources. He introduced a new reform program based on progressivism.

8.4.1.1. The Square Deal

The Trustbuster

Roosevelt described his approach to social problem as the “Square Deal,” a belief of that all people should have an equal opportunity to succeed through strong personal ethics, a sense of fairness, and adherence to the spirit of the law. He promoted the idea that the cure for the evils of unrestrained individualism was not socialism but moderate reform. During this time, industries were merging at an all time high rate. This rash of mergers promoted Roosevelt to urge Congress to pass legislation regulating big business.

Although Roosevelt was not a trustbuster at heart, he made a few highly publicized efforts to break up combinations. He talked of trust busting and of giving a “**square deal**” to labor. He was genuinely humanitarian, very willing to do battle with the trust, and ready to make more extensive use of the power of the government than any of his predecessors.

What was Roosevelt's attitude toward the trusts? What was the result of his effort to control them?

When Congress did not respond, Roosevelt turned to the American people to garner support for his program. The response was overwhelming. Government leaders responded with a series of moves designed to limit the trusts. In 1902, he ordered the justice department to invoke the Sherman Antitrust Act against a great new railroad monopoly in the North-west, the Northern Securities Company, asking that it be broken up because it violated the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. In 1904, the Supreme Court ruled that the Northern Securities Company had violated the law and must be dissolved.

Roosevelt was not opposed to all trusts. He believed the government should leave honest corporations alone only the trust that damage the public or worked outside the law should be regulated or broken up. In his words, "We draw the line against misconduct, not against wealth." Roosevelt also understood that trust busting suits could not prevent monopolies. Bringing cases to court could force even the most powerful trust to obey the law. Roosevelt's reputation as a trustbuster grew. Eventually, Congress followed Roosevelt's lead and passed new laws that protected the people.

The Coal Strike of 1902

What were the causes of the strike?

One of the most prolonged strikes in United States history started in May 1902, when nearly 150,000 mine workers led by John Mitch walked out of the anthracite coal industry of eastern Pennsylvania .Terrible conditions precipitated this strike: low wages, frequent layoff, union recognition, an eight working hour day and the requirement to live in cheaply built company towns. The strikers drew widespread public support.

The mine operators said that operators would never deal with them called the union leaders anarchists and criminals. Roosevelt and a majority of the voters were offended by the owner's arrogance and indifference to the public's welfare. He asked both the operators and the miners to accept impartial federal arbitration. The owners refused to budge. So, Roosevelt threatened to seize the mines and operate them with federal troops.

A five-man commission would be appointed by the President to arbitrate differences. The Commission (arbitrators) worked out a settlement that corrected some of the worst abuses in the mines, granted the miners a working day of nine hours and a ten percent wage

increase, but not union recognition. What was most significant about Roosevelt's action was not its drama, but its departure from Precedent. In the past, government either had intervened only on the side of business. By showing that he was not afraid to fight business, Roosevelt won considerable prestige. It was at best a mixed result, but not many Americans, as Roosevelt described, a "square deal", for business, labor, and the general public.

Theodore Roosevelt tried to extend his square deal further. He did a great deal.

- **The Elkins Act of 1903.** This act curbed the policy of giving rebates and charging unfair prices to some shippers.
- **The Hepburn Railroad Regulation Act of 1906** passed by Congress which strengthened the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), established in 1887 the power to control maximum railroad rates.
- **Pure Food and Drug Act and the Meat Inspection Act in June 1906** passed by the Congress, the first law prohibited the manufacture or sale of adulterated or mislabeled food and drugs in interstate commerce.
- **Efforts at conservation of natural resources:** As a hunter rancher and lover of nature Roosevelt strongly supported a program of land, water, minerals and forest conservation. In 1891, Congress enacted the **Forest Reserve Act**, empowering President to set aside land for national forest and withdraw forest lands from the public domain. He naturally championed the conservation movement. In 1902, he signed the National Reclamation Act, better known as the Newland Act (named for its sponsor, Nebraska Congressman **Francis Newlands**). It allowed the federal government to use the money it obtained from the sale of public lands in western and southern western states to pay for the construction of dams, reservoirs and canals- projects to develop irrigation for cultivation and (years later) provide cheap electric power. Conservation of the forest reserves soon emerged as a chief political objective of Roosevelt's president. Saving the forests had become national policy. Roosevelt created a lasting national interest in conservation.

The Panic of 1907

Despite the flurry of reforms, Roosevelt was able to enact, the government still had relatively little control over the industrial economy. That became clear in 1907, when a

serious panic and recession began. The country narrowly averted a serious depression when a major New York bank closed its doors, setting off a wave of panicky deposit withdrawals from other banks. The banking system and the stock market had displayed pathetic inadequacies. Once again, irresponsible speculation and rampant financial mismanagement had helped shatter prosperity that many had come to believe was now permanent.

Many economists and other people believed that the panic had been caused by the inability of banks to expand currency and credit not by the breaking up of the trusts. So, Congress passed an emergency law in many 1908, the Aldrich-Vreeland Emergency Currency Act, which sought to make the currency elastic by authorizing national banks to issue circulating notes on a more liberal basis than in the past.

Activity 8.4

1. Discuss the origin and development of the Square Deal.
2. How did the Hepburn Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act regulate certain United States industries?
3. What were Roosevelt's contributions to the conservation movement?
4. Explain why Roosevelt preferred regulation to trust busting?
5. Evaluate Roosevelt's role to settle the 1902 coal strike.
6. What were the causes for the Panic of 1907?

8.4.2. The Taft Presidency

Theodore Roosevelt left the White House in March 1909 convinced that William Howard Taft, his hand-picked successor, would carry on in his progressive steps and policies. Taft promised to continue the Square Deal program and to revise the tariff. But at heart he was a conservative Taft entered the White House on a wave of good feeling. Taft took office in troubled times. One of the first issues to demonstrate Taft's political ineptness was that of the tariff. From the beginning of the progressive era, many people had demanded a reduction of the high Dingley Tariff of 1897.

In March 1909, the Republican House of Representatives passed a tariff revision bill introduced by Serene E. Payne of New York, cutting rates sharply. This bill ran afoul of Rhode Island's Nelson W. Aldrich when it came to the Senate. A businessman himself as well as a stand pater, Aldrich threw out most of the House bills lowered schedules. The result was the feeble Payne-Aldrich Tariff, which tariff rates scarcely at all and in some areas actually raised them. Nonetheless, Taft signed the bill and there by broken his

promise. This angered many progressives. The progressives resented the president's passivity and were suspicious of his motives. A small group of Midwestern Senators, led by Wisconsin's La Follett, fought the bills. They considered Taft's performance a repudiation of Roosevelt's policies and betrayal of the party's promises to the public.

Nevertheless, Taft's record on progressive measure was not all bad. Some important changes beneficial to the people were taken place under his administration: Two new amendments to the constitution were proposed in 1913; the Sixteenth Amendment, giving Congress the power to impose an income tax, and the Seventeenth Amendment which provided for the election of senator's directly by the people, went into effect in May 1913; in addition, two new states were admitted to the Union in 1912, Arizona and New Mexico, bringing the total up to 48; in June 1910, Congress passed the Mann-Elkins Act which gave the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate telephone, telegraph, and cable companies; and a Parcel-Post Service postal savings bank were created, for the inexpensive and reliable delivery of packages and making many post offices safe and convenient banks.

Except for the antitrust suits, most of these measures passed primarily because progressives pushed them. Regardless of Taft's accomplishments, Progressives turned against him. Progressives were too harsh in their criticism of Taft. The breaking point between President Taft and the progressives Pinchot-Ballinger was dispute over conservation policies. Richard A. Ballinger, Secretary of the Interior reopened some water-power sites in Montana and Wyoming to development by private companies and to bankers some federal coal reserves in Alaska.

Republican Split

Immediately following the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy, came an outbreak of Insurgent Republicanism in the House of Representatives. The Insurgent Republicans also clashed with Taft over Congressional reorganization. They had long feuded with the old Guard Republican speaker of the House, Joseph G. "Uncle Joe", Cannon, a man fiercely opposed to progressive legislation. The speakers had come to enjoy power over legislation in some ways greater than that of the President. He appointed all committees and making himself chairman of the committee. He was a friend of corporations and an opponent of conservation.

In 1909, the Progressive Republicans in the house made plan to limit Cannon's power. Taft disliked Cannon but declined to help the insurgents, claiming that the speaker was too deeply entrenched to be ousted. The revolt failed, and some of the insurgents suspected that Taft had betrayed them. Many Insurgent Republicans had voted with the Democrats. The Republican Party was split. In the November elections, the Republican Party suffered a major defeat. In 1910, Roosevelt returned from his travels in Africa and Europe. Popular indignation was so great that the Congressional elections of 1910 resulted in a sweeping Democratic victory. In spite of Roosevelt's intention to remain out of politics, Taft's disappointing performance as President soon drew Roosevelt back into the political arena.

Roosevelt aligned himself with the Insurgent in the Republican Party or "Progressive Republicans". In a speech at Osawatomie, Kansas, during the Congressional election of September 1, 1910, Roosevelt spoke of a new set of policies that he called the "New Nationalisms," whose central point was the need of more government inference to secure the wellbeing of the public. Roosevelt's speech was considered an attack on Taft's more conservative ways. The Progressives greeted the call for the New Nationalism with joy. Not all Republican Progressives favored Roosevelt. Many Progressives supported Senator La Follette of Wisconsin for the Presidency. In January 1911, prominent insurgent leaders formed the National progressive Republican League. Others hoped that Roosevelt would again seek the Republican nomination. When La Follette suffered a temporary nervous collapse, however, the Progressives turned to Roosevelt for the 1912 Presidential nomination.

The Election of 1912

Compare and contrast the campaigns of Taft, Wilson and Roosevelt. What factors enabled Wilson to win the election of 1912?
--

Roosevelt finally agreed to run for President as the Republican candidate. Throughout the spring of 1912, Roosevelt and Taft battled for Republican delegates. The Taft forces, however, had immense advantage of controlling the party machinery through his patronage power. Most of the delegates went to Taft. In a dispute over the seating of delegates at the convention, Taft won almost all the seats because his supporters controlled the convention.

Angered Roosevelt's delegates refused to participate in the voting and stormed out of the hall. Taft was re-nominated on the first ballot.

About six weeks later, early in August, the Roosevelt forces met in Chicago to form a new political party -the **Progressive Party** and nominate Roosevelt for President. The Party was known as the "Bull Moose" party, got its name from Roosevelt that he declared he was ready to ran for office or 'as strong as" a bull moose. With Roosevelt as their candidate, the Progressives adopted a reform platform. This platform included a more direct democracy through such means as the initiative, referendum, and recall in federal matters; conservation of natural resources; women's suffrage; the recall (by citizens petitions) of state court decisions; tariff reduction; a commission to regulate interstate industry as well as interstate commerce; a more stringent pure food and drug law; old age pensions; minimum wage and maximum hours laws; and the prohibition of child labor. The behavior of Roosevelt split the Republican Party and was a golden opportunity for the Democrats. The Democrats nominated Woodrow Wilson, the governor of New Jersey. The platform Wilson's party adopted also called for reforms that progressives always had wanted, Wilson and Roosevelt both campaigned as progressives. This led to that Taft practically dropped out of the running. The real competitors were Roosevelt and Wilson.

To distinguish his program from the New Nationalism by Roosevelt, Wilson thought up the phrase "New Freedom". Although there appeared to be little distinction between the philosophies of the two candidates, they did in fact differ. Wilson's New Freedom viewed monopolies as enemies of free competition. He also advocated the use of federal power to ensure more equality of opportunity. The New Freedom would Wilson suggested free the people from the fetters of big business. The new freedom differed most clear from New Nationalism in its approach to economic policy and the trusts.

Wilson seemed to believe that bigness was both unjust and inefficient, that the proper response to monopoly was not to regulate it but to destroy it. Wilson won the election of 1912, mainly because the Republican vote was split. Although he won the Presidency, Wilson actually had fewer popular votes than Roosevelt and Taft combined.

Activity 8.5

1. Identify Payne-Aldrich Tariff, Richard Ballinger, Joseph Cannon, New Nationalism,

- “Insurgents,” Bull Moose Party, New Freedom,
2. List the reasons the public thought Taft was destroying the Square Deal
 3. How did Taft’s support of Cannon contribute to the split in the Republican Party? Why did insurgents limit the powers of the speaker of the House?
 4. How was progressivism furthered by the Taft administration? Why did Roosevelt turn against Taft?
 5. Examine Theodore Roosevelt’s return to national politics with his New Nationalism program?
 6. Why did President Taft fail to gain the support of the progressives?
 7. Describe the significant details of the Progressive Party platform?
 8. How did the formation of the Bull Moose Party guarantee the victory of Democrats in 1912?
 9. Compare the roles of Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson in promoting reforms.

8.4.3. Wilson’s Progressivism

What were the major reforms of Wilson’s New Freedom Program?

Wilson, like Roosevelt, brought strong leadership to the Presidency. But unlike him, Wilson had the support of a party majority in Congress. He worked hard to get Congress to pass the reform laws he wanted. Most of the reforms passed during Wilson’s first term in office concerned the economics life of the country. In the four years from 1913 to 1917, he carried out vigorous blows at three main pillars of wealth -Tariffs, Banks and the trusts.

A) Tariff Reform. Many people were against high protective tariffs. These tariffs served chiefly to raise prices and aid trusts. Wilson’s first triumph was a substantial lowering of the protective tariff. On the day he took office, Wilson called Congress into special session to deal with the first objectives of the New Freedom -the lowering of the tariff. The President believed that the high tariff gave special favors to big business which allowed the building of monopoly.

In 1913, Congress passed easily Underwood-Simmons Tariff (from Alabama representative Oscarw, Underwood). It lowered the tariffs for the first time since the Civil War. This bill called for the cutting of duties on European goods low enough to bring them into competition with the United States manufactures. The tariff bill also contained an income tax law. The Sixteenth Amendment, adopted in 1913, had made a national income tax which legally marked the beginning of great change in the system of taxation in the United States. The nation was now committed to the principle of taxing according to ability to pay.

B) Banking and Financial Reform The second great reform introduced by Wilson was a revision of the banking and currency system- the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 to control the currency. This created a new federal banking system. These banks controlled the banking system of the country. They would issue a new type of currency - Federal Reserve notes which would become the nation's basic medium of trade. The Federal Reserve System was supervised by Federal Reserve Board and made currency available when business conditions demanded it.

To further aid farmers, Wilson created the Federal Farm Loan Act in 1916 which established twelve Federal Farm Loan banks to lend money at low rates to farmers who joined certain farm loan associations.

C) Anti-trust Laws

To combat the trusts, Wilson's first term agenda was antitrust legislation to fulfill his campaign promise to break up the monopolies. To protect organized labor's rights, help consumers, and get around the courts' limitations on antitrust actions, Wilson proposed two new measures.

In 1914, he asked Congress to pass an antitrust law more effective than the Sherman Antitrust Act. In September, Congress passed and the President signed the Federal Trade Commission Act, established a Federal Trade Commission to investigate and regulate unfair business practices (for example, dishonest advertisements or adulterated goods). The Act increased the government's regulatory authority significantly.

The second measure, he got Congress to pass the **Clayton Antitrust** Act in October 1914. This law set out to break the big corporations by encouraging competition. The Act strengthened the Sherman Antitrust by prohibiting firms from charging one price to customer and a different price to another when such discrimination tended to foster monopoly, and forbidding contracts that required buyers not to do business with sellers' competitors. It forbade among the big firms what were known as "**inter locking directorates**" that is, it prevented the directors of one great trust from being also the directors of another. This law was complicated.

D) Other Accomplishments

Beyond the above mentioned achievements, there were other additional legislations passed during his first term. Among them were: The Adamson Act (1916), which established an eight hour working day for all laborers on interstate railroads; the Lafollette Seamen's Act (1915), improving conditions in the merchant marine; Federal Aid Road Act (1917), providing money from Federal funds for road-making; Keating -Owen Act (1916), a bolder innovation which prohibited interstate traffic in goods manufactured by the labor of children under 14 years age, and was intended to end child labor; and Kern-McGill Cuddy Compensation Act (1916), providing workers' compensation for injured federal, employees.

Despite the President's legislative successes, his first few years' reforms were disappointing. Antitrust laws did not stop the trend toward the concentration of economic power. Wilson declined to support women's suffrage and at first refused to fight for a child labor law. But the most conspicuous defect of Wilson's first administration was his attitudes toward black American. The reforms Wilson achieved did not have "practical results" for African Americans. The President brought Jim Crow to Washington. Wilson strongly believed in separating the races. A number of prominent African leaders like W.E.B Du. Bois who had supported Wilson in 1912, turned against him. Yet the President exemplified the racial prejudice of many other progressive reformers.

Wilson's efforts focused almost exclusively on domestic matters-Progressivism and peace.. World events overshadowed these domestic achievements. His role was obscured by growing tensions in foreign affairs that resulted in tragedy for him and for the world

Activity 8.6

1. Identify Underwood Tariff, Federal Reserve Board, Federal Trade Commission, and Clayton Antitrust Act.
2. Explain how the Federal Reserve System works.
3. What attempts were made during Wilson's administration to control trusts on the economy of the nation?
4. What benefits were gained by workers and farmers during Wilson's administration?
5. Why did the struggle against the trusts lose momentum during Wilson's first administration?

Checklist

Put a tick mark (✓) in boxes if you understand the following concepts and personalities

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| 1. Progressive Era ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 22. Theodore Roosevelt ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Sources of Progressivism ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 23. Square Deal ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Muckrakers ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 24. Coal Strike of 1902----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Social Gospel----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 25. Sherman Anti-Trust Act ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. Women reforms ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 26. Referendum ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. Pragmatism ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 27. Elkins Act ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. David G. Phillips----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 28. Newlands Act ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 29. The Panic of 1907----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. John Dewey ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 30. Aldrich-Vreeland Emergency Currency Act | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. Ida Tarbell ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 31. William Howard Taft----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. Reforms in government ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 32. Pinchot-Ballinger Controversy--- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. "Laboratory of democracy" | <input type="checkbox"/> | 33. The split of Republicans----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13. La Follette ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 34. Payne-Aldrich Tariff----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14. Direct primary election ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 35. New Nationalism----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 15. Interest group ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 36. "Bull Moose" Party ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 16. Consumer protection ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 37. New Freedom ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 17. Pure food and Drug Act ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 38. Woodrow Wilson's Administration Reforms | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 18. Western Progressives ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 39. Federal Reserve Act ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19. Women's Suffrage ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 40. Trustbuster----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 20. W.E.B Du. Bois ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 41. Hepburn Act ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 21. Niagara Movement----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 42. Progressive Republican----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 22. Limits of progressivism----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 43. The election of 1912----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Summary

- Beginning about 1900 a large, loosely organized group of urban, middle-class professionals including- journalists, social workers, educators, ministers, and social conscious politicians- became concerned about the need for social change in the United States. These reformers called “**Progressives.**”
- The Progressives were the first to thoroughly investigate social problems that they felt were unjust and undemocratic. They concerned that if society’s problems were not solved, democracy and capitalism might be threatened.
- The goal of Progressives was an efficient, smoothly functioning nation where each social problem could be managed by experts trained in that area. Many areas in which the Progressives focused their efforts included the following: reform of the political system, business regulation, consumer protection, protection of working women and children, limits on immigration, tax reform, labor and education reform and temperance.
- Journalists called “**Muckrakers**’ brought many of these problem areas to public attention, and most Americans supported calls for change. Reforms occurred first at local and state levels.
- Although Progressives had the nation’s best interest at heart; some reforms came at the expense of immigrants and racial minorities. Reformers tried to extinguish immigrant cultures, and they neglected African-Americans almost completely.
- Theodore Roosevelt, William H. Taft, and Woodrow Wilson were reform Presidents. They sought to improve the welfare of the average American citizen, regulate big- business practices, and conserve the nation’s natural resources.
- Roosevelt supported the Progressive movement with his domestic goal to give everyone a “Square Deal.”He soon became known as a “**trust buster.**” Roosevelt also helped settle the coal strike of 1902. His greatest achievement lay in the area of conservation.
- During Taft’s administration, the constitution was strengthened with the Sixteenth Amendments passage (providing for an income tax) and the Seventeenth

Amendment (allowing direct election of Senators). Taft also created the Tariff Board to investigate duties.

- One of Wilson's first acts as President was to help pass the Underwood Tariff Act, which lowered import duties and introduced a federal income tax. Wilson achieved a progressive legislative program. He implemented a reform of banking and currency practices, secured passage of a labor reform bill and engineered legislation regulating trusts.

Self-Test Exercise- 8

I. Write true if the statement is correct or false if it is wrong

- _____ 1. The progressive were the supporters of big business.
- _____ 2. Progressives strongly favored policies to protect and conserve the United State's natural resources and endowment.
- _____ 3. The progressive reformers crusaded only on political aspects and on local corruption
- _____ 4. As being a trustbuster, Roosevelt opposed to all trusts.
- _____ 5. Wilson was the most successful President of the early 20th century by winning passage of a broad and ambitious reform agenda of his own.
- _____ 6. The Hepburn Act of 1906 was concerned with regulating railroad companies.

II. Match the appropriate items from column "B" within the items in column "A"

- | <u>"A"</u> | <u>"B"</u> |
|-------------------------|--|
| 7. New nationalism | A) Charlotte Perkin Gilman |
| 8. New Freedom | B) a party that guaranteed the victory of the Democrats in 1912 |
| 9. Muckrakers | C) Woodrow Wilson's Program |
| 10. Bull Moose | D) Set of Roosevelt's Policies |
| 11. Women and economics | E) Taft's foreign policy aimed at controlling the affairs of foreign nations through financial investment |
| 12. Square Deal | F) Established an eight- hour working day for all laborers |
| 13. Dollar Diplomacy | G) a belief introduced by Roosevelt that all people should have equal opportunity |
| 14. Adamson Act | H) a group of different educated people who were committed to exposing scandals, corruption and other injustices to direct public attention through their writings |

- I) A group which consists protestants, Catholics and Jewish rabbis who struggle for the improvement of the society.

UNIT NINE

THE AMERICAS DURING THE TWO WORLD WARS (1914-1945)

Introduction

Dear learner! This is the last unit of the module. It is organized into three broad sections, and contained activities, and self-check exercises. Section one traces the growth of American intervention in Latin America and its relations with other nation. It deals with developments from the early relations, and the cause, courses, and consequences of World War I. It also discusses how the United States tried to remain neutral but could not, and how the country cooperated with the Allied powers in winning the war.

The second section deals with the Americas in the interwar period, the period of Normalcy, post World War I foreign policy, nationalism in Latin America, the Great Depression and the New Deal. It describes once the war ended, the national mood was no longer progress and optimism, but “normalcy” and isolation. During the 1920s, Americans elected conservative Republican leaders. Several major crises deeply affected the United States between 1930 and 1945. A Great Depression endangered the nation’s economic system, and foreign military power threatened its national security. Americans committed themselves to economic recovery and to fighting -the Axis Powers in World War II.

Section three is the story of the United States and World War II. It also tries to analyze how the two world wars had great impact on the United States to be a world supreme power. The story of American involvement in the war is not just the story of how the military forces and the industrial might of the United States helped defeat Germany, Italy and Japan. It is also the story of the creation of a new world, both abroad and at home.

Objectives

After completing this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the United States’ foreign policy toward Latin American nations.
- Examine the causes and effects of the World War I
- Discuss the role of the United States in helping the Allied Powers to achieve victory over the Central Powers.

- Describe the outcomes of the Versailles Treaty.
- Discuss the socioeconomic and political condition of the Americas in the interwar period.
- Explain the major causes of the Great Depression.
- Describe how New Deal economic reform attempted to end the Depression.
- Discuss why the political leadership of Roosevelt was effective at bring about New Deal Reforms and its long-term effects on American Society.
- Identify the major causes and evaluate effects of WWII on American society.
- Analyze what events led the American people to abandon isolationism and neutrality.

Section 1: The USA and the First World War, 1914-1918.

Overview

When Europe went to war in 1914, the United States sought to stay out of the conflict. Both sides disregarded American neutrality. Germany's use of unrestricted submarine warfare and economic ties to Great Britain eventually led the United States into the bloody struggle. Mobilization called for many sacrifices by the American people. The senate, however, rejected Wilson's proposed peace settlement, and war time fervor led to intolerance.

9.1.1. Prelude to War

Like the European powers, the United States in the late 1800s wanted to exercise influence on world affairs. The United States government and American business were becoming increasingly involved in the affairs of Latin America. This trend increased following the Spanish-American War and construction of the Panama Canal. Tension between Latin American nations and the United States grew as a result of the United States government's repeated interventions in the region during the first two decades of the 1920s.

Meanwhile, the United States intervention was accomplished by upsurge nationalism in Latin America. Mexico was the worst problem of Latin America. A revolution swept in Mexico from 1910 to about 1920. During this upheaval, the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz was overthrown, various rebel leaders competed for power and years of anarchy followed. In 1913, Victoriano Huerta seized power. American capitalists supported Huerta in the belief that he would support business interests. Wilson refused to recognize the new government.

He looked for a reason to intervene. He sent marines to seize the Mexican port of Veracruz. Although he expected the Mexican people to welcome his action, anti-American riots broke out in Mexico and throughout Latin America. While Wilson was dealing with problems in Mexico and the Caribbean, Europe began one of the bloodiest wars in its history.

The fundamental causes of WWI were: the feeling of nationalism; imperialism, a policy of extending the rule of one nation over another; militarism or arms race an excessive reliance on arms and armies; the alliance systems, or “armed camps” the defense agreements among nations for mutual self defense- Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Italy), Triple Entente (Britain, France and Russia). Friction between the two armed camps had brought Europe to the verge of war several times since 1900.

Events leading up to the outbreak of war were: The Moroccan Crisis (1905-6); the Russo-Japanese (1904-5); the Bosnia Crisis (1908); the Agadir Crisis (1911); the First Balkan War (1912); and the assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, and his wife Sophie by a Serb terrorist, Gavrilo Principe at Sarajevo on 28 June 1914 sparked of the war.

9.1.2. Wilson and the World Order

Woodrow Wilson’s foreign policy fluctuated in the world. His interventions in Latin America grew out of zeal to do well. He and secretary of state William Jennings Bryan wanted to save the people of Mexico and the Caribbean republics from internal anarchy and foreign dangers. Wilson viewed that America must serve as the world’s moral inspiration. But Wilson never forgot the country’s “vital interests.” He was sometimes insensitive to moral considerations. Wilson’s missionary diplomacy encountered its greatest difficulties in Mexico. A bandit Francisco “Pancho” Villa murdered a number of Americans in northern Mexico and he burned the town of Columbus, New Mexico and many American citizens lost their lives and property.

Wilson sent troops commanded by General John J. Pershing into Mexico to capture Villa. Pershing never did catch Villa. Finally, Wilson decided that a mounting crisis with Germany was more serious than the capture of Villa. So, in February 1917, he withdrew the last of Pershing’s troops from Mexico. The Mexican situation revealed the principal elements of the Wilson foreign policy: moralism, self-interest, missionary interventionism,

and a deep reluctance to make war. These contradictory urges would also be apparent in the American approach to the war in Europe. Wilson promptly issued declarations of neutrality and offered to mediate, but the warring nations refused the offer. He called on his fellow citizens in 1914 to remain “impartial in thought as well as in action.” But most Americans were never impartial for several reasons. Firstly, some sympathized with the German cause (German Americans because of affection for Germany, Irish Americans because of hatred of Britain). Secondly, many more (including Wilson himself) sympathized with Britain. Wilson himself was only one of many Americans who frequently admired England’s traditions, culture, and political system. Almost these attributed to the cause of the Allies (Britain, France, Italy, and Russian) a moral quality that they denied to the Central Powers (Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Ottoman Empire). The German atrocities in Belgium strengthened the hostility of many Americans.

Economic difficulties especially trade and travel by sea made neutrally impossible for the United States to deal with the belligerents on equal terms. The British had imposed a naval blockade on the central powers to prevent munitions and supplies from reaching the enemy. The British extended the redefinition of contraband, or prohibited materials, almost everything that could be shipped to Germany and neighboring nations. They stopped American vessels and forced them to go to British ports. They planted mines in the North Sea, endangering all neutral ships routed the area. They set up blacklists of American firms suspected of trading with Germany through other neutral nations, and threatened these firms with the loss of English business.

By the summer of 1915, the British navy had strangled practically all United States trade with the Central Powers and with the neutral states of Europe. Wilson protested these violations of its neutral rights, but it never used force to protect because the British did not go too far in their violations. The British were carefully trying to retain the friendship of the United States. At the same time, exports from the United States to the Allies nearly quadrupled, as war materials and food from American helped the Allies. Trade between the Allies and America rose steadily and ties between them became closer when the United States government lent the Allies billions of dollars. The American public purchased another British and French war bonds in some billion dollars. This helped the United States

to produce one of the greatest economic in the nation's history. The United States had made a sizable investment in the Allied war effort, and its economy was prospering. So, America tacitly ignored the blockade of Germany and continued trading with Britain. By 1915, the United States had gradually transformed itself from a neutral power into the arsenal of the Allies.

Activity 9.1

1. How did Latin American nations respond to American intervention?
2. What were the underlying causes of WWI? Who was to blame?
3. State how nationalism and alliances created the conditions that led to WWI
4. What series of events provided the spark that ignited World War I?
5. How did the United States react to the start of the war?
6. Identify Victoriano Huerta, Pancho Villa, Triple Alliance, Triple Entente, Lusitania, U-boat, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, Gavrilo Princip
7. Describe two trends that made American neutrality difficult.
8. Why did the people of the United States find it difficult to maintain neutral attitude toward the belligerents? In what ways did the British violate the neutral rights of the United States?

9.1.3. The United States Neutrality

Yet none of the measures were sufficient to make the United States enter the war on the Allied side. The Allies prevented the United States from joining the Central Powers and made her sympathetic towards Britain. It was the German submarine that ultimately brought her into the war.

Submarine Warfare

To retaliate against the British blockade, cut off Britain's war supplies, the Germans eventually found a new policy to wear down the British sea power. They instituted a policy of submarine warfare. The chief German naval weapon against the Allies was the U-boat

(*Unter seeboot*), a submarine armed with torpedoes and one small deck gun. U-boats could creep up on their target unseen and sink them without warning. The U-boat broke long established rules of warfare by sinking unarmed ships. In February 1915, Germany began her submarine warfare after proclaiming the seas around the British Isles a warzone. The German government announced that her submarines would sink without warning all ships found within a large warzone. President Wilson immediately protested this violation of international law.

On May 7, 1915, a German submarine torpedoed and sank the British passenger liner, **Lusitania**, off the Irish coast, causing the deaths of 1198 people, of who were 128 of the Americans. The Allies were enraged. The sinking of an unarmed passenger liner also profoundly shocked the Americans. On May 13 Wilson dispatched a note to the German government demanding the Germans apologize for the brutal act and renounce further attacks on merchants and passenger vessels. Although the Germans expressed regret for the American dead, they defended the sinking as an act of “self defense.” Wilson also demanded that Germany would pay for injuries and the loss of lives. Although the German government did not publicly surrender to Wilson’s demands, it secretly ordered its submarine captains not to attack passenger liners. But tensions between the nations continued to grow. He refused to take extreme measures against Germany. He tried to end the war through mediation. However, the mediation effort failed.

The conflict with Germany remained unresolved when the Germans struck again in mid-August 1915, sinking the **Arabic**, another unarmed British passenger liner and killing two Americans. Late in March 1916, Wilson’s policy was tested when a U-boat torpedoed the French passenger ship **Sussex**, and other British ships, injuring several American passengers. This led the United States to issue an ultimatum to the Germans. Germany did not want to strengthen the Allies by drawing the United States into the war. So, it offered to compensate Americans injured on the Sussex and promised with certain conditions to sink no more merchant ships without warning. The German government gave the so called **Sussex Pledge**: it would abandon its practice of shoot-on-sight in all cases except those involving enemy warships. The pledge was qualified; however, the Germans would honor it only if the United States compelled the Allies to abide by the rules of international law.

Wilson accepted the Sussex Pledge, knowing that it would be impossible to force the Allies to comply with Germany's conditions. But peace was at least preserved for the moment.

Can German U-boat attacks on the Lusitania and Sussex be justified?

9.1.4. America Enters the War

What events drew the United States in to the war?

In the presidential election of 1916, the Democrats again chose Woodrow Wilson as their candidate. This time the campaign focused on Wilson's diplomatic skills, using the slogan "He kept us out of the war." There was strong opposition from the Republicans. Roosevelt, who hated Wilson, had gone back to his old party, and attacked him violently on the ground that he was not taking a firm enough stand against Germany. Americans, however, gave his policies a less-than-ringing endorsement. Wilson won the republican candidate Charles Evan's Hughes in election, but it was a very close race.

After his reelection, Wilson devoted his energies to finding a peaceful solution to the war. on December 18, 1916 he asked the warring nations to state their peace terms. As a neutral party, he hoped to negotiate a settlement, but both sides responded with terms that their opponents would not accept. He warned both sides that only a "peace without victory" would last. "A victor's peace" he argued "would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest...only as upon quick sand." The President's words were prophetic, but neither side was willing to stop the fighting and talk terms. Even though they know it would bring the United States into the war, the Germans decided to resume unrestricted submarine warfare. Because they felt that the Americans could not raise an army and transport it to Europe in time to prevent the Allies from collapsing. The Germans informed Wilsons of their decision on January 31, 1917. Three days later broke off diplomatic relation with Germany.

The President still hoped to avoid war. Meanwhile, other events caused the nation's antagonism toward Germany to mount. On February 25, 1917, the British government gave Wilson a message sent by Alfered Zimmermann, the German foreign secretary, to the German ambassador, which they had intercepted. The Zimmermann note proposed that Mexico join an alliance with Germany if the United States went to war against Germany that Japan be invited to join that alliance. In the event of German victory, Mexico would be

rewarded its lost territory of Texas, New Mexico and Arizona. When the United States government published the Zimmerman telegram on March 1, 1917, tensions between the two countries grew worse and intensified anti-German feeling swept over the country. Then, between March 12 and 19, four American merchant ships were sunk by submarines with heavy loss of life.

On April 12, 1917, Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war on Germany. Wilson also called upon the people of the United States to help “make the world safe for democracy”. Congress declared war on April 6.

When the United States entered the war, the Allies seemed in danger of defeat. German submarines were sinking ships twice as fast as the Allies could replace them. The British Isles had only a two month supply of food with no relief in sight. The Italians had suffered a disastrous blow at the Battle of Caporetto, Romania and Serbia had been defeated. Russia’s military effort slackened and she had withdrawn from the war after the overthrow of the Czar and the Bolshevik or communist revolution. French and British troops were sick and exhausted from the long months of life in the trenches

The entry of the United States was the turning point in the war, tipping the scales dramatically in favor of the Allies and giving the Allies indisputable superiority. It played a considerable and decisive part in the First World War. Her direct contribution was twofold.

1) She loaned to the Allies vast sums of money. The total Allies debt at the end of the war was estimated over \$10 billion;

2) She contributed man power. Her navy joined the British in fighting the submarines. On land the U.S.A raised a vast army within 18 months, by a series of conscription acts. Congress passed the **Selective Service Act** on May 18, 1917 to draft soldiers into the army. The Espionage Act of June 1917 provided a fine and imprisonment for anyone who encountered disloyalty. The Sedition Act of May 1918 provided punishment for anyone who said or wrote anything “disloyal, profane, or scurrilous.” The United States was able to send thousands of conscripts under the jaunty song “Over There” under the leadership of General John “Black Jack” Pershing (1860-1948). Together they formed what became known as the American Expeditionary Force (AEF). They reinforced British and French troops and gave a vital boost to morale. The first troops from the US were “doughboys,”

the nick name given American soldiers; as the American soldiers were called went to quite sectors of the battle front as replacements in French and British units. At first, however, the force that the United States gave to the Allies was very little. This was because the US did not have a large enough standing army to provide the necessary ground forces in 1917. Eventually, over 2 million American troops went to France and 1.4 million of them saw action on the frontlines. This vast new reservoir of military strength was an important factor in the Allied victory.

African American soldiers served overseas campaign. But they encountered rampant discrimination and prejudice in the army where their units were completely segregated from white units. They were also not allowed to serve in the Marine Corps and in the navy. They were restricted to the lower ranks. The US entry is significant not just because it provided reinforcements, fresh troops, and fresh supplies to the beleaguered Allies. From a border perspective, it marked a shift in the nature of international politics: Europe was no longer able to handle its own affairs and settle its own differences without outside help.

At home the power of the government was extended. The government's power covered every sphere of American life. Congress gave the President practically dictatorial powers. President Wilson delegated many of these powers to six war time agencies: War Industries Board, Food Administration, the United States Shipping Board, United States Rail Road Administration, Committee on Public Information, and National Labor Board.

By the beginning of 1918, the US contribution to the war was still relatively small. Almost a year passed before an American fighting force reached the battle front. The first troops were taken forces to boost the sagging morale of French and British soldiers. In an effort to smash the Allies before many troops arrived from the US, the Germans, on March 18, launched an offensive at Somme River, and in April they aimed a second blow at Flanders. In June, they threatened Paris. United States troops helped to stop the advance, distinguishing themselves in a counter attack at Chateau Thierry, less than 50 miles from Paris.

The tide turned in mid-July as Marshal Ferdinand Foch, Supreme Commander of the Allied Armies, ordered a great counter offensive along the Western front close to the German border. The fresh American troops helped turn the tide of battle that kept the

Germans in steady retreat near Verdun. In mid September the “doughboys” won an overwhelming victory at St. Mihiel. Then an even larger force drove toward Sedan, breaking through well-defended portions of German lines.

By early November, the Allies were poised to advance on to German soil. While the Meuse-Argonne battle was going on, the German government appealed to Wilson for peace on the basis of the fourteen points. Realizing the war was lost, the Germans signed an armistice, or temporary stop to fight, on November 11, 1918.

The American naval forces joined the British waging war against German’s deadly U-boats. The American Admiral William S. Sims escorted troops and supply vessel to France and cooperation with the British, helped end the U-boat threat. In London, Sims introduced the idea of the *convoy*, under this system; merchant ships crossed the Atlantic in clusters surrounded by a small number of warships for protection.

At the same time, mines the depth charge and under water explosives were invented and began to be used more effectively. But they used hundreds of patrol vessels to watch for U-boats and protect Allied ships by escorting them out of dangerous areas. So did air reconnaissance, or surveying. By the end of 1917, the number of U-boat casualties was slashed in half. In 1918, the Navy took the principal role in laying mines across the North Sea.

World War I was costly. By its end the United States was spending about \$ 44 million a day. The government raised about 1/3 of the money to finance the war through taxation. Income taxes were increased. The war had shattered much of Europe. A new Europe and Africa had to be redrawn. As a result of the war, human misery had become common place. More than 50% of the Allied soldiers and 60% of the Central Powers soldiers became casualties.

The war helped produce a remarkable period of economic growth in the United States. European demands for American products increased. Employment increased dramatically because so many men were away at war, new opportunities for female, African-American, Mexican and Asian workers appeared. The agricultural economy profited from the war as well. The American economy experienced an enormous industrial boom as a result of the war. The American experience in WWI was brief but it had profound effects on the

government, on the economy and the society. One of the most important social changes of the war years was the migration of hundreds of thousands of African-Americans from the rural south into northern industrial cities. It became known as the “**Great Migration.**”

Activity 9.2

1. Why did the United States enter WWI?
2. How did German submarine warfare bring the United States into the War?
3. What were some of the provisions of Woodrow Fourteen Points program for peace?
4. Discuss how the United States contributed to the Allied victory during the course of WWI.

9.1. 5. The Peace Settlement

While the war was fore most in the President’s mind, Wilson never ceased to think a head to peace. The hopes of many Europeans and North Americans focused on Woodrow Wilson. Even before the war ended, he had put forth his Fourteen Points, a peace plan whose terms included international recognition of freedom of the seas and, of trade, open diplomacy, disarmament. Other points also included self- determination of peoples to live under a government of their own choosing. Finally, Wilson proposed a general association of nations to guarantee the peace that became the League of Nations. It was these points that Germany thought would be the basis of peace negotiations.

Although Wilson’s words appealed to a world weary of, other Allied leaders did not support him. They wanted German territory and to punish Germany. Some Americans did not want an armistice, they wanted surrender. As a result, Roosevelt and other Republican leaders attacked the fourteen points during the armistice negotiation as allowing peace terms that were too soft. These critics demanded a Republican victory in the Congressional elections of November 1918. Upset by these attacks, Wilson made a blanket appeal to the voters to elect Democrats to Congress. Instead, voters elected Republican majorities in both houses. Domestic economic troubles more than international issues had been the most important factors in the voting. The failure of his appeal had placed him in a difficult position in respect to the other Allied leaders; for these statesmen could think that the people of the United States had repudiated Wilson’s leadership.

There were two major reservations: Great -Britain and France. Britain’s control of the seas had been a major British war aim vital to her interests. Great Britain depended on foreign trade for its survival and still ruled a vast overseas empire. The British, therefore,

objected to the idea of open seas. The other reservation was held by France. Wilson had stated that there should be “no annexations, no contributions, and no punitive damages” as a result of the war. France believed that some statement demanding reparations, or payments for damages, should be included in any peace settlement.

In January 1919, delegates from 27 nations gathered in Paris to work out 5 separate peace treaties known as the Peace of Paris. The Allies did not invite representatives from the defeated Central Powers or Russia. The principal figures in the negotiations were leaders of the victorious Allied nations: Lloyd George representing Great Britain; Georges Clemenceau, representing France; Vittorio Orlando, the Prime Minister of Italy; and Wilson, who hoped to dominate them all. Most of the decisions were made by these “**Big Four.**” Wilson, however, was adamant; he alone would represent the United States. It soon became clear that there was a large gap between the idealistic goals of Wilson and the nationalistic: the French and the British and Italian leaders. Nevertheless, the President scored an immediate triumph by forcing plans for a League of Nations into the peace treaty. Again and again, Wilson gave in other issues to ensure the acceptance of the League of Nations. In mid-February, the Covenant, or charter of the League written by Wilson himself was accepted by the conference.

The League would admit all nations as members. The League would consider all disputes between its members and try to settle them. Its two major bodies would be an assembly and a council. In the assembly a kind of international Congress, every member nation would have one vote. The council or executive body would be more powerful. There the “**Big five**” -the United States, Britain, France, Italy, and Japan would have permanent seats and could deal with questions of war and peace.

On June 28, 1919, the Allies signed treaty at Versailles. The Treaty of Versailles was the most important Treaty of the peace of Paris that spelled out the details of the Allied settlement with Germany. The Treaty stripped Germany of all its overseas colonies as well as reduced her military might, and also she was required to pay reparation for damage to repay the Allies. Despite Wilson’s hopes, the Versailles Treaty was a victor’s peace from Wilson’s standpoint; the treaty was a mixture of good and bad. Only four of Wilson’s fourteen points and nine supplementary principles emerged intact in the treaty. The idea of

self-determination was recognized, and new national states like Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia replaced the old Habsburg Empire. The most important was the Covenant of the League of Nations.

After the peace settlement had completed and adopted the Covenant of the League of Nations, Wilson returned the US to sign bills which had been passed by Congress during his absence. The Treaty had, under the American constitution, to be ratified by the senate before it became law. Although he hoped Americans would support the treaty, they criticized it from all sides. The majority of the Senate was Republican. During his absence the Republicans had carried on a campaign against the suggestion that the U.S.A should join the League of Nations. They said that to do so would be to break with the American tradition of isolation from Europe. Irish-Americans were soon attacking the failure of the treaty to further the case of Irish freedom from Britain, Italian-Americans complained because Italy had not been awarded the Adriatic city of Fiume. German-Americans denounced the war-guilt clause that made their ancestral land a self-confessed criminal nation. Isolationists insisted that the League would entangle the United States in affairs abroad in which it had no true interest. There were also some Democrats who opposed Wilson and believed that Wilson had betrayed his ideas by accepting any compromise at Versailles.

In March, Wilson returned to Paris to complete the peacemaking. The Republicans at home led by Senators Henry Cabot Lodge, an able and persuasive politician who won support from many quarters for his policy of isolation. Those senators who opposed the League of Nations in any form sometimes "irreconcilables," were isolationists, men who believed the United States should avoid involvement in the politics of Europe. To Wilson's call that the United State should show the way towards the new age of peace and democracy which he hoped the League of Nations would bring Lodge replied that the League would enable other powers to summon American troops and ships to serve in any part of the world.

Wilson embarked on a grueling, cross-country speaking tour to arouse public support for the treaty. So he set out on along speaking tour, delivering nearly forty speeches in less than a month. On September 25, 1919, Wilson collapsed and had to cancel the remainder

his trip. He suffered a severe stroke that partially paralyzed him. For months he was unable to work, and during this period his wife and the cabinet took over most of the duties of the Presidential office.

Wilson was an invalid, hardly able to move out of the White House. The story of the Treaty was soon ended. The Senate rejected it they passed instead a resolution of fourteen “reservations” to Versailles agreement. The United States negotiated a separate peace treaty with each of the central powers in 1921.

The ailing Wilson sought to make the 1920 Presidential election a referendum on the League. It was a wasted effort, for the public was tired of war and progressivism. The final blow was the election of 1920 in which the Republican candidate Warren Harding won by landslide of 16 million votes enabling the isolationists to claim that American people had repudiated internationalism.

The Democrats and pro-League James Cox had failed. The new Harding administration eventually signed a separate peace treaty with Germany, Austria, and Hungary officially ending the hostilities in August 1921, but the United States never entered the League of Nations. **Activity 9.3**

1. What were the social, economic, and political effects of WWI?
2. Evaluate the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles?
3. Why were the Democrats defeated in the election of 1920s?
4. Who played major roles in treaty negotiations?
5. Identify Treaty of Versailles, League of Nations, covenant, “Big Four.”
6. What new nations were created in Eastern Europe after the war?

Section 2: The Americas in the Interwar Period (1918-1939)

Overview

The decade that followed WWI differed considerably from the progressive years that came before it, voters turned to conservative leaders who promised to turn the country away from European affairs and inward to “normalcy.” The Republican Party’s slogan, “America First” hailed the country’s unparalleled prosperity, characterized by remarkable achievements in the fields of business. The 1920s saw striking changes in American society. Radio and films became immensely popular. The arts flourished. Between November 1929 and March 1933, the nation’s economy hit rock bottom. Over 25% of the

nations workers were unemployed, thousands of businesses were bankrupted, several banks had been closed, and farmers were in revolt.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt took the oath of office, Congress and the American people were eager to follow the President's leadership. Within months, laws were passed to provide relief, recovery, and reform of the economic system. Two years later, however, millions of Americans were still unemployed, and the New Deal came under increasing criticism. Throughout Roosevelt's second term, many programs were reshaped to permanently change the way government relates to its citizens.

9.2.1. The Decade of Normalcy

What were the 1920s really like?

The ending of the war brought to all peoples a feeling of relief and reaction. Although America had suffered comparatively little, yet her people felt relief and reaction in a different way. Many Americans wanted to forget the demands of the great crusade, other people's problems, and the responsibilities of power that the war had thrust upon their nation. The decade that followed WWI differed considerably from the progressive leaders who promised to turn the country away from European affairs and inward to "normalcy." They wished to return as quickly as possible to days of peace and comfort or to what Harding called normalcy. Americans saw the war as something that had taken them out of the normal path of their national development. They wanted to be rid of the governmental control which had interfered with their lives during the war, and to get on with their own private affairs. In reality, the decade was a time of significant, even dramatic social, economic, and political change.

The war had changed the world too much for that to be possible. It was an era in which the American economy not only enjoyed spectacular growth but developed new forms of organization. It was a time in which American popular culture reshaped itself in response to the urban, industrial, consumer-oriented society American was becoming.

In the post war period manufacturers, farmers, and other producers tried to keep pace with the inflation by increasing their prices. Americans who lived on fixed incomes suffered the most and became bitter. The people of the United States could not shake off the attitudes that had been bred by the war. The war time demands for conformity in

thought and the intolerance against foreigners and radicals spilled over in to the new era of peace. One result of these attitudes was the hunt for radicals called the **Red scare** of 1919-1920 which over shadowed the problems of reconversion. Although the Red Scare was rooted in American problems, it was also connected with events in the Soviet Union which followed the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. The success of the Bolshevik Revolution which attacked individual liberties and the liberties of capitalists and property owners caused great alarm in America. The years followed the war saw the succession of bitter strikes in every American industry. Some of the workmen were turning towards socialism. Most Americans were shocked by communist activities and the spread of communism. Two communist parties were formed in the US in September 1919. The American communists carried on an intensive laws and acts of intolerance, the Red Scare declined.

Racial violence broke out. After the war, the blacks wanted higher wedges and to break down some of the barriers that put the blacks at the bottom of the American society. During the summer of 1919, race riot broke out in many Northern cities. Marcus Aurelius Garvey appeared and founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association. He preached a Black Nationalism or radical consciousness. Many joined the movement. Federal officials accused Garvey of mail fraud.

Focus

After the war the U.S.A faced various problems. Demobilizing the armed force, returning to a peace time economy, and coping with fears of espionage presented the country with serious challenges. The most common postwar problems were: demobilization, Red scare, labor unrest, racial tension etc

President Warren Harding favored reducing the government's regulations of business. But there was little effort to enforce the antitrust laws that regulated business mergers. The Immigration Act of 1921 made Harding popular because it almost closed the doors on foreign workmen. Employers, who had previously favored unrestricted immigration as a means of hiring cheap labor, now came to fear that the new immigrants were radicals who would fight for a communist revolution.

In 1921, Harding signed the Emergency Quota Act and the National Origins Act of 1924. These laws initiated a quota system by which the number of immigrants allowed from a given nation was based on the number of persons of that nationality already living

in the United States. Discrimination as well as restriction of immigration became a national policy. By the late 1920, immigration had slowed down considerably. An historic policy, and one of the world's great mass migrations, had ended.

Harding appointed capable men to the most important cabinet offices; he attempted to stabilize the nation's troubled foreign policy; and he displayed on occasion a vigorous humanity. But, he seemed baffled by his responsibilities as if he recognized his own unfitness. "I am a man of limited talents from a small town," he reportedly told friends on one occasion. "I don't seem to grasp that I am president." Harding soon found himself delegating much of his authority to others. He surrounded himself with members of the so called "**Ohio Gang**" filled important offices throughout the administration. Harry Daugherty, Albert B. Fall, and others were engaged in fraud and corruption. They used their ties to the President and the attorney general to sell government appointments, pardons, and immunity from prosecution. However, not all of Harding's appointments were bad. He had obtained three able and intelligent men: Charles Evans Hughes (secretary of state); Andrew Mellon (Secretary of treasury); and Herbert Hoover (secretary of commerce).

Harding's administration was soon racked by a series of scandals. The worst scandal of the period was the Teapot Dome affair. Albert Fall Secretary of the Interior leased the rich naval oil reserves at Teapot Dome, Wyoming and Elk Hills, California to private speculators. For this and other favors, Fall received bribes totaling over \$ 300,000. Eventually, the Senate investigated this scandal and Fall went to prison. Another man, Colonel Forbes, Director of the Veterans' Bureau, the organization looking after disabled ex-soldiers, had swindled the treasury of millions of dollars. The Teapot Dome scandal brought shame and disgrace to the Harding administration.

In June 1923, as rumors of corruption in government began to spread, Harding began a speaking tour of the west. He became severely ill while returning from Alaska. On August 1923, he died in San Francisco shortly before news of the Scandals broke to the public.

9.2.2. The Coolidge Prosperity

The death of Harding brought Vice President Calvin Coolidge to the Presidency. But the change in President did not bring any change in policies. He became known as “silent cal.” His philosophy of government was simple economy and laissez-faire. He was a conservative and favored legislation beneficial to big business because he believed business should run the country. Coolidge, like Harding opposed any government programs of reform.

The Republicans campaigned on the slogan “Keep Cool with Coolidge” the way to keep business thriving. Coolidge won a comfortable victory easily against both the Democratic and Progressive candidates. The Democratic Party was deeply divided over two issues: prohibition which the rural regions favored and the cities opposed; and more importantly, the Ku Klux Klan.

Coolidge was fortunate to be in office from 1923 to 1929. The post war depression had ended, and during these years, the nation enjoyed great prosperity. Yet he was one of the most popular Presidents the United States has ever had. The reason for his popularity was not his personality. It was the great material prosperity which the U.S.A enjoyed. The years from 1923 to 1929 were a period of soaring trade returns, high profits, rising wages, and great speculation. Coolidge who once said, “the business of the United States is business.” There were several reasons for this prosperity:

- Countries overseas, reconstructing after the war, bought large quantities of American goods;
- American financiers loaned them cash to enable them to do so, and
- American industrial methods were developing fast it was estimated that the average production per man in American industry increased 53 percent between 1919 and 1929.
- The government policy under Republicans encouraged private enterprise in several ways. Where as many Americans had formerly regarded big business as an enemy, they now relied on it both to supply cheap products and to create new opportunities for wealth.

Since the good times continued for most Americans, the years of Calvin Coolidge’s Presidency were called the golden twenties, the “Roaring Twenties.” It was characterized by several features.

1. During the 1920s, many new industries developed. These new industries manufactured many new consumer goods, such as automobiles, radios, and electrical appliances. The expanding industries created many new jobs for Americans workers. For example, outstanding symbol of the new age was the automobile. It was Henry Ford who almost single-handedly changed the automobile from a toy of the wealthy to a necessity for all. Ford's famous "Model T"-affection known as the "Tin Lizzie" was so cheap that most families could afford it.
2. Economic prosperity led to many "get-rich-quick" ideas. Millions of Americans believed that prosperity would continue indefinitely.
3. The nation was driven by an interest in materialism.

American culture thrived in the 1920s. Literature, architecture, music, painting, movies, radio-all flourished during this time. Although the prosperity of the 1920s was more widely shared than it before, more than half of the population failed to achieve any real benefits from the growth. Most farmers, particularly those who produced staple crops, did not share in the Coolidge prosperity. They had done well in the war, but then came a slump. The American tariffs stopped foreign countries from sending to America goods for which they might have exchanged American wheat, cotton, and other farm products. So, the farmers' price became tumbling down.

Focus

The 1920s saw striking changes in American society. Radio and film became immensely popular. The arts flowered. Women adopted a new standard of behavior. Women expressed greater personal freedom. A dramatic new woman of the 1920s- the "**flapper**" demanded the same freedom enjoyed by men. She sometimes smoked cigarettes, drank liquor, used rouge and lipstick openly, new dressing styles (skirts), having fewer children, because of family planning and divorce rates increased.

Unfortunately, during the 1920s crime became big business. Gangsters consolidated the illegal liquor trade. Automobiles also killed as many Americans in 1928 and 1929 as had lost their lives in battle during WWI

Activity 9.4

1. What caused the Red Scare? In what ways did the Red Scare interfere with civil

liberties?

2. What conditions after WWI led to racial violence in the U.S.A?
3. What was the “flapper” life style of woman?
4. List the factors that resulted in increased crime in the 1920s?
5. Evaluate changes in women’s personal and economic status during the 1920s?
6. Why did the domestic market for agricultural products diminish during the 1920s?
7. Review the farmer’s situation during the 1920 and how government reacted to their plight.

9.2.3. Postwar Foreign Policy

What kind of foreign policy did the United States pursue in the interwar period?

President Wilson wanted the United States to assume a greater role in world affairs following WWI. Americans, however, were weary of war and of the foreign entanglements that had dragged the nation into war. They wanted to return to a life of isolation, free from international problems. It meant that America would do what she had done before 1914— isolate herself, as far as possible, from all dangerous connection with other powers. The most striking example of this isolationism was the Senate’s refusal in 1919 to ratify the Treaty of Versailles with its clause committing the U.S.A. to membership of the League of Nations. The absence of the United States significantly weakened the League’s effectiveness as a strong international peace keeping organization.

From 1921 to the early 1933, the U.S.A was ruled by Republican government which believed in a policy of isolationism. She never joined the League and she tried to avoid political disputes with other states and the signing of treaties. Some historians still blame the failure of the League on the absence of the U.S.A. In spite of this desire for isolation, in fact many forces were pulling the U.S.A. into world affairs, because overseas trade investment, and the thorny problem of European war debts and reparations. The rebuilding of world trade after the war was the greatest; the U.S.A hunting for new markets and new supplies of raw materials and this brought her into contact with other powers.

During the prosperous years of the 1920s, Americans tried to increase trade and profits by investment abroad in Europe, Canada, and in Central and Latin America. Americans owned industries, mines, shops, forests, and land in these regions and elsewhere all over the world.

One international problem that demanded a solution was almost \$ 12.1 billion in Allied war debts owed to the United States for food and war materials. Allied war debts to

the U.S.A. caused much ill- feeling. The Europeans hoped that the Americans would cancel the debts, since the USA had done well out of the war, lost fewer people in the war than the other Allies. The United States government, however, took the position that the Allies had gained territory and reparations for damages as a result of the victory while the United States had claimed no reward and that to cancel these debts would destroy faith in international agreements. Eventually, the United States made agreements with the debtor nations, reducing the debts by 30-80%. Most of the money the Allies paid actually came from Germany.

Faced with the German financial crisis of 1923, the Americans agreed to take part in the Dawes (1924) and Young plans (1929), which enabled the Germans to repay reparations. However, this caused the **ludicrous** situation in which America lent money to Germany so that she could pay reparations to Britain, France and Belgium and they in turn, could pay their war debts to the USA. Some of the agreements that the US government signed with other nations independently were:

- **The Washington Conferences (1921-2)**: were called by President Harding with eight nations concerning Japanese power in the Far East- mainly China and Pacific Islands north of the equator. They produced other two treaties dealing with the Far East.
- **The Four powers Treaty (1921)**: signed by the Unites States, Britain, France and Japan; each of these four powers agreed to recognize the rights of the others in their island possession in the Pacific Ocean. In case of disagreements or a threat from another nation, the signers also agreed to confer “fully and frankly.”
- **The Five Power Treaty (1922)**: The five naval powers of the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy, signed in February. They agreed to stop the construction of large warships for 10 years; the treaty also established a ratio which allowed Japan 9 ships, and France and Italy 5 ships, for every 15 ships permitted the United States and Britain. Some ships under construction would even be scrapped. The agreement forced the United States and Britain not to build new fortifications or naval bases in the Western Pacific.
- **The Nine Power Treaty** was a third major agreement signed in 1922 by the United States, France, Great Britain, Japan, Italy, Belgium, China, the Netherlands, and Portugal_ put the “Open Door” China policies into a treaty. The signers agreed to respect China’s

independence and territorial integrity and recognized the Open Door principle. Following this policy, Japan soon withdrew from the province of Shantung.

- **The Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928)** was originally Brand's idea. He proposed that France and the USA should sign a pact renouncing war. Frank B. Kellogg (American secretary of state) proposed the Pact of Paris (sometimes known as the Kellogg Pact) that the whole world should be involved; eventually 65 nations signed, agreeing to renounce war as an instrument of national policy. This sounded impressive but was completely useless because no mention was made of sanctions against any state which broke its pledge. Japan signed the Pact, but this did not prevent her from waging war against China only three years later.

Although the immediate results of the Washington Conference were encouraging, the treaties had notable shortcomings. The naval powers could still build unlimited numbers of smaller combat vessels, such as sub-marines and destroyers. The Four Power Treaty did not commit the signers to active military defense of their allies; indeed such a commitment might have been unacceptable to the United States. The Nine Powers Treaty made no provision for enforcement of the Open Door Policy.

9.2.4. Nationalism in Latin America

Many Latin Americans were as hostile toward the United States as were the Japanese. They feared that the United States wanted to exploit and dominate them. Continued occupation of Nicaragua, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic, and friction with Mexico in the early 1920s added to Latin Americans' distrust of the United States. Under Coolidge, American troops also went into Honduras and Panama. In 1924, the United States exercised extensive control over the finances of most of the twenty Latin American republics and had troops stationed in six of them.

After World War I, economic change and nationalism swept Latin America. Although the region's economy remained basically agricultural, the oil and mineral industries became increasingly important. Much of the investment that developed these resources was from the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. Anger at foreign influence led to growing nationalism among Latin Americans of all backgrounds. In 1923, 43% of all United States foreign investment went to Latin America. The industrial growth particularly in the United States and Western Europe increased the demand for tin, copper,

silver, oil and other raw materials from Latin America. More and more of the Latin American economy became tied to global markets.

Although world prices for raw materials increased and Latin American economies improved, in the 1920s prices for coffee, sugar, and other raw materials plunged. Like much of the world, Latin America suffered high unemployment and low prices for its products in the decade of the Great Depression (1929-1939). Mexico was an important source of oil for growing industries. Coolidge's dispute with Mexico increased in January 1927 when the Mexicans put into effect two laws that restricted the rights of foreigners, including Americans, who owned oil property in Mexico. Mexico's constitution, ratified in 1917, authorized the government to protect workers from exploitation and to require private property owners to act in the public interest.

Despite the constitution, reforms came slowly until 1934. In the same year Lazaro Cardenas was elected to the Presidency. His government carried out reforms like the redistribution of vast tracts of land to landless peasants and encouraged the formation of cooperatives. However, Cardenas' main goal was to make Mexico economically independent of foreign countries. His government wanted to bring the industrial economy under Mexican control. In 1937, Cardenas supported an oil workers strike against their British and American employers, demanding higher wages and better working conditions, but the companies refused. Cardenas carried out a policy of nationalization of foreign owned oil wells on March 18, 1933, declaring them the property of the government. The nationalization of Mexico's oil fields signaled the arrival of economic nationalism in Latin America. For Mexico it was a clean break from the economic dependence of the past.

Another oil-rich country, Venezuela, followed a course unlike that of Mexico. By the late 1930s Venezuela was the third largest oil producing country in the world. However, British, Dutch, and American oil companies controlled the Venezuela oil industry. Juan Vicente Gomez was President between 1908 and 1935, ruled as a dictator. Gomez worked closely with the oil companies. He used the oil profits to strengthen his power, paid off his country's huge national debt to European bankers and he also used the profit for his personal benefit.

After the death of Gomez in 1935, workers and students in the country rioted against foreign companies and their Venezuelan partners. The army intervened to stop the protest and remained in charge for the next several decades. Argentina and Brazil were other Latin American countries in which democracy failed to take hold.

To protect American economic interest, the United States intervened militarily in Central America and the Caribbean countries. In 1912, United States Marines had invaded Nicaragua when the country failed to pay its debts. During the 1920s, American forces landed again to protect United States interests. Rebel forces led by General Augusto Cesar Sandino resisted. But the United States government trained a loyal Nicaraguan army called the National Guard and by the mid-1930s, the National Guard was able to defeat the rebels. Its leader Anastasio Somoza, seized power in 1936 and his family ruled Nicaragua until 1979 with American support.

During the early 1900s, the American intervention and economic influence in Haiti, and Dominican Republic were deeply resented by many Latin Americans. Latin American nationalists particularly opposed the Roosevelt Corollary. Anti-Americanism was especially strong during the Great Depression. Aware of growing resentment, the United States tried to improve relations with its Southern neighbors. Following his election in 1928, Herbert Hoover made a good will tour of eleven nations in Central and South America. In several of his speeches he told the Latin Americans that he disapproved of intervention, and that he wanted the United States to be their good neighbor. Later, his administration issued a memorandum in December 1928, on the meaning of the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine's warning that European powers could not interfere in Latin America did not mean that the United States had the right to interfere.

Unlike his predecessors, Hoover did not start new interventions in Latin America. He denounced dollar diplomacy and began to end existing interventions. In the mid-1920s, he withdrew marines from the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua. Although Latin Americans resented his signing of the **Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act**, which injured their trade, Hoover's administration improved relations with Latin America and prepared the way for a stronger good neighbor policy.

In 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, announced the **Good Neighbor Policy** toward Latin America. The Good Neighbor Policy renounced past United States military intervention in the region. Roosevelt ended American restrictions on the sovereignty of Cuba. He also ordered the withdrawal of American troops from Haiti. In 1933, the United States took another step toward improving its relationship with Latin America. Diplomats from the United States joined with their Latin American counterparts at the Pan-American Conference in Montevideo, Uruguay. After much discussion, all parties signed an agreement stating; “No state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another.”

Activity 9.5

1. What factors led to the growth of nationalism and independence movements in Latin America between 1919 and 1939?
2. Why did nationalism in Latin America bring conflict with the United States?
3. Why did Coolidge and Hoover do to improve Latin American relations?
4. List some Latin American countries in which American military forces intervened between 1890 and 1940.
4. How did Mexico and Venezuela differ in their response to European and American control of their oil industries?

9.2.5 The Great Depression

Overview

Most Americans believed that the election of Herbert Hoover as President in 1928 would continue a decade of prosperity. This optimism quickly disappeared. A prolonged slump in agriculture, industrial overproduction, high tariff, and the stock market crash all contributed to the worst economic crisis in the nation’s history.

9.2.5.1. The Great Crash

The first sign of the Great Depression was the stock market crash in October 1929. Thousands of people lost all the money they had invested. Since September 1929 the buying of shares at the New York stock exchange in Wall Street, began to slowdown. Rumors spread that the boom might be over, and so people rushed to sell their shares

before price fell too far. By October 24, the rush had turned into a panic and share price fell dramatically. In one month, stocks lost almost 2/3 of their value. October 29 was called “**Black Tuesday**,” all the efforts to save the market failed. This disaster is always remembered as the Wall Street Crash. The financial crisis quickly spread from the United States to Europe and other countries-the World Wide Economic Crisis.

Its effects spread rapidly. So many frightened depositors rushed to withdraw their savings that thousands of banks had to close. As the demand for goods fell, factories closed down, and unemployment rose alarmingly. Many people believed that the stock market crash was the cause of the Great depression. But although October 1929 might have been the first visible sign of the crisis, the Wall Street crash did not cause the Depression, its real causes lay much deeper, the Depression had earlier beginnings and more important causes. The collapse of the stock market was only a prelude to a catastrophic economic decline from which the United States did not recover for 12 years. The causes of the Great Depression were so complex that scholars have debated the issue ever since.

9.2.5.2. Cause of the Depression

Examine the causes of the Great Depression?

Economists, historians, and others have argued for many years about the causes of the Great Depression. Scholars in the years since the Great Depression have also created interpretations that fit with their own views. The first post-war interpretations came from the economists: Milton Friedman and Anna Schwartz. They argued for what has become known as the “monetary” interpretation. They claimed that the Depression was the result of a drastic contraction of the currency a result of mistaken decisions by the Federal Reserve Board, which raised interest rates. Friedman has advocated that sound monetary policy is the best way to solve economic problems as opposed to fiscal policies such as taxation and spending.

A second very different argument, known as the “spending” interpretation, the economist Peter Temin argued that the cause of the crisis was not monetary contraction, but a drop investment and consumer spending, and in addition political implications.

Another important explanation comes from a historian, Michael Bernstein. He avoids trying to explain why the economic downturn occurred and asks instead, why it lasted so long. Bernstein's argument suggested that much of the money contributed to develop new industries that would help sustain prosperity after the war. In other words, a more direct government role stimulated the growth of new industries. In the end, however, no single explanation of the Great Depression has ever seemed adequate to most scholars.

A) Over Production and under Consumption

One of those factors was a lack of diversification in the American economy in the 1920s. Prosperity had depended excessively on a few basic industries notably construction and automobiles. In the late 1920s, these industries began to decline. Expenditures on construction fell between 1926 and 1929. Automobile sales fell by more than a third in the first nine months of 1929.

Labor saving machinery had increased the production capacity of the nation's industries so much that far more goods were produced than the American population could consume. Consumers spending began to decrease. Though production increased, employment stood still and workers' wages went up very slowly. Thus, there was insufficient purchasing power to support the nation's mass production industries.

B) Mal-distribution of income

Most about (78%) of the profit made by industry went to very small proportion (0.3%) of the people. If the profits had been more evenly distributed among the whole population, the manufacturers could have sold many more goods. So the fact that the profits of industry went to a very small proportion of the people meant, in the long run, less profits.

C) Agricultural Slump and Surpluses.

A prolonged agricultural slump which affected the economic life of the entire country was another factor. Farmers were heavily indebted to banks which held mortgages on farmland throughout the nation. The declining value of farms made it harder for farmers to

get credit. Banks that had invested heavily in farm mortgages were in danger of failing. In addition, huge farm surpluses produced a drop in farm prices. The resulting loss in farmers' purchasing power further reduced the consumption of manufactured goods led to the problem of under consumption.

D) Fall off American Foreign Trade

This was partly a result of the American tariff. Since the US erected a tariff barriers against goods coming from foreign countries, these countries retaliated by erecting tariff barriers against American goods. Late in the 1920s, European demand for American goods began to decline. This was because European industry and agriculture were becoming productive, and partly because some European nations (particularly Germany) were having financial difficulties and could not afford to buy goods from overseas. But it was also the European economy was being destabilized by the international debt structure that had emerged in the aftermath of WWI.

Policies such as the high Fordney-McCumber Tariff (1922) helped to keep foreign goods out, but prevented foreign states from making much-needed profits from trade with the United States destroyed foreign markets for American products especially in agriculture. The Mellon tax policies, which aided the upper class, contributed to the uneven distribution of the wealth.

E) Speculation

Peculation is the buying of shares in companies; people with cash to spare like to do this for two possible motives: Firstly, to get the dividend- this is the annual sharing-out of a company's profits among its shareholders; and secondly, to make a quick profit by selling the shares for more than they originally paid for them.

The situation was worsened by a great rush of speculation on the New York stock market. The 1920s seemed to be a period of never ending prosperity. Ordinary people spent their savings or borrowed money to buy a few shares. Stock brokers sold shares on credit; banks speculated in shares using the cash deposited with them. It was all something of a gamble; but there was enormous confidence that prosperity would continue indefinitely. This confidence lasted well on into 1929, but the boom could last only as long as investors added money to the pool. Once prices began to fall, speculators had to sell out quickly to

avoid being saddled with a debt which would ruin them. People's confidence fell. By 1929, prices stopped rising. People sold shares to pay the interest on their loans. Nearly, 13 million shares were "dumped" on the stock market at very prices. The lowest point of prices came in June 1932.

F) The international debt structure: was a six factor contributing to the Depression. American banks began making larger loans to European governments, with which they paid of their earlier loans. Without any source of foreign exchange with which to repay their loans, they began to default. The collapse of the international credit structure was one of the reasons for the Depression spread to Europe.

9.2.5. 3. Hoover's Policies

How did President Hoover try to combat the Depression? Why did many people turn against his administration?

Before 1929, the federal government had responded to economic depression by considering different monetary or tariff policies. During the Great Depression, however, the government was forced to seek more vigorous remedies for the nation's vast economic problems.

Failing to succeed in domestic policies, President Hoover made peace the cornerstone of his administration. Though Hoover had never been extreme believer in laissez-faire, he and his administration initially rejected an active interventionist role in the economy. His administration believed that recovery was just around the corner. He preferred the laissez-faire approach.

The President himself, however, was never as committed to inaction as his treasury secretary, Andrew Mellon did. Hoover's first response to the Depression was to attempt to restore public confidence in the economy. Subsequently, he summoned series of conferences of leaders of business, labor, local government officials, and agriculture to the White House and urged upon them a program voluntary cooperation of recovery. He was opposed to direct use of federal money for relief for the unemployed. He believed that state and local governments and private charities should provide relief. But these measures were not enough. Hoover tried to solve the problems by encouraging employers not to reduce wages and not to pay workers off, the business men not to cut production. The government lent money to banks, industrialists, railroads, and farmers to save them from bankruptcy,

began public work projects to relieve unemployment. In April 1929, he proposed the **Agricultural Marketing Act**, to help farmers maintain prices. A federally sponsored Farm Board would administer a budget that it could make loans to national marketing cooperatives to buy surpluses and thus raise prices. In 1932, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was setup to make more loans available.

In 1931, Hoover declared a one-year “moratorium” on war debts to ease the world’s financial position, and thus indirectly, that of America. This meant that foreign countries need not to pay any interest on war debts to the United States for twelve months in the hope that they would use the money saved to buy more American goods. But it made little difference. Hoover followed this action with other measures, such as the Federal Home Loan Bank Act of July 1932, which was designed to save home mortgages by helping building and loan associations.

All the above were genuine attempts to relieve the plight of the country. But they achieved little and they certainly did not form a revolutionary plan to conquer depression. Although most Americans were too confused to raise effective protests in the first several years of the Depression, by the middle of 1932, radical and dissident voices were becoming loud and pervasive. Evidence everywhere indicated that the people of the US were unhappy with Hoover’s policies. In the summer of 1932, farmers and a group of unhappy farm owners staged public protests. A more celebrated protest movement emerged from American veterans- the Bonus Expeditionary Force (BEF). In 1924, Congress had approved the payment of a \$ 1,000 bonus to all those who had served in WWI, the money to be distributed beginning in 1945. By 1932, however, many veterans were demanding that the bonus be paid immediately. Finally, the national army drove the ragged veterans away with thanks and bayonets. The incident shocked many Americans and it served as perhaps the final blow to Hoover’s already battered political standing. It was no surprise when the Democrat candidate, Franklin D, Roosevelt, easily beat Hoover in the Presidential Election of November 1932.

9.2.5. 4. Effects of the Great Depression

The Depression penetrated every aspect of life in the United States. A year after the crash, unemployment in the nation rose up to 15 million, fear and despair, starvation,

thousands of banks closed, price dropped, foreign trade shrank, and business failures increased and farmers were in revolt. One of the most urgent problems of the unemployed was housing. Many families could not pay their rent or their mortgages and were evicted from their home.

The Dust Bowl of the 1930s was of the great environmental disasters of American history. The dust storms of the 1930s were a terrifying experience for all who lived through them. The Depression was devastating for African-Americans. They experienced more unemployment, homelessness, malnutrition, and disease than they had in the past and considerably more than most whites. The Depression also eroded the strength of many family units.

Activity 9.6

1. What conditions led to the stock market crash in 1929?
2. Who was to blame for the economic crisis in the United States?
3. Identify Fordney-McCumber Tariff, Bonus Expeditionary Force, Black Tuesday, laissez-faire, moratorium, mortgage system, and speculation.
4. Summarize why Hoover disapproved of relief programs and direct involvement in business
5. How did the Depression affect people?
6. What factors created the Dust Bowl?

9.2.6. The New Deal, 1932-1939

1. What was the New Deal?
2. What were the aims of the New Deal?

In 1932, voters elected a new President, former New York governor Franklin D. Roosevelt. Roosevelt had campaigned on the promise “a new deal”: for the American people. He believed that the Federal government had to aid the stricken economy and provide relief for the unemployed. Roosevelt’s inaugural speech of March 4, 1933 set the tone for the early months of what would be called the New Deal. He proposed federal public works measures, legislation to redistribute population from the cities to the country, to raise the price of agricultural products, to end home and farm mortgage foreclosure, to cut costs at all levels of government, to improve and more efficient relief measures, and finally to tighten federal regulation of banking and stock speculation. The President told the American people that “fear itself was the chief danger and that if they submitted to sacrifice and discipline, all would be well. Action, he felt, was better than inaction. The response to

the address was remarkable. Most Americans, desperate for relief from the effects of the Depression, agreed with him.

Picture 2

The methods which Roosevelt used to put the New Deal into action were bold and skillful. Though he was not a brilliant economist or a man with a clear-cut set of principles to guide him, Roosevelt had some impressive assets, notably his open mindedness and willingness to experiment. "Take a method and try it," he advised.

“If it fails admit it frankly and try another.” He made clear that it was his own personal

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as not the policy of Democratic Party. He made full use of expert advisers. And he had gathered around him a group of talented advisors drawn from the Universities, from law, experts in finance, and economics and from the social work profession who could supply him with the ideas he himself lacked. This group was nicknamed the “**Brain Trust**,” by the press, planned many of the details of the New Deal.

In selecting his cabinet, Roosevelt named people who presented a variety of viewpoints and ideas_ Northerners and Southerners, liberals and conservatives. He named Republican Harold Ickes as secretary of the interior and he chose Henry A. Wallace, secretary of agriculture. For secretary of labor Roosevelt named first women cabinet officer, former child labor reformer Frances Perkins. Other women held important position in almost every New Deal agency outside the brain trust, the advisor that Roosevelt relied on most was his wife, Eleanor.

9.2.6.1. The First New Deal

The “**First New Deal**” lasted from 1933 to 1935, and concentrated mainly on the immediate problems. On the day he took office, on Sunday, March 4, 1933, he issued orders to his advisors to act to avert a national economic collapse. On March 5, he proclaimed a nation-wide bank holiday closing all banks for four days, and a four day embargo on the export of gold, silver, and currency. Roosevelt explained that only healthy banks would be “safer to keep money in a reopened bank than under the mattress.” In the next day’s most banks began to do business again, and in a few days deposits exceeded withdrawals. As the President’s calm assurances restored public confidence in the nation’s financial system, the bank crisis ended.

On March 9, he called Congress into special session and it immediately began turning out laws without letup until June 16, 1933. This period, one of great cooperation between the executive and legislative branches of the government, is known as the “**Hundred Days.**” Congress passed 15 major bills. Most were bills that the President submitted and the Congress passed with little debate.

1) Banking and Finance Reform

a) **The Emergency Banking Relief Act of 1933:** a bill designed to bring prompt relief to the banking community. It gave Roosevelt broad, discriminatory power to regulate banks and the issuance of money and it provided means for the reopening of banks in sound condition. Confidence was restored, banks were reopened; and the people deposited their money in them again.

b) **The Banking Act (1935):** established stricter government control of the banks, in order to prevent fraud, separated banks which simply did banking business; and-most important set up a Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation which insured deposits in banks and thus safeguarded depositors against losing their money.

c) **The Federal Securities Act (1933):** was designed to stop the formation of fraudulent companies. The Securities Exchange Commission (1934) to make sure those companies carried out the act of 1933, and to investigate all dishonest and dubious practices on the stock exchange.

2) The Agricultural Adjustment Act

To meet the problems of huge surpluses and low prices for farm products, the New Deal used the principle of limiting production. In May 1933, Congress passed the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), tried to persuade farmers to cut their production of such staple crops as corn, cotton, wheat and tobacco. In return, the government would give to them cash as a subsidy. Funds for these payments came from taxes levied on flour mills, slaughter houses, and other businesses that processed food. But large commercial farmers were benefited more than small farmers. White tenants and African-American tenants left farming during the 1930s. The farm security Administration was created to give loans to help tenants purchase land.

3) Help for the Unemployed

By 1933, 12 million to 15 million Americans (1 of every 4 workers) was unemployed, and many were on the verge of starvation. In March, 1933 the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was established. This was one of the first and most popular relief measures tried to make use of human resources, particularly unemployed youth in the conservation of natural resources.

Young men between the ages of 18 and 25 go to mountains or forests and they would work on reforestation, flood control, and soil conservation projects.

4) The Growth of Federal Relief

I. Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA): was established in May 1933, gave direct cash grants to states and towns to distribute “doles”- direct gifts of money, food and clothing to the poor and unemployed. But there were critics that people who received handouts would lose their self respect and job skills, making them even more unemployable. New Dealers, therefore, searched for alternatives to the dole.

II. The Public Works Administration (PWA): was created in June 1933, offered jobs instead of handouts.

III. In the autumn of 1933, Harry Hopkins, head of the FERA, won approval of a Civil Works Administration (CWA) to hire jobless persons. The CWA employed 4 million people. However, the CWA was costly, and it fell under criticism from people who considered it wasteful. As a result, the CWA was terminated in spring of 1934.

5) Industrial Relief

6) The National Industrial Recovery Act, (NIRA) of June 1933, was designed to further industrial recovery. It established the National Recovery Administration (NRA). The NRA was supposed to encourage cooperation in industry. It set up “codes of fair competition,” abolished child labor and pledged fair hours and wages for workers. The NIRA, however, never worked out as planned. Price rose faster than wages. Businesses complained that large companies wrote the codes to favor themselves and to put small competitors out of business. In May 1935, the Supreme Court declared the NIRA unconstitutional. Roosevelt objected to what he called “horse-and- buggy” decisions. In 1937, he asked Congress to increase the number of justices on the court. Thus he would influence the court’s future votes.

7) TVA transformed a region

The Tennessee valley was a region that suffered from nature’s destructive forces such as heavy rain fall, floods, erosion, deforestation, and over cultivation. Before 1933, the natural resources of the valley had long been exploited. In May 1933, Congress established the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), designed to promote the development of a seven-state region. The TVA built dams to control floods and to generate hydro electric power and also produced phosphate fertilizers to distribute to the farmers of the region. But the TVA had many critics. Private power companies resented that TVA paid no taxes and could offer low rates and argue that it was illegal for the government to go in to the business.

Activity 9.7

1. How did people respond to Roosevelt’s inaugural address?
2. How did Roosevelt’s series of reforms aid the unemployed?
3. What did the Tennessee Valley Authority accomplish? Why was it criticized?
4. How did Roosevelt handle the bank crisis?
5. Identify brain trust, the Hundred Days, FERA, PWA, AAA, and NRA.
6. Explain Roosevelt’s approach to solve the Depression.
7. Compare Roosevelt’s style in managing the crisis to Hoover’s. Why did the public support Roosevelt?
8. List three programs designed to create jobs by employing workers on projects to benefit the nation.

Focus

The “New Deal” is the name given to the great series of actions under taken by Roosevelt’s administration to lift the American people out of depression, and to lead them to a new

future. During the election campaign he had said: "I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people". These actions do not form one carefully planned scheme. Many of Roosevelt's measures were steps taken in a hurry to deal with immediate problems. But at the back of them all were three main aims: Relief, to give direct help to the poverty stricken millions who were without food and homes; Recovery, to reduce unemployment, stimulates the demand for goods, and get the economy moving again; and Reforms, to take whatever measures were necessary to prevent a repeat of the economic disaster.

9.2.6. 2.The Second New Deal. 1935-1939

From 1933 to early 1935, the dominating goals of the Roosevelt's administration were recovery and relief. But by early 1935, with no end to the Depression yet in sight, the New Deal was beginning to find itself the target of fierce public criticism. In the spring of 1935, partly in response to these growing attacks, Roosevelt launched an ambitious new program of legislation that has often been called the "Second New Deal. "

Organized opposition to the New Deal began to emerge in the summer of 1934, after the worst phase of the depression had passed. By 1935, Roosevelt and the New Deal were beset by critics and enemies. Some wanted a more active government control. Others felt that the government was interfering too much in American life. Business men believed that the New Deal had become too radical and that it was a threat to personal liberty. In August 1934, a group of wealthiest Roosevelt opponents led by members of the DuPont family and executives of General Motors Corporations, formed the American Liberty League designed to arouse public opposition to the New Deal's "dictatorial" policies and its supposed attacks on free enterprise. Although the new organization generated wide publicity and caused some concern within the administration, it was never able to expand its opposition much beyond the northern industrialists. At the same time a more formidable conservative challenge came from the Supreme Court.

Other critics from the left were also managed to produce alarm against Roosevelt's administration; but like the conservatives (right), they proved to have only limited strength. The Communist Party, the Socialist Party and other radical and semi-radical organizations were harshly critical of Roosevelt. But they were also sympathetic to some New Deal initiatives and supporting the Roosevelt programs, particularly, during the period of "Popular Front" to stop Fascism and Nazism. Communists had a broad impact on many areas of American life: the labor movement, African-American struggles for justice,

popular culture, literature, and arts to believe that the only hope for America lay in a socialist state.

The real political challenge came from collection of **Neopopulists** in the dissenting tradition of the West and South- a group of dissident political movements that defied easy ideological classification more menacing to the new deal than either the far right or the far left. The three popular attackers of the New Deal were: Dr. Francis E. Townsend, Father Charles E. Coughlin, and Hue Long. Townsend was chocked by the plight of older Americans who were no longer able to compete for jobs. He proposed a plan that all persons over sixty years of age be given pensions of \$ 200 a month. He argued that not only would this help older Americans, but the money they pumped into the economy would create jobs for younger and unemployed men. He quickly won about 5 million followers.

Coughlin, “radio priest,” formed a political organization called National Union for Social Justice in 1934, advocated for a series of monetary reforms: remonetization of the silver, issuing of greenbacks, and nationalization of banking system, power, oil, and light and natural gas companies. He denounced “rapacious capitalists” and called for the establishment of “Social Justice.” He also expressed anti-Semitic, or anti Jewish views.

Most alarming of all Roosevelt was the growing popularity of Senator Huey P. Long of Louisiana. People called him “King-fish” a shrewd politician, Long wanted to “share the wealth.” He proposed taxing away all large incomes and confiscating the property of rich and giving every family a home, a car, a radio, \$ 2,000 a year, and a free college education for their children. His followers organized hundreds of “share-our-wealth” clubs. Long’s proposal to make “every man a king” appealed to millions ordinary people.

In 1935, growing opposition, and the sense that the New Deal had stalled, pushed Roosevelt into a new program to weaken the power of big business, equalize opportunity, and increase economic security.

In the spring of 1935, Roosevelt launched a series of important new program often called the “Second New Deal” in response both to the growing political pressures and to the continuing economic crisis.

D) Labor Relief

a) The National Labor Relations Act of July 1935 often called the Wagner Act (because Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York had prepared it. It helped settle strikes, helped the rights of workers to join independent unions, and set minimum wages and hours, set up. National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to which workmen could complain and which had the power to punish employers.

b) Fair Labor Standard Act (1938)

c) Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) 1935, Later the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), 1938.

II) Social Security

The Social Security Act (1935) was one of the most important all of the New Deal laws provided old-age pensions and unemployment insurance and government benefits, dependent mothers, children and crippled and the blind for the first time. The United States had lagged behind Europe in social legislation. This was because of Laissez-faire attitudes in the Unites States. Other series of measures were also made as part of major principal features of the New Deal.

Roosevelt's administration in the 1930s was one of the most active in American history. It stirred up a great deal of support-Roosevelt was reelected in 1936 by a huge majority. Except with business and conservatives, the New Deal reforms were immensely popular. Although slow, economic recovery was on the way; farm prices were up, employment had increased, and even the jobless were eating. The Southern and Western farmers, the urban working classes, the poor and unemployed, the black communities, traditional progressives, and new liberals supported the New Deal. Roosevelt emerged from the 1936 election at the zenith of his popularity.

But the Republicans denounced the New Deal and nominated their own candidate. Within months, the New Deal was mired in serious new difficulties- a result of continuing opposition, the president's own political errors, and major economic setbacks.

Activity 9.8

1. Explain the steps in Neopopulists' recovery plan.
2. How did the Second New Deal differ from the first in its support base, program focus, and success?
3. Why did many business turn against the New Deal?

4. Why did Townsend, Coughlin and Long gain large followers?
5. How did the New Deal attempt to promote industrial recovery before and after 1935?

9.2.6.3. The Impact of the New Deal

The New Deal program and Roosevelt's striking personality had profoundly affected Americans. The New Deal brought relief for some, but problems remained. In 1937 President Roosevelt said, "I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, and ill-nourished." After a few years, the nation was divided on the New Deal. Support for it came from big-city voters and labor unions. The opposition included Republicans and Conservative Democrats.

It has to be said that the New Deal did not achieve all that Roosevelt had hoped. Some of the measures failed completely or were only partly successful. For example, the Farmers Relief Act, certainly helped farmers, but it threw many farm laborers out of work. Although unemployment was reduced to less than 8 million by 1937, it was still a serious problem. Part of the failure was due to the supreme courts opposition. The banking reforms were not invariably effective. Moreover, the New Deal did not lift America out of depression.

For many years, historians debated over the nature, limits, and achievements of the Roosevelt administration. Historians struggled, just as contemporaries had done, to decide whether the New Deal was a good thing or a bad thing. The conservatives, liberals and "revisionists" viewed the New Deal from different interpretations. Critics raised several arguments against the New Deal: The New Deal was based on a strong federal government. Its legislation gave broad powers to the government. Many people did not agree with this interpretation; the New Deal increased the federal bureaucracy- the number of civilian federal employees; the New Deal did not end the depression, nor did it manage to solve the problem of unemployment; President Roosevelt was accused of trying to win too much power for himself. His effort to "pack" the Supreme Court raised this criticism; in August 1937 there was a recession, and the mood of Congress began to change. The economic recovery of early 1937 had been built on government "pump-priming" meaning that the New Deal had poured money into the economy to get it going just as a little water is poured into a pump to start it flowing

Supporters of the New Deal felt that it accomplished several things: Providing relief for the destitute and jobless; restoration of confidence in the government; providing public work schemes; although “rugged individualism” was vital in American, the government accept social security welfare state; Women and blacks were brought into official government circles than ever before; and national direction of conservation of resources and local improvements and collective bargaining between workers and management

Finally, by 1938 the main emphasis in the United States policy was moving to foreign affairs- to the problems created by the rise of Hitler and the prospect of a European war. Roosevelt believed that these threats required a change in the nation’s foreign policy away from isolation and toward more cooperation with friendly non-aggressive nations.

In his annual message of January 4, 1939, Roosevelt announced the end of the New Deal’s “program of social reform.” Then he talked about world affairs. The New Deal was ended by World War II. In effect, there were no significant additions to the New Deal after 1938- although Roosevelt held office for six more years. One exception was the creation of Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC), which started to stop discrimination against minorities.

Activity 9.9

1. What did the New Deal achieve?
2. Specify groups that did not fully share in the benefits of the New Deal.
3. Summarize the impact of the New Deal on women and African-Americans?
4. Why was much New Deal legislation criticized?
5. In what ways was New Deal legislation a failure, what were its achievements?
6. How do you evaluate the worthiness of the New Deal? Weigh the two sets of arguments, better versus dangerous effects. Which side seems stronger?
7. Why did Roosevelt announce the end of the New Deal in 1939?

Section 3: The Americas during the Second World War, 1939-45

Overview

When a new war engulfed European, Roosevelt sought to aid the British. Like Woodrow Wilson during WWI, Roosevelt was greatly interested in world affairs. But when he entered the White House in 1933, recovery from the Depression kept most of his energy and attention focused on the United States. As Europe again moved toward war, however, the President experienced growing concern with events in the overseas.

After Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941, America entered the war directly. Initially, Allied prospects were bleak, but by 1944 the tide had turned. Victory in the Pacific, however, came only after the use of nuclear weapons.

9.3.7. General Survey of Events Leading to War

9.3.7.1. United States' Foreign Policy, 1933-1939

Isolationist feeling in the United States grew stronger during the 1920s. Many people were disillusioned by the result of WWI. They felt that they had been cheated by the British and French. These former allies could not repay the war debts they owed the United States government. At the same time, a fear of communism began to grow. People feared that the communism of the Soviet Union would extend to other countries. The spirit of "Roaring Twenties" also contributed to isolationism. People were concerned with obtaining material comforts and increasing their incomes. Europe and Asia were far away.

The tensions between the United States and Latin America eased greatly during the 1930s under the leadership of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. He developed a Good Neighbor Policy toward Latin America. The United States agreed to cooperate with Latin American countries in forming policies and making decisions. The Good Neighbor Policy did not mean, however, that the United States had abandoned its influence in Latin America. Instead of military force, Americans now tried to use economic influence. The grant of conditional independence to the Philippines in 1934 has usually been interpreted by the Roosevelt administration as active participation in the international politics of Asia.

Another change in foreign policy took place when the United States recognized the government of the Soviet Union. Since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the United States had refused to recognize the communist government. By 1933, however, the USSR was beset by serious economic problems at home and seemed less of a threat. Much more threatening was the rising power of Japan, the Soviet's rival in Asia. The President hoped that a strong Soviet Union could slow Japanese expansion. In addition, Roosevelt saw the Soviet's need for food and industrial equipment as a market for American farmers and manufacturers.

Recognition of the Soviet Union helped improve relations but did little to increase or to check Japanese militarism. The continued belligerence of Japan in Asia, as well as the

growing threat of war in Europe as a result of the rise of Fascism and Nazism there, strengthened the isolationist convictions of many perhaps most, Americans. Through the summer of 1935, it became clear that Italy was preparing to invade Ethiopia in an effort to expand its colonial holdings in Africa, fearing that a general European war would result. Americans wanted above all else, to keep out of war. Most Americans had become disillusioned and disappointed regarding the course of World affairs. Novels, movies, and histories all reflected this despair and disillusionment. Congress accepted the isolationist mood of the people and enacted laws designed to keep the country from being dragged into any foreign war. The result was Congress passed a series of Neutrality Acts, 1935, 1936 and 1937, which attempted to prevent the United States from becoming involved in a Second World War in the same way in the war of 1914-18. The 1935 Neutrality Act forbade American ships to carry goods for either side. It also forbade American citizens to sail on belligerent ships, and deny bankers the right to extend credit to the warring powers. The Act was immediately applied in the war between Italy and Abyssinia (1935-36), and in the Spanish Civil War (1936). This neutrality legislation benefited the aggressors.

How did Roosevelt hope to slow Japan's aggression in Asia?

Alarmed by the vents of 1935 and 1936, Roosevelt began moving slowly and cautiously to challenge the grips of the isolationists on the nation's of foreign policy. The United States was unable to do much more than watch as a serious of new dangers emerged that brought the world closer to war. Particularly, disturbing was the deteriorating situation in Asia, Japan's aggressive designs against China's had been clear since the invasion of Manchuria in 1931. In the summer of 1937, Japan launched a broader assault, attacking Chain's five Northern provinces.

By 1937, however, Roosevelt had become alarmed over the actions of Japan, Italy, and German. In a speech in Chicago in October, he condemned war, aggression, and "international lawlessness." Aggressors, he proclaimed, should be "quarantined"- isolated and walled off by the international community to prevent the contagion of war from spreading. Roosevelt called for the abandonment of isolation, but American public opinion forced him to drop any idea of collective action against aggressor.

On December 12, 1937, Japanese aviators bombed and sank the United States gunboat *Panay* as it sailed the Yangtze River in China. The attack was almost undoubtedly deliberate. Even though the attack was deliberate, most Americans took the matter calmly, and the crisis in Japanese-American soon passed.

9.3.7.2. The Road to War

A) The Rise of Fascist Dictatorships

Meanwhile, an even more dangerous group of aggressors appeared in Europe. In 1922, Benito Mussolini seized power in Italy. Mussolini made different plans to control the Mediterranean and to expand Italy's empire in Africa. He wanted to make Italy great respected and feared. In 1933, Adolf Hitler, leader of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazi), came to power, needed to begin a program of conquest in Central and Eastern Europe. Mussolini and Hitler followed a new political doctrine- **Fascism**, a form of government, in which a dictator and supporters cooperate to seek more power for their nation, usually at the expense of rights for individuals. Each ruler established a totalitarian state- a nation that totally controls the life of its people. The Fascists in Italy and the Nazis in Germany set up all-powerful official parties. Each dictator blamed his country's problems after WWI on undesirables in society. The Fascist leaders were loudly threatening an active campaign of imperial expansion.

Hitler's hoped to achieve in his foreign policies by: denouncing the hated Versailles settlement; the building up of the army; recovering lost territories; racial superiority of the Aryan (German) people "master race." Hitler promised the German people that he would punish the Jews, destroy the communists, and make Germany the most powerful nation in Europe once more. Bringing all Germans inside the Reich, this would involve annexing Austria and taking territory from Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Hitler and Mussolini hinted that another war might be necessary to right the wrongs they felt had been done to their countries by the Treaty of Versailles. In October 1935, Mussolini's Fascist troops invaded Ethiopia without declaration of war. In 1936, Hitler and Mussolini concluded an alliance of mutual support_ the **Rome-Berlin Axis**. That same year both nations interfered actively in the Spanish Civil War and they helped the forces of

General Franco, who rebelled against the republican government of Spain. Franco shared the political views of his Fascist and Nazi allies.

From 1937 to 1939, tension grew swiftly in Europe. In March 1938, Hitler began his campaign to reincorporate all German speaking territories in Europe into “Greater Germany” by annexing Austria. Hitler next target was Czechoslovakia, saying that Sudeten land, the western region of Czechoslovakia where several million Germans lived, must become part of Germany. In September 1938, Europe seemed to plunge into another great war.

Roosevelt intervened in the crisis by pleading for peace. The pleas seemed to have no effect on Hitler. When in early 1938, Hitler demanded that Czechoslovakia turn over the Sudetenland to Germany, the Czechs asked Britain and France for support. The response of Great Britain and France was appeasement, a policy of giving aggressor nations what they wanted in order to avoid war. Like the Americans, the British and French were disillusioned by WWI and wanted peace. Yet they were traumatized by their enormous human and financial losses in WWI and weakened by the World Wide Depression, were reluctant to take a strong stand against the German threat. Hitler finally agreed to a conference held at Munich on September 29 and 30, 1938. At that meeting Hitler, Mussolini, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain of Britain, and Premier Eduard Daladier of France arranged the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia (Poland and Hungary also seized parts of Czechoslovakia) in turn for Hitler’s promise to make no further territorial demands. By thus appeasing Hitler, the Western European democracies postponed war, but they failed to secure what chamberlain optimistically said that they had obtained “peace in our time.” It did not. Hitler broke his promise in March 1939, and German forces occupied the rest of Czechoslovakia and set up puppet regime. In April Mussolini took over Albania. Next, Hitler threatened Poland. This threat led Britain and France to abandon their appeasement of Hitler and to guarantee of Poland’s boundaries. War now seemed certain.

As the war crisis intensified, Roosevelt denounced the dictators, and refused to recognize their easy conquests. Hitler and Mussolini paid little attention to the President’s appeal. On May 28, 1939, they concluded a military alliance. Roosevelt’s diplomacy had accomplished nothing.

Meanwhile, Japan continued on China in 1937 and threatened French Indo-China, the Philippines, and the Netherlands East Indies. Three years later, Japan joined Germany and Italy in forming the **Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis**. On August 23, 1939, to the surprise of the world, Joseph Stalin, the pipe-smoking, iron fisted dictator of the Soviet Union, concluded a non-aggression pact with Nazi German. This pact freed Hitler of the fear of a communist attack when he invaded Poland.

On September 1, 1939, German forces invaded Poland in an attack so fast and brutal that a new world war coined-*blitzkrieg*, meaning “lightning war.” A new German strategy aimed at taking the enemy by surprise. Two days later, Britain and France, fulfilling their pledge to Poland, declared war on Germany. World War II had begun.

During this entire period, the League of Nations had protested the many acts of aggression. But the League had never had any real power to enforce its protests.

Activity 9.10

1. Who or what was to blame in unleashing WW II?
2. How did the United States respond to the Italian attack on Ethiopia? To the Spanish Civil War? To the *Panay* incident?
3. What were the events that led to World War II in Europe?
4. How did the West’s policy of appeasement contribute to the start of WW II?
5. How did Hitler take over most of Europe, and what was the response of Great Britain and the United States to German expansion?

9.3.8. The Changing of American Neutrality Law

On September 3, 1939, Roosevelt delivered a fireside chat to the American people. He promised to expand “every effort” to avoid war. He then issued several proclamations of neutrality consciously. Unlike his predecessor in 1914, Roosevelt refused to ask Americans to “remain neutral in thought.” On September 21, he called a special session of Congress to ask for repeal of arms embargo.

Isolationists put up a stiff resistance but, after weeks of debates in November, Roosevelt got the passage of new law, the **Neutrality Act of 1939**, reestablished the “*Cash and Carry*” policy that permitted the British and French to buy arms and munitions as long as they paid cash and transported their purchases in their own ships. This program would allow the United States to supply the British without risking the loss of American neutrality. American ships and American citizens were forbidden to travel in “combat

zones.” Throughout 1940, this policy enabled the British to import American food and armaments.

Since the winter of 1939-1940, often called the period of the “Phony War,” Hitler had conquered Norway, Denmark, Luxemburg, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, and had almost destroyed the power of Britain. In June 1940, Italy joined the war on German’s side and invaded France and declared war on Great Britain. In response, Roosevelt announced that although the United States would not enter the war, it would extend as much aid as possible to democracies. On June 22, France surrendered, Britain faced the threat alone. Roosevelt’s foreign policy at this time was the subject of bitter debate. Some like supporters of England, mostly eastern liberals with the old Kansas Progressive, William Allen White as head, organized the committee to defend America by aiding the Allies. They maintained that only by giving all possible help to Britain could the United States hope to survive. Others composed of philosophical isolations and conservatives, organized the American First Committee, denounced Roosevelt and his government for a policy which was leading to an unnecessary war. For the next year the two groups waged a bitter war for the minds of the American people.

In the third term Presidential election in November 1940, Roosevelt was re-elected; he adopted a more war-like policy. Before the election results, it was evident that Britain was nearly bankrupt, she was running out of money and more direct help was needed, and became incapable of surviving without generous aid from the United States against the Nazis scourge. After the election, Churchill asked Roosevelt for help. In a “fireside chat” in December, 1940, he told the people that the United States to become the “arsenal of democracy,” and gave more help to Britain, even at the risk of war. The fate of the United States, he explained to Congress a few days later, was linked to the struggle in Europe. Roosevelt and his advisors presented a plan, the “*Lend-Lease*” bill, to Congress, where in the United States would merely lend goods to Britain, which the British could return or replace after the war. It would allow the government not only to sell but lend or lease armaments to any country “whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States.”

For two months, argument swirled around the bill. Isolationists attacked the measure bitterly, arguing that it was simply a device to tie the United States more closely to the Allies. But these Lend-Lease proposals were passed by large majorities in both houses of Congress and became law in March 1941. The bill authorized the President to send, sell, exchange, lease, and lend American supplies and weapons to other nations on any terms he thought would protect the security of the United States.

However, Roosevelt soon faced another serious problem. Before Lend-Lease could go into effect, hard pressed Britain suffered further setbacks. The American supplies could not actually reach Great Britain shipping lanes in the Atlantic had become extremely dangerous. It was difficult to transport materials across the Atlantic from America. Late in October 1940, Mussolini's Fascists invaded Greece. Hitler came to the aid of his ally. In April 1941, German soldiers conquered Yugoslavia and Greece, pushed British forces out of Greece and mounted punishing attacks on British troops in North Africa. Britain was losing the Battle of Atlantic.

The United States was drawn step by step into the critical battle of the Atlantic. As German U-boats sank British and American supply ships, Roosevelt ordered American Navy to protect merchant shipping and British in antisubmarine patrols. This action led to clashes between United States destroyers and Nazi-U boats. In October 1941, a German U-boat sank an American destroyer, killing more than 90 members of its crew.

Congress responded by revising the Neutrality Acts to allow merchant ships to be armed. Early in November, very few Americans were preaching isolation. Most agreed with Roosevelt that the United States must be an "arsenal of democracy." Congress repealed, by a slim margin, the ineffective neutrality law. The United States had in effect, lunched a naval war against Germany.

At the same time, a series of meetings, some private and one public, were trying the United States and Great Britain more closely together. In August 1941, senior military officers of the two nations met in secret and agreed on the joint strategy they would follow. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill (British Prime Minister), met on a ship of Placentia Bay, New found land. They issued a document that became known as the **Atlantic Charter**, in which the two nations set out "certain common principles" that affirmed and expanded self

determination for all people, freer international trade, cooperative efforts for world prosperity, freedom of the seas, disarmament, and “freedom from fear and want.” But it also called for the final destruction of Nazi German.

By 1941, American relations with Japan had reached a crisis. After seizing much of China, in the 1930s, the Japanese had plans for supremacy in East and South East Asia over Indonesia, Malaya and the Philippines. Taking advantage of Hitler’s offensive in Europe, the Japanese acquired many of these territories.

In July 1940, the Japanese government announced its plan to create a “New order in greater East Asia.” Proclaiming “Asia for the Asiatics,” Japan moved to establish the “Greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere,” with French defeat, Britain on its knees and the Soviets retreating in front of German armies, the United States was the only remaining obstacle to Japanese expansion.

In September 1940, Japan signed an agreement with Italy and German and formed the **Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis**. The agreement pledged the three nations to support one another’s plans to establish a “New Order” in Europe and a “Greater East Asia” in the Far East. The United States quickly responded by cutting of exports of scrap metal to Japan.

As yet, however, neither the Americans nor the Japanese were prepared for a showdown. In March 1941, Prince Fumimaro Konoye, Japanese Prime Minister had been willing to negotiate with the United States because he did not believe Japan could defeat America in a war. On October 18, 1941, Konoye, resigned, the new Prime Minister, General Hideki Tojo, favored war to eliminate American and British influence in Asia. In the spring of 1941, the two countries began diplomatic discussions in Washington, and it soon became clear that their views were far apart: the Americans wanted the Japanese to leave China; the Japanese wanted the Americans to stop helping China and to leave China. But the talks went on, for the Japanese were reluctant to go to war if there were any chance of achieving their aims without it. That summer they occupied French-Indo China, and the United States retaliated by freezing Japanese financial assets in the United States, virtually ending trade between the two nations. This move was quickly followed by the order of the governor of the East Indies embargoing Dutch oil to Japan. As negotiations deadlocked,

Roosevelt realized that war was inevitable. Step by step, the Japanese war plan went into action.

Activity 9.11

1. Why did Roosevelt try to obtain the repeal of the Neutrality Law of 1937? Why did he fail?
2. What were the provisions of the Neutrality Act of 1939? How did it aid the Germans?
3. What actions were taken during the summer of 1940 made the United States a non-belligerent rather than a neutral?
4. What plans did Mussolini have in common with Adolf Hitler?
5. How did Great Britain and France respond when Hitler began to act aggressively in Europe?
6. Identify “Good Neighbor” policy, Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, Francisco Franco, Munich Conference, and Neutrality Acts?
7. Define fascism, Nazism, totalitarianism, appeasement policy.
8. Examine Japanese objectives of expansion in Asia?
9. How did Americans react to the fall of France and the threat to Britain?

9.3.9. The United States Enters the War

9.3.9.1. Japan Attacked Pearl Harbor

How did the United States become directly involved in the war?

The final decision for all-out war did not come in the Atlantic, many as Americans feared it would, but in the Pacific. The Japanese government decided to go to war with the United States because it believed that United States stood in the way of its plans for expansion in the East. To defeat American military forces, Japanese leaders know they had to destroy the American Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. Although most American and Japanese leaders believed that Pearl Harbor was safe from attack, Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto the commander of the Japanese navy did not agree. He convinced that Japanese leaders that bombers taking off from aircraft use in shallow water could affect a successful surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. On November 26, 1941, Yamamoto’s plan was put into effect, and the Japanese fleet set sail for Hawaii.

On December 7, 1941, with little warning, even while Japanese diplomats were still negotiating in Washington, the Japanese bombers launched a large-scale carrier-based air attack on American fleet at Pearl Harbor. Within 2 hours, the Japanese planes sank or damaged many vessels including 5 battleships, (Arizona, Utah, Oklahoma, West Virginia, and California), 3 destroyers, and heavily damaged many others. The attack also destroyed

about 188 air planes, and about more than 2400 people killed and over 1000 wounded. Fortunately, For the Unites States three aircraft carriers were outside the harbor and were escaped the devastation.

On the next day, Roosevelt told Congress that Sunday, December 7, was a “date which will live in infamy”, and asked for a declaration of war. In less than an hour, on December 8, the United States declared war on Japan and entered the war. Isolation in the Unites States disappeared after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Three days later, German and Italy honored their pledge to Japan in the Tripartite Pact by declaring war on the United States. Great Britain backing the United States declared war on Japan. The attack on Pearl Harbor thrust the United States into the greatest and most terrible war in the history of humanity.

9.3.9.2. The United States at War: The War in the Pacific

The destruction of the American feet removed Japan’s only obstacle in the Pacific. The months immediately following Pearl Harbor were a time of disastrous American and Allied military retreat. For six months the Japanese won victory after victory capturing American bases at Guam and Wake Island, conquering Britain’s colonies at Hong Kong and Singapore, and occupying the independent Kingdom of Thailand. They also attacked the Philippines and finally the American forces surrendered in May 1941. Meanwhile the Japanese forces conquered Burma and the East Indies.

American strategists planned two broad offensives to turn the tide against the Japanese: one under the command of General Douglas MacArthur would move north from Australia through New Guinea, and eventually back to the Philippines; the other, under Admiral Chester Nimitz, would move west from Hawaii toward major Japanese island outposts in the central Pacific. Ultimately, the two offensives would come together to invade Japan itself.

Map 3

The year 1942, was the darkest of the war, but also marked the turning of the tide. The Allies achieved their first important victory. On May 7-8, Americans carrier planes stopped the Japanese advance toward Australia, in the **Battle of the Coral Sea**, by sinking a Japanese aircraft carrier and damaging two others. In June Japanese forces tried to take the

Midway Islands, an atoll in the central Pacific north west of Hawaii. On June 3-6, 1942, at the *Battle of Midway*, the Americans despite great losses defeated the Japanese navy and ended Japanese naval superiority in the Pacific. Japan still held many heavily fortified Pacific islands. So the Allies adopted a military strategy called “**island-hopping**” to cut Japanese supplying by capturing key islands and to use them as bases to attack other Japanese strongholds, especially the Philippines and eventually Japan itself.

In August 1942, Americans took the offensive for the first time in the long and bloody road to Tokyo and invaded the Japanese bases on Guadalcanal, Gavutu, and Tulag in the Solomon Islands. The struggle for Guadalcanal was fought on the ground, at sea and in the air, lasting six months. But it was proved bitter and costly. In the battle of Guadalcanal, the US gained another costly victory in November 1942.

Not until early February did the Japanese abandon their efforts to hold on. Meanwhile a mixed American and Australian force under MacArthur pushed the Japanese out of Buna and Gona in Papua. Thus both the southern and central Pacific, the initiative had shifted to the United States by mid 1943.

During 1943 and 1944, American forces “island-hopped” toward the Philippines. From 1943 to 1945 the United States mounted a score of bloody and expensive amphibious operations against the bloated Japanese empire. By the beginning of 1944, two broad lines of advance towards Japan were emerging. The first, the more westerly, under the command of MacArthur, lay through New Guinea and the recovery of the Philippines. In February 1944, across the central Pacific, American naval forces under the broad control of Admiral Chester W. Nimitz was by way of the Marshalls and the Mariana Islands to the Ryukyus, won a series of victories and cracked the outer perimeter of the Japanese Empire.

The decisive battles of the Pacific War, however, occurred in the Pacific. In mid-June 1944, an enormous American armada struck the heavily fortified Mariana Islands after some of the bloodiest operations of the war, captured Tinian, Guam, and Saipan. In September, American forces landed on the western Carolines.

The two lines of American advance united for the next stage, the attack on the Philippines. On October 20, General MacArthur’s troops landed Leyte Island in the

Philippines. On October 25, 1944 the Japanese now used virtually their entire their fleet against the Allied invaders at the **Battle of Leyte Gulf** (sometimes called the second Battle of the Philippine Sea). This battle was the last and greatest naval engagement in history. The result was that the Japanese Navy never again put up serious challenge after this battle.

In 1945, the last of Japan's island outposts fell with the taking of Iwo Jima and Okinawa. On March 14, 1945, after a month's of the bloodiest fighting, the American marines captured Iwo Jima. By the end of June after three month's bitter fighting, the American marines captured Okinawa marked by suicidal Japanese attacks. Japan now began to use *Kamikazes*, volunteered suicide pilots who flew bomb-laden planes for suicide missions, crashing their bomb-laden aircraft into American bases and ships. During the invasion Okinawa, *Kamikazes* scored 279 hits on United States vessels. Off Okinawa, the US navy suffered extremely severe losses, from the *Kamikaze*, or organized suicide attacks of pilots especially trained to crash-dive their loaded bombers on to enemy ships especially carriers. The United States and its allies suffered nearly 50,000 casualties and over 100,000 Japanese died.

By the middle of 1943, America and its allies had succeeded in stopping the Axis advance in Europe and in the Pacific. In the next two years, the Allies themselves seized the offensive and launched a series of powerful drives that rapidly led the way to victory. In 1943, Soviet forces repulsed a German offensive at Stalingrad, and British and American forces pushed the German out of North Africa. From these, the Allies launched an invasion of Sicily and the Italian Peninsula. The conquest of Sicily led quickly to Mussolini's downfall.

In 1944, German began to crumble. On June, General Eisenhower, Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary, had launched operation overlord invaded Normandy in France. The Allies set D-Day, or the day of attack. In December 1944, the Battle of Bulge was the last German offensive. In April Hitler committed suicide in Berlin and on May 7, 1945, German leaders accepted unconditional surrender. At midnight, May 1945, fighting stopped. The war in Europe was over. V-E (Victory in Europe). Day was greatly celebrated in Western Europe and in the United States. Now Japan was the only enemy still fighting.

9.3.9.3. Wartime Diplomacy

The first planning for peace took place in August 1941, on the coast of Newfoundland. Roosevelt and Churchill issued the **Atlantic Charter**. After Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt turned his attention to forming an alliance among the nations fighting against Hitler. On January 1, 1942, representative of 26 countries at war with the Axis Powers agreed to support the principles of the Atlantic Charter. They promised full economic and military support in the war, and they agreed not to make a separate peace.

Cooperation with the Soviet Union proved the most difficult problem. Stalin was suspicious of capitalist nations. Soviet Union also sought territory in Central Europe and Asia. The US desired no territory or area of influence. But government leaders in the United States wanted to destroy fascism and militarism. Germany could not be defeated without Soviet aid, and the Soviets depended on supplies from Britain and the United States.

Cooperation in plans for peace and war was worked out in a series of international conferences:

A) At **Casablanca (Morocco)**, in January 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to demand “unconditional surrender” from the Axis powers, assuring the Soviet Union that its allies would not sign a separate peace treaty with Germany.

B) At **Cairo (Egypt)**, in November 1943, Churchill and Roosevelt, Chinese leader Kai-Shek agreed to exact “unconditional surrender” peace terms from Japan that Japan should be stripped of its Pacific empires (Manchuria, Formosa (Taiwan), Pescadores), and Korean independence.

C) **Tehran (Iran)**, late November, 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill met with Stalin, where the “**Big Three**” talked each day and evening from November 28 to December 2, 1943. In the Declaration of Tehran released on December 1, Churchill and Roosevelt promised that the D-Day invasion of France would be launched the next year. In return, Stalin agreed that the Soviet would join the war against Japan after German’s defeat. The “Big Three” also discussed the possible dismemberment of Germany and the nature of a post war system of collective security. Tehran marked the high point of cordial cooperation with the Russians.

D) **The Yalta Conference** (in the Soviet Union). In February 1945, as Germany's collapse neared, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin met for the last time at Yalta in Crimea. In their public announcements the three leaders along with France agreed to cooperate militarily until Germany's unconditional surrender and then to establish four occupation zones in the defeated nation, one each of the major powers **plus** France. But they promised to encourage some form of representative government for other people of Europe. They also agreed on a conference to be held at San Francisco in April 1945 to draw up the charter for a "United Nations" world organization that would replace League of Nations.

Secrete agreements at Yalta converted the terms on which the Soviet Union could enter the war against Japan after Germany was defeated. The Soviets were promised Japanese territories, and that they could keep Outer Mongolia, in China, and obtain an ice-free naval port. In return, Stalin agreed to support the nationalist government of Chiang Kai-Shek instead of the Chinese communists who were challenging Chiang for power.

Focus

The Yalta Conference, the most controversial and momentous of the war covered four main topics: the problems of Asia, the Government of Poland and of the other nations of Eastern Europe, the future of Germany and the basis for a new League of Nations.

On other issues, however, the Yalta conference either left fundamental differences unresolved. Fundamental disagreement remained about the postwar Polish government. Because Winston Churchill and Roosevelt feared that Stalin intended to establish communist governments in Eastern Europe. They pressured him to hold free elections in the Soviet occupied countries. In return, they gave Stalin the eastern part of Poland. Poland would receive former Germans land in return for yielding its eastern territory. In Yugoslavia, the pro-Soviet guerrilla leader Josef Tito would lead the future provisional government.

Although the Yalta agreements later were attacked as a "sellout," at the time it seemed vital to keep the Soviet Union from making a separate peace with Germany when American and British forces were still fighting in the west. Even more important, the United States wanted Soviet support in the war against Japan.

Roosevelt's concessions to the Soviet Union at Yalta have since been sharply criticized. Eventually, the Soviet Union would establish puppet regimes in Poland and in other eastern

European countries and strengthen its position in the Far East. The Yalta accords, in other words, were less a settlement of issues than a set of loose principles. The Soviet interpretation of the accords differed so sharply from the Anglo-American interpretation that the illusion endured only briefly. On April 12, 1949, Roosevelt suffered a sudden, massive stroke and died, in Warm Springs Georgia. Harry S. Truman had become President of the USA.

Potsdam

At the same time, Truman assured everyone he would continue Roosevelt's policies and carry out his wartime agreements. Six months later, the last of high level wartime conferences by the three Allied leaders met again at **Potsdam**, Germany from July 17 to August 2, 1945. At the beginning, Truman, Churchill, and Stalin represented the "Big Three," but during the conference Clement R. Attlee from the Labor Party won the election and replaced Churchill. The atmosphere at Potsdam was quite different from the conference Yalta. Though formalities seemed pleasant, uneasiness lurked under the surface politeness at Potsdam. The "Big Three" squabbled over reparations to be obtained from Italy and Germany and over the Yalta agreements on eastern and central Europe. New tensions over the future of the European continent were beginning to pull apart the wartime alliance.

The Allied Powers could not agree on where Poland's western boundary should be, so they put that issue aside. But Germany's eastern provinces remained under Polish control. The Big Three also agreed to establish a council of foreign ministers which would represent themselves and France, to prepare peace treaties for Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, and Finland. Truman and Attlee sponsored the Potsdam Declaration, the ultimatum that demanded Japan's surrender.

Activity 9.12

1. Identify Winston Churchill, blitzkrieg, Lend-Lease, Cash and Carry, Atlantic Charter, Yalta Conference, Potsdam, D-Day, V-E-Day.
2. Describe why hostilities developed between the United States and Japan.
3. How did the Pearl Harbor attack affect American public opinion about isolationism?
4. Summarize the progression of the war in Asia, Europe, Africa and the Pacific.
5. Discuss the effects of series of meetings held among Allied leaders between 1941 and 1945.

9.3.9.4. Atomic Warfare

In mid-July 1945, American scientists conducted a successful test of a new atomic bomb, which led to a major event in world history, significant only in part because it ended World War II. The long road to the most devastating atomic events began in 1939 when a group of scientist-exiles from Hitler's Germany, led by Albert Einstein, informed Roosevelt that the Nazis were developing a new bomb of unimaginable destructiveness, based on the way discover process of uranium fission. Acquiring that knowledge, they warned, was the first step toward the creation of an atomic bomb, a weapon more powerful than any ever previously devised. The United States and Britain soon began a race to develop the weapon before the Germans did. Albert Einstein wrote President Roosevelt urging that a major research program begin at once so that the nation would be the first with the bomb. The fear of German scientific developments had led Roosevelt to set up the Office of Scientific Research and Development in June 1941. In mid-1940, Roosevelt turned the proposal over to a newly formed National Defense Research Committee.

After Pearl Harbor the government created a secret project, later called the *Manhattan Project*. It was carried out primarily in Oak Ridge, Tennessee and, later, at Los Alamos, New Mexico, Hanford, Washington, and other sites. At these major centers hundreds of scientists and technicians, supervised by American physicist J. Roosevelt Oppenheimer, set to work to build an atom bomb. At the cost of almost \$ billions, the engineering problems were gradually solved.

The scientists pushed a head much faster than any one had predicted. Even so, the war in Europe ended before they were ready to test the first bomb. Just before dawn on July 16, 1945, the first atomic bomb was exploded experimentally at Alamogoro, New Mexico, called *Jornada del Muerto*, Journey of Death.

As the war approached its end in 1945, Einstein, Niels Bohr, and other prominent scientists concluded that the bomb would not be needed and fearing a post-war weapon arms race, they tried to stop the Manhattan project. The decision to use the bomb against Japan had been the subject of much heated debate in high government circles and among atomic scientists. Opponents of the bomb argue that the Japanese were on their last legs and would sue for peace shortly with or without the atomic bomb, especially if the Allies allowed the emperor to remain on the throne. Proponents of dropping the bomb noted that

Japan had spurned as “unworthy of public notice,” the American warning in July of “prompt and utter destruction” unless it accepted Allied “unconditional surrender” peace terms.

The decision to use the bomb would not be made by Roosevelt. President Truman did not know the bomb existed until a few weeks before his decision to use it. Truman received word of the test results in Potsdam, Germany where he was in conference.

Although some historians disagreed about why atomic bombs were dropped on Japan and about the ethical issues involved, President Truman believed the bombing was justified; “the dropping of the bombs stopped the war, saved millions of lives.”

On August 2, 1945, Truman took the terrible decision to use the bomb and at dawn on August 6, 1945, American plane called *Enola Gay* dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, a centre of the Japanese munitions industry.

Picture 3

It is hard to believe that the same political objective, the surrender of Japan, could not have



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nd. Four square miles of Hiroshima, hitherto **unattacked**, were obliterated, and over 60,000 people were killed apart from those who died later from the results of atomic radiation. Three days later, after the Russians had declared war on Japan, a second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, killing some 36,000 people. By this time the Japanese leaders were meeting to consider surrender, on August 14, after frantic negotiations, the Japanese agreed to surrender, and fighting stopped. Truman declared August 15 V-J (Victory over Japan) Day. General MacArthur, as Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, imposed the final terms of surrender on September 2, 1945, on the deck of the battleship **Missouri** in Tokyo Bay. At last WWII was over. It had taken the lives of 325,000 American and brought injury to more than a million others.

Activity 9.13

1. Why did friction arise between the Soviet and its Anglo-American Allies?
2. What policy decisions were made at Cairo, Tehran, and Yalta and at Potsdam Conferences? What decisions were criticized at Yalta?
3. Why did the United States decide to concentrate on defeating Germany before defeating Japan?
4. What strategy enabled American forces to defeat Japan?
5. Why were the battles of the Coral Sea, Midway, and Guadalcanal important victories for the Allies?
6. Why did the Axis Powers lose the war?
7. What were the effects of the WWII?
8. How did the war change the balance of power in Europe and Asia?

Checklist

Put a tick mark (✓) in boxes if you understand the following

- | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. The immediate and underlying causes of World War I- ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 33. Rome-Berlin-Tokyo-Axis | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Triple Alliance----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 34. "Cash and Carry"--- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Triple Entente ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 35. "Lend-Lease" ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Woodrow Wilson ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 36. Court Packing ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. Allied Powers ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 37. Pump-priming ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. U-boat ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 38. Atlantic Charter ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. Zimmerman telegram----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 39. Pearl Harbor ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. Selective Service Act----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 40. Battle of Coral Sea ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. General John Pershing ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 41. Mac Arthur ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. Fourteen Points ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 42. Kamikazes ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. "Big Four" ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 43. D-Day ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. League of Nations ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 44. Tehran Conference - | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13. Covenant ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 45. Yalta Conference --- | <input type="checkbox"/> |

14. Treaty of Versailles -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	46. "Big Three "-----	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. War Industries Board -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	47. United Nations Organization-----	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Universal Negro Improvement Association-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	48. Manhattan Project -----	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. Red Scare-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	49. Hiroshima & Nagasaki--	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. Teapot Dome Scandal -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	50. Albert Einstein -----	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. Roaring Twenties -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	51. Jorhada del Muerto --	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. United States' foreign policy-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	52. Kellogg-Briand Pact -	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. Dawes plan -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	53. Herbert Hoover -----	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. Good Neighbor policy -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	54. Calvin Coolidge -----	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. Causes and effects of Great Depression -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	55. Moratorium -----	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. Stock market crash-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	56. Bonus Army-----	<input type="checkbox"/>
25. Fordney-McCumber Tariff-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	57. Brain Trust -----	<input type="checkbox"/>
26. New Deal-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	58. Wagner Act -----	<input type="checkbox"/>
27. Franklin D. Roosevelt-----	<input type="checkbox"/>		
28. Dust Bowl -----	<input type="checkbox"/>		
29. Major causes of WWII -----	<input type="checkbox"/>		
30. Fascism -----	<input type="checkbox"/>		
31. Totalitarianism -----	<input type="checkbox"/>		
32. Appeasement Policy -----	<input type="checkbox"/>		

Summary

- When war erupted in Europe in 1914, the United States declared neutrality. But British and French propaganda, American business interests, and German submarine warfare persuaded Americans to side with the Allies. An apparent conspiracy between Mexico and Germany against United States and the sinking of four Americas merchant ships ended American neutrality. Congress declared war on German in April 1917.
- Unprepared for war, Americans mobilized with incredible speed. The production of armaments became a top priority, and government agencies such as the War

- Industries Board recognized the economy to supply them. The draft was reinstated and propaganda was produced to influence public opinion.
- When the balance of the war tipped in favor of the Allies, an armistice was signed in November 1918. The Allies rejected most of Wilson's peace plan. After the war, the United States experienced economic and social unrest punctuated by strikes and race riots.
 - By the 1920s Americans wanted to get on with their lives, forget about public affairs, and stay out of wars. Warren G. Harding understood this when he promised "normalcy," a return to the values and practices of the past. The United States was now too enmeshed in world affairs to return to isolationism and continued to be involved in foreign diplomacy. The policies of the period seemed to work as the growth of new, urban industries fueled an economic boom during the 1920s. The growing prosperity was a key factor in the decline of labor unions' strength.
 - Major social changes and cultural achievements took place during the 1920s. Although the war enhanced some reform efforts, most notably prohibition and woman suffrage it also introduced an atmosphere intolerance and repression into American life. In the "Harlem Renaissance" African Americans reflected a new spirit of pride and protest. After WWI, however, feelings against immigrants led Congress to seriously restrict all immigration into the United States.
 - In foreign policy Hoover practiced a "Good Neighbor" policy with Latin American republics. In domestic policy, he assumed Americans that as long as business thrived, the country would prosper.
 - Farmers, however, were already experiencing a depression, and government relief proved ineffective. On October 29, 1929 the stock market crashed losing much of its value. The Great Depression was caused not only by stock market speculation but also by the effects of WWI, the depressed condition of agriculture, and unwise government policies. By the end of 1920s, thousands of Americans were jobless, and many farmers lost their land.

- Franklin D. Roosevelt took measures planning with three specific aims: recovery from the Depression; relief for victims of the Depression; and reform of the nation's economic system. The second phase of the New Deal emphasized on social reform rather than short term emergency measures. Out of these efforts came large-scale public works programs and a social security system. However, problems with the Supreme Court and other setbacks in Congress slowed the pace of the New Deal.
- When war in Europe broke out in 1939, German victories promoted the United States to aid the Allied nations of Britain and France. In 1941, after Japanese planes bombed Pearl Harbor, the United States declared war on Japan and Germany. For the second time in 25 years, the American economy converted to war production and transformed the nation's way of life.
- Germany and Japan has suffered major defeats on all fronts. Germany surrendered in May 1945. Japan surrendered after American planes dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Before the war ended, the United Nations formed in hopes of maintaining international peace and cooperation. By 1945, there were only two truly great powers left the- United States and the Soviet Union.

Self-Test Exercise- 9

I. Choose the best answer for the following questions

1. Which one of the following **is not** the underlying cause of World War I?
A) The Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand D) Arms race
B) The Alliance system E) Imperialism
C) Nationalis
2. The "Good Neighbor" policy was
A) The United States foreign policy toward Europe
B) The United States foreign policy in the Far East
C) The United States war strategy to attack Japan
D) The United States foreign policy in Latin America
E) A and B

3. Which one of the following events forced the United States to enter directly into the Second World War?

- A) Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor
- B) The German invasion of Poland
- C) The German submarine torpedoed and sank the British passenger liner Lusitania
- D) Italian occupation of Ethiopia
- E) Japanese attack on China

4. The Zimmerman telegram involved German promises to

- A) Italy
- B) Britain
- C) Mexico
- D) The United States
- E) Austria Hungary

5. All of the following were reasons for American entry into world war I except:

- A) American sympathy for the Belgians
- B) Isolationism
- C) Unrestricted submarine warfare by Germany
- D) American sympathy for the British
- E) None

6. The giving of much money to industries and banks make them stronger and deserved during President Herbert Hoover was called _____

- A) Panic
- B) Pump-Priming
- C) New Deal
- D) Reconstruction
- E) None

7. Which one of the following is true?

- A) When WWI broke out in 1914, USA joined to the Allied Powers
- B) The USA was the founder and member of the League of nations
- C) The Versailles Treaty was a just agreement that passed fair decisions by the victors over the losers
- D) Wilson's Fourteen Points were not accepted by all Allied leaders and other Republican leaders
- E) None

8. A law passed by Congress in march 1941 that allowed the United States to deliver war supplies to nations fighting dictators was

- A) Cash and carry policy
- D) Second New Deal

- 1) False 2) False 3) True 4) True

Part II: Matching

- 5) L 8) G 11) H 14) J
6) F 9) C 12) D
7) A 10) B 13) I

Unit 2: Self-Test Exercise -2

Part I: Multiple Choices

- 1) C 2) B 3) C 4) A 5) B

Part II: Fill in the Blanks

- 6) Peninsulares 8) Miguel Hidalgo and Jose Maria Morelos
7) Creoles 9) Francis Toussaint Louverture

Unit 3: Self -Test Exercise-3

Part I: Matching

- 1) B 5) D
2) A 6) F
3) H 7) G
4) C

Part II: Multiple Choices

- 8) A 10) D 12) A
9) D 11) D

Part III: Fill in the Blanks

- 6) Federalist and Republican 9) Articles of Confederation
7) James Monroe 10) Checks and balances
8) Non-Intercourse Act

Unit 4: Self-Test Exercise-4

Part I: True /False

12) Andrew Carnegie, Philip D. Armour, John D. Rockefeller & J. Pierpont Morgan

- 13) A) Inventiveness of the Americans and technological skill
 B) Business leadership
 C) Large and growing labor force supply
 D) Abundant natural resources
 E) Good government policies
 F) Great and expanding domestic market or mass market for mass production

Unit 7: Self-Test Exercise-7

Part I: Matching

- 1) F 3) A 5) D
 2) C 4) B

Part II: Multiple Choices

- 6) B 9) C 12) C
 7) B 10) B
 8) B 11) B

Unit 8: Self-Test Exercise-8

Part I: True /False

- 1) False 3) False 5) True
 2) True 4) False 6) True

Part II: Matching

- 7) D 9) H 11) A 13) E
 8) C 10) B 12) G 14) F

Unit 9: Self-Test Exercise-9

Part I: Multiple Choices

- 1) A 3) A 5) B 7) D 9) D
 2) D 4) C 6) B 8) B 10) E

Part II: Fill in the Blanks

- 11) Brain trust 13) Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis 15) New Deal
 12) Kamikazes 14) Cash and carry

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