

**COURSE OUTLINE FOR  
HISTORY 2112, UNITED STATES SINCE 1865  
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**Note: This is not a comprehensive outline. It is merely a guide to the major subjects discussed in class, often omitting the details thereof. You are responsible for knowing all additional material presented/assigned in class and/or on the course website. YOU ARE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED TO PRINT A HARD COPY OF THIS OUTLINE, TO TAKE THOROUGH CLASS NOTES, AND TO INCORPORATE THEM INTO THIS OUTLINE. You are responsible for knowing all information contained in this outline for quizzes and exams whether or not I cover it in class, unless I make express exceptions. YOU ARE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED TO READ THE OUTLINE MATERIAL BEFORE WE COVER THAT MATERIAL IN CLASS. Always being three to five pages ahead of our current location should normally suffice.**

**All possible essay questions appear on this outline. The section in which a question appears is the section where most (but not necessarily all) of the information needed to answer it appears. If the same essay question appears in two or more sections, information from each section in which it appears will certainly need to be included in a complete answer. The answer to some short answer ID questions may be substantially the same as others, with two or more questions merely differing in their phrasing. YOU ARE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED TO BEGIN REVIEWING AND WRITING PRACTICE ANSWERS TO EACH POSSIBLE ESSAY AND SHORT ANSWER QUESTION EARLY IN THE SEMESTER, AS WE COVER THE RELATED MATERIAL, RATHER THAN WAITING UNTIL JUST BEFORE THE EXAM TO DO SO. IF YOU WAIT UNTIL SHORTLY BEFORE THE MID-TERM OR THE FINAL TO DO THIS, YOU WILL LIKELY FIND IT AN IMPOSSIBLE TASK TO LEARN ALL THE MATERIAL IN SUCH A SHORT TIME. If you download the Microsoft Word version of this outline, view it in outline mode within Word.**

## **PART I.      Introductory Concepts**

### **A. Cause and Effect**

- 1. History is not a study of random unconnected events but the relationship between and among events**
- 2. This course seeks to explain the massive changes that took place in the United States from 1865 to the early twenty-first century.**

- a. In 1865 the United States a war-torn nation, largely agricultural, homogenous, and isolationist, with a political philosophy that emphasized a limited role for government.
- b. By the beginning of the twenty-first century—not much more than a single long lifetime—the United States had become one of the most powerful industrialized nations in the world, multicultural and involved at every level in world affairs, with a political philosophy that stressed government involvement in nearly every aspect of citizens’ lives.
  - (i) Don’t ask when things happened; instead, ask why they happened when they did.
- c. In other words, how does the chain of causation stretch from the United States of 1865 to the United States of the early twenty-first century?

- 3. To understand this chain of causation, consider the questions presented in the outline below at the beginning of each major section.**

### **B. The Reptile brain**

- 1. Older parts of our brains (in evolutionary terms) are the stronger parts of our brains**
- 2. The oldest/strongest parts of our brains (shared with more primitive animals) are the seat of our survival behaviors (autonomic functions like breathing and heartbeat; food; reproduction/gene transmission)**
- 3. these survival behaviors are inherently selfish and extremely powerful**
- 4. the altruistic, selfless, and rational parts of our brains are far newer and weaker**
- 5. The result: history is not generally the story of people/groups/tribes being nice to each other**
- 6. Civilization is the story of how, and to what degree, we can keep these selfish instincts under control**

### **C. The individual or the community?**

1. Each person is an individual: Unique experiences, unique needs
2. But all individuals live in a community
3. the individual can affect the community
4. the community has the raw power to take everything from the individual
5. But since there is no community without individuals, shouldn't there be limits on what the community can do to the individual?
6. Can the community offload all of its burdens, all of its pain, all of its duties, onto the backs of just some individuals so that the rest of the community may benefit?

**a. Examples**

- (i) Slavery
- (ii) Denial of equal treatment
- (iii) Denial of legal protection
- (iv) Unfair tax burden
- (v) denial of representation/voice in the community

**7. How do we balance the individual's needs with the community's?**

**D. Reconstruction: Crisis and strife to business as usual**

1. In 1865 the Civil War—the worst in American history—had just ended.
2. Some people wanted reconciliation, but for the following the next twelve years, those who wanted retribution were largely in control.
3. How and why did this drive for retribution die out, to be replaced (at least to a degree) by a spirit of mutual tolerance that allowed for the country to be united (as in United States)? At what cost?
4. To what degree can a group of people (Group A) be forced--by other people, another community, or a government (Group B)--to conform to standards they don't agree with? How far is Group B willing to go to force its views on Group A? At what point does one of these groups give up?

**E. The Industrial Revolution**

**1. in the mid-1800s—approximately when this course begins—a technological revolution began that changed every facet of the United States.**

**2. How and why did this Industrial Revolution change America?**

**a. Transportation**

**b. Communication**

**c. Economics, finance, and business structure**

**d. Urbanization**

**e. Standards of living**

**f. The perceived and actual role of the government**

**(especially the national government) and its relationship to the individual**

**(i) How many rights does the individual have (e.g., liberty, property)?**

**(ii) What legitimate claims on the individual (e.g., his liberty and property) does society have?**

**g. American foreign policy and relationship to the rest of the world**

#### **F. Darwinism and Social Darwinism**

**1. The belief that genetics is destiny: that genes determine an individual's and race's fate and place in the social order**

**2. When coupled with the Industrial Revolution, Darwinism was used to explain and even justify ruthless competition, economic and social inequality, and racism**

**3. Genes are clearly responsible for some individual traits, but this was taken to huge excess since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and resulted in some of the most horrific episodes in human history**

**4. What is the role of determinism in America today? Is there a fundamental moral difference in the following statements?**

**a. "I cannot help myself; I was born this way; do not punish me for it."**

**b. "You cannot help yourself; you were born that way; you will not be rewarded for it."**

### **PART II. Reconstruction, ca. 1864-1877 (Textbook Page 146 through 153)**

**Central idea: A struggle to reintegrate the South into the Union and the freed slaves into mainstream society following the Civil War ended in dismal failure.**

**Legacy for modern America: The South continues to be a relatively poor region of America: Continued racial tensions are present even today.**

**A. Possible essay questions:**

- 1. Discuss the basics of American government and the United States Constitution and how these things were related to the causes of the Civil War, including both the Confederates' and President Lincoln's views of the Constitution.**
- 2. Write a history of Presidential Reconstruction, 1864-1866. Include discussions of the policies and events in Washington as well as events in the South.**
- 3. Write a history of Congressional Reconstruction, 1867-1877, focusing on politics and events within the national government.**
- 4. Write a history of the South during Congressional Reconstruction. What socio-political groups held power? What policies did the southern state governments have with regard to the freedmen? What form did resistance to Republican rule take?**

**B. Possible short answer/ID questions**

- 1. Separation of powers**
- 2. Federalism**
- 3. The Ten Percent Plan**
- 4. The Wade-Davis Bill**
- 5. Black Codes**
- 6. Freedmen's Bureau Bill**
- 7. The Civil Rights Act of 1866**
- 8. The First (Military) Reconstruction Act, March 1867**
- 9. The Fourteenth Amendment**
- 10. The Fifteenth Amendment**
- 11. The Tenure of Office Act**
- 12. The Command of the Army Act**
- 13. The McCordle case**
- 14. The impeachment of Andrew Johnson**
- 15. Carpetbaggers**
- 16. Scalawags**

17. The Ku Klux Klan
18. (Reconstruction)
19. The Amnesty Act
20. The Solid South
21. Samuel J. Tilden
22. Rutherford B. Hayes
23. The Compromise of 1877

**C. Major questions to consider:**

1. What were the various goals of Reconstruction?
2. How did these goals differ between the presidents on the one hand and the Radical Republicans on the other?
3. How did Southerners respond to Reconstruction?
4. How and why did Reconstruction fail, and what were the problems that consequently remained in American society?

**D. Section outline:**

**1. The basics of American government and the United States Constitution**

**a. The definition of “state”: a political entity that possesses**

- (i) A sovereign
- (ii) Government over
- (iii) Land/territory and
- (iv) Population/people

**b. The traditional American view of a strong central government: hostility and suspicion**

- (i) A legacy of the American Revolution
- (ii) During the Revolution, Americans believed their liberties threatened by a strong central government in which they had no voice (i.e., Parliament)
- (iii) Upon winning their independence from this government, they wished to ensure that such a government couldn't arise within the United States
- (iv) They thus wrote two devices into the Constitution to guard against this danger
- (v) The goal was to ensure that the government had enough power to govern effectively but not so much power that it could threaten Americans' right to life, liberty, and property

**c. Methods of granting and controlling power simultaneously**

- (i) The concept of Federalism

- (A) Two governments having sovereignty over the same territory and the same people at the same time
- (B) Neither government has all of the power
- (ii) The concept of Separation of Powers
  - (A) The legislative, executive, and judicial powers that the national government does have are each to be exercised by a different branch of government to prevent concentration of power in one group of hands

## **2. The Civil War, 1861-1865**

### **a. An attempt by southern slave states to secede from the United States**

- (i) I.e., an attempt to leave the Union and form their own country, i.e. the Confederate States of America

### **b. This attempt at secession:**

- (i) Was based on the theory of state sovereignty (states had voluntarily joined/created the Union, so they could voluntarily leave the Union)
- (ii) Was precipitated by the fear that the national government would attempt to end slavery in the South by constitutional amendment or by force

(A) The amendment process

### **c. President Abraham Lincoln, 1861-65**

- (i) A Republican
  - (A) The Republican Party, unlike the Democratic Party, was opposed to slavery
- (ii) Believed that secession was legally impossible because the states weren't sovereign and that the southern states were thus still part of the United States
- (iii) Fought the Civil War to prevent the Southern states from leaving the Union
  - (A) As part of the war effort, Lincoln took steps to begin ending slavery
- (iv) Union victory comes in 1865: This victory means that:
  - (A) The United States is politically and legally fully unified for the first time in its history
  - (B) Slavery, which had been the most divisive issue in American history up to that point, will finally come to an end (ended by the Thirteenth Amendment, the first of the three Civil War/Reconstruction Amendments)

## **3. Definition of Reconstruction**

- a. A period of political turmoil in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War**
- b. An attempt to reconstruct southern society, including the integration of former slaves into mainstream society**
- c. Took place in two main phases**
  - (i) Presidential Reconstruction, ca. 1864-1866
  - (ii) Congressional Reconstruction, 1867-1877

#### **4. Presidential Reconstruction, ca. 1864-1866**

##### **a. Lincoln's approach: forgive and forget**

- (i) Lincoln's policy: The Ten Percent Plan
  - (A) A state would be reintegrated into the Union when ten percent of its population had taken an oath of future loyalty to the Union
- (ii) Congress's response: The Wade-Davis Bill, 1864
  - (A) Requires 50% of a state's population to swear that they had never supported the Confederacy
    - 1. Shows many Radical Republicans' desire for revenge and punishment of white southerners and an attempt to increase the national government's power at the expense of state power
  - (B) Pocket vetoed by Lincoln

##### **b. April 1865: Lincoln's assassination**

##### **c. Andrew Johnson's "Three Strikes"**

- (i) Johnson is a southerner (Tennessee)
- (ii) Johnson is a Democrat
- (iii) Johnson lacks Lincoln's political skills

##### **d. Snapshot of the Southern states**

- (i) Former Confederates had formed new state governments
- (ii) These governments had repealed or repudiated the ordinances of secession
- (iii) These governments had ratified the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865 (the amendment that ended slavery throughout the United States)
- (iv) But most of these states had also passed Black Codes
  - (A) Black Codes recognized some rights of the former slaves (freedmen)
    - 1. E.g., they had the right to legally marry
    - 2. E.g., they had the right to bring lawsuits
  - (B) But also limited freedmen in various ways



1. e.g. freedmen couldn't serve on juries
2. freedmen could only hold jobs as farm hands

(C) The Black Codes enraged Radical Republicans

(v) Signs of Johnson in trouble

(A) 1865: Congress refuses to seat southern senators and representatives, many of whom are former members of the Confederate government or army

1. Johnson believes this to be illegal

(B) 1866: Congress passes an amended Freedmen's Bureau Bill

1. The Freedmen's Bureau was a federal relief agency
2. The new bill would give the Bureau power to hear and decide cases, thus giving the freedmen an end run around biased state courts
3. Johnson vetoes the bill, observing that Congress has no authority to establish such courts
4. Congress overrides the veto

(C) Congress passes the Civil Rights Act of 1866

1. The Act declared all persons born in the United States to be citizens and that laws must apply to all citizens equally
2. Johnson vetoes the bill, arguing that Congress had no authority to pass it
3. Congress overrides the veto

(D) Mid-term elections of 1866

1. Many Radical Republicans are running for Congress
2. The Radicals wish to punish the South, to delay their re-entry into the Union, to protect the rights of freedmen, and to establish a strong southern branch of the Republican Party
3. Johnson, not up for re-election in 1866, campaigns against the radicals, denouncing them as traitorous scoundrels
4. Partly because of Johnson's attacks, the radicals win many congressional

racers, giving them enough power to nullify Johnson's power

## 5. Congressional Reconstruction, 1867-1877

### a. The Radicals' inconsistency

- (i) The whole basis of the Union war effort is that the South never left the Union but was simply rebelling against federal authority
- (ii) But if true, the southern states now have certain rights (such as the right to representation in Congress) that the Radicals want to deny them
- (iii) Theories designed to square the circle:
  - (A) The conquered provinces theory: The Southern states have been conquered, so although they are part of the Union they are like conquered provinces with no constitutional rights
  - (B) The suicide theory: the southern states' attempt to leave the union was an act of political suicide, leaving them with no rights

### b. Leaders

- (i) Thaddeus Stevens, House of Representatives
- (ii) Charles Sumner, Senate

### c. Major laws, all passed over Johnson's veto by override

- (i) The First (Military) Reconstruction Act, March 1867
  - (A) Provisions:
    - 1. The Act declares that no legal state governments exist in the South
    - 2. South is divided into [military occupation districts](#)
    - 3. In order to gain representation in Congress, a state must
      - a. Draft a new constitution granting black suffrage and
      - b. Ratify the Fourteenth Amendment
  - (B) Paradox: If a state has no legal government, how can it ratify an amendment of the Constitution?
  - (C) [The Fourteenth Amendment](#): The single most important amendment ever ratified
    - 1. Designed to
      - a. Promote black equality
      - b. Restrict state power, and
      - c. Restrict the political and economic power of former Confederates

2. Provisions:

- a. All persons born in the United States are citizens
- b. No state may deprive any person of due process or of equal protection of the laws
  - i. Makes equality a constitutional mandate for the first time: potential conflict with constitutional liberty
- c. Former Confederates banned from office-holding, subject to permission by Congress
- d. Confederate war debt invalidated

(ii) [Fifteenth Amendment](#): A new hoop to jump through

- (A) Proposed 1869, ratified 1870
- (B) Congress passed another Reconstruction Act requiring the southern states to ratify it
- (C) Prohibited denial of suffrage based on race

(iii) Restricting Johnson's power

- (A) The Tenure of Office Act, March 1867
  - 1. Designed to prevent the Democratic Johnson from firing Lincoln's Republican cabinet officers
  - 2. Required Senate approval for presidential removal of a cabinet officer

(B) The Command of the Army Act, March 1867

- 1. Designed to prevent Johnson from interfering in Congressional Reconstruction
- 2. Required the president to issue all military orders not directly but through the General of the Army (U.S. Grant), whom he could not remove without Senate approval

(C) The impeachment of Andrew Johnson, 1868

- 1. Johnson removed Secretary of War Edwin Stanton
- 2. Johnson expected Stanton to challenge the removal in court, but the House of Representatives impeached him instead for violating the Tenure of Office Act
- 3. During the Senate impeachment trial, Johnson was acquitted by a single vote,

but had no power in his final months in office

(iv) Preventing judicial interference with Congressional Reconstruction

(A) The McCordle case, 1869

1. Southern newspaper editor tried by military commission challenged the constitutionality of the commission and of the Reconstruction Acts

2. 1869, Congress passed a law depriving the Supreme Court of jurisdiction to hear the case, thus preventing the Court from possibly striking down the acts

## **6. The South During Congressional Reconstruction**

**a. Three groups, all heavily Republican, held most power in the unreconstructed states**

(i) Carpetbaggers

(A) Northerners who had come south

1. Teachers

2. Freedmens' Bureau workers

3. opportunists

(ii) Scalawags

(A) Native southern whites who collaborated with the Reconstruction governments and were thus ostracized by others

(iii) Blacks

(A) Most lacked education

(B) nearly all lacked financial resources and experience in government

**b. The Reconstruction governments**

(i) Taxation in the southern states dramatically increased

(A) High property taxes were designed to break up large plantations

(ii) Government fraud and corruption were widespread

(iii) The new governments promoted public education and industrial development

**c. Resistance to Reconstruction governments**

(i) The Ku Klux Klan

(A) Essentially a terrorist organization that targeted the three groups above in an attempt to reduce their political influence

(ii) Other such organizations existed as well

(A) e.g., the White League

- (B) e.g., the Knights of the White Camelia
- (iii) Banned and eliminated by federal action/military force, 1870-71

## 7. The End of Reconstruction

### a. Reasons

- (i) Eventually, northern whites tired of the southern issue after years/decades of agitation
- (ii) Northern whites, facing new wave of immigrants from central and Eastern Europe, came to sympathize more with southern whites
- (iii) By 1870, leading congressional radicals had died, retired, or been voted out
- (iv) By 1870, most states had met the requirements of the Reconstruction Acts and come back under Democratic control (“redeemed”)
- (v) 1872, Amnesty Act restored former Confederates’ right to hold office
- (vi) In short, southern resistance to Reconstruction continued and the North was tired of the ongoing struggle
- (vii) Reconstruction thus failed as northerners gave up and Democrats regained control of the South

### b. The Solid South: from 1870s to 1960s, the South was almost entirely Democratic

### c. The Election of 1876 and the Compromise of 1877

- (i) Samuel J. Tilden (D) versus Rutherford B. Hayes (R)
  - (A) Tilden won the popular vote
  - (B) The three remaining unreconstructed states, torn by fraud, each submitted two sets of electoral ballots, one Democratic, the other Republican
    1. South Carolina
    2. Louisiana
    3. Florida
    4. Oregon also had one disputed electoral vote
  - (C) These twenty disputed ballots would decide who became president
  - (D) Hayes needed all twenty to win; Tilden needed only one
  - (E) A special electoral commission consisting of eight Republican and seven Democrats, in a straight party line vote, awarded all twenty disputed ballots to Hayes

- (F) Democrats claimed that Tilden had been robbed of his victory
- (G) Some Democrats threatened a military attack on Washington
- (H) Compromise of 1877
  1. An informal agreement between Democrats and Hayes forces
  2. The last major North/South sectional compromise (the others having taken place before 1860)
  3. Four main points
    - a. Democrats would drop opposition to Hayes and let him become president
    - b. Hayes would withdraw the remaining federal troops from the South, ending Reconstruction
    - c. Hayes would appoint a southern Democrat to his cabinet
    - d. The Republicans would fund internal improvements in the south, including a second transcontinental railroad (never fulfilled by the Republicans)
  4. The Compromise brought about the end of Reconstruction and signaled the return to political compromise as opposed to partisan warfare

**PART III. The Gilded Age, 1877-1900 (Textbook Chapter 8 through page 181, Chapter 9 through page 195)**

**Central idea: The Industrial Revolution changed America from an agricultural nation into a major world industrial power poised to become one of the most powerful nations on earth, but at the cost of extremes of wealth and poverty. While society changed radically, the traditional view that government should stay out of people’s lives continued.**

**Legacy for modern America: Present-day American affluence, technology, urbanization, and extensive power in world affairs are all based in the developments of the Gilded Age.**

**A. Possible essay questions:**

- 1. Write an essay on the Industrial Revolution in the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century. What political (both domestic and foreign),**

**economic, intellectual, religious, and social impacts did it have?**

**2. Write an essay on Social Darwinism.**

**3. Write a history of the emergence of big business and organized labor during the Gilded Age.**

**4. Write an essay on major social changes during the Gilded Age.**

**5. Write an essay on minorities during the Gilded Age.**

**6. Write a history of the four major political issues of the Gilded Age.**

**7. The year 1890 is significant in American history for several reasons. Write a history of that year, including major legislation and other major events.**

**B. Possible short answer/ID questions**

**1. The Bessemer-Kelly Process**

**2. The Open Hearth Process**

**3. The railroad**

**4. The corporation**

**5. Pullman cars**

**6. The Captains of Industry/Robber Barons**

**7. Andrew Carnegie**

**8. John D. Rockefeller**

**9. The trust**

**10. The Jungle**

**11. The American Federation of Labor**

**12. The Knights of Labor**

**13. The Great Railroad Strike of 1877**

**14. Haymarket Riot, 1886**

**15. The Homestead Strike**

**16. The Pullman Strike**

**17. Laissez-faire**

**18. Social Darwinism**

**19. William Graham Sumner**

**20. Lester Frank Ward**

**21. The settlement house movement**

**22. Jane Addams**

**23. The YMCA/YWCA**

**24. The Social Gospel**

**25. The Wounded Knee Massacre**

26. The Fourteenth Amendment
27. The Fifteenth Amendment
28. The literacy test
29. The white primary
30. The Equal Protection Clause
31. The Civil Rights Act of 1875
32. Plessy v. Ferguson
33. Stalwarts and Half-Breeds
34. Charles Guiteau
35. The Pendleton Act
36. The Granger movement
37. The Wabash Case
38. The Interstate Commerce Act
39. The Sherman Antitrust Act
40. The Sherman Silver Purchase Act
41. Free trade and protectionism
42. William Jennings Bryan
43. Coxey's Army
44. The Populists
45. Marcus Hanna

**C. Major questions to consider:**

1. Why and how did America industrialize so rapidly during the Gilded Age?
2. What effects did this have on the American people, including on how they lived and how they viewed the role of government?

**D. Section outline:**

**1. The Industrial Revolution**

**a. The steam engine**

**b. Coal, iron, and steel**

(i) [Bessemer-Kelly Process](#)

(ii) [Open Hearth Process](#)

**c. Railroads and business corporations**

(i) The railroad

(A) Synergistic relationship with coal, iron, and steel

(ii) The corporation

(A) The most effective device for constructing railroads due to their expense

(B) The corporation is a legal person



- (C) A Combination of
  1. capital
  2. management
  3. labor
- (iii) Railroad technology
  - (A) Pullman cars
    1. [Sleeping car](#)
    2. [Dining car](#)
  - (B) Westinghouse air brake
  - (C) Refrigeration
  - (D) Standardized gauge
  - (E) Standardized time
  - (F) [The Transcontinental Railroad, 1869](#)
- d. Communications**
  - (i) Telephone, 1876
  - (ii) Phonograph, 1876
  - (iii) High-speed printing presses
- e. Electricity**
  - (i) AC/DC
- f. Modern farm machinery and fertilizers**
  - (i) Explosive agricultural growth that is nevertheless outstripped by industrial growth
- g. Results:**
  - (i) By 1890, US industrial output exceeds value of agricultural output, even though the latter has also grown greatly—US now officially an industrial nation
  - (ii) By 1900, US has [more miles of railroad](#) than all of Europe and Russia combined and is the most productive industrial power in the world

## 2. Big Business, Labor, and Social Darwinism

### a. Capitalism, wealth, and monopoly

- (i) The dominant political/economic philosophy in the Anglo-American system
- (ii) The idea that private property gives individuals an incentive to be as productive as possible, thus maximizing profit and maximizing a society's wealth
- (iii) The wealthy capitalist provides jobs for large number of less wealthy people, invests his money in other productive enterprises, and thus benefits the economy of the entire country (“a rising tide lifts all boats”)
- (iv) In the Gilded Age, national markets, made possible by the railroad, allowed accumulation of vast wealth far exceeding what had been possible before the Industrial

Revolution, leading to almost unimaginably wealthy individuals for the first time in history

(v) This wealth was often achieved by the crushing of competition, leading to monopoly

(vi) The Captains of Industry/Robber Barons: examples

(A) [Andrew Carnegie](#): Carnegie Steel

1. 1868, was making 50,000 a year (as much as \$100 million in 2014 dollars)

2. Oppressed his own labor force (see Homestead Strike below)

3. But gave away most of his own wealth to charity by the time of his death

(B) [John D. Rockefeller](#): The Standard Oil Company

1. Became [America's first billionaire](#) in 1916

2. Adjusting for inflation, in 2014 dollars Rockefeller was worth \$663 billion at the time of his death in 1937 (Bill Gates: only \$100 billion)

(vii) The trust

(A) A “corporation of corporations”: a company that owns/controls a number of similar corporations (e.g., an oil trust, a sugar trust, a steel trust)

(B) By owning most or all corporations in a particular economic sector, a trust could facilitate a monopoly in that sector, eliminating competition

(C) Monopoly allows the trust to set whatever prices it wants and stifles innovation and progress

(viii) The plight of labor: Inequality of bargaining power/poor working conditions

(A) Upton Sinclair: *The Jungle*

## **b. The reaction to the Robber Barons**

(i) New political and economic philosophies

(A) [Collectivism](#)

1. A philosophy that sees the individual as subordinate to a social collective

2. Largely imported from Europe via immigration

3. Opposes the individualism expressed in Anglo-American law, the Declaration

of Independence, and the Constitution  
(prior to the 14th Amendment)

a. Individualism emphasizes the rights and interests of the individual and limits the extent of government or social control/coercion/direction of the individual

4. Examples of collectivism:

a. Socialism

i. The belief in collective (e.g., government) ownership of property and the means of production, rather than individual property rights  
ii. Can/should be achieved by existing democratic political processes

b. Marxism

i. Named for the German theorist Karl Marx  
ii. A more extreme form of socialism  
iii. Belief that collective ownership will be achieved by violent revolution of the workers against the wealthy class rather than by orderly democratic processes

(B) Anarchism

1. A philosophy that opposes government and other forms of hierarchy that restrict the freedom of the individual  
2. Anarchism opposes capitalism in that capitalists exploit laborers and rob them of their labor essentially without their consent  
3. Anarchism holds that labor should voluntarily work together for the good of labor and the community rather than being unwillingly exploited by capitalists with the backing of government sanction

(ii) Labor unions and collective bargaining

(A) American Federation of Labor

1. Headed by Samuel Gompers

(B) Knights of Labor

- 1. Headed by Terence V. Powderly
- (iii) Labor unrest
  - (A) Strikes and violence
    - 1. [The Great Railroad Strike of 1877](#)
      - a. The first national strike
      - b. Symbolizes shift from Reconstruction to Gilded Age concerns
    - 2. [Haymarket Riot, 1886](#)
    - 3. Homestead Strike, 1892
    - 4. Pullman Strike, 1894

### c. Social Darwinism

- (i) An attempt to apply Darwin's biological theories to economics and sociology
- (ii) Two basic ideas:
  - (A) All organisms are engaged in a struggle to survive
  - (B) Some organisms are better fitted than others to survive
- (iii) Social Darwinism had many facets: could be used to justify
  - (A) Laissez-faire (an economic market free of government regulation or restriction)
    - 1. Some people are more industrious than others and naturally become rich while others naturally become poor; government shouldn't interfere in this process
    - 2. In actuality, some government policies actively favored the wealthy, such as high tariffs and the gold standard
  - (B) Racism (some races are smarter/stronger/more industrious than others)
  - (C) Imperial expansion (some nations are better than others and should expand)
  - (D) Eugenics (some genes shouldn't be allowed to live or reproduce)
  - (E) Leading writers on Social Darwinism
    - 1. Herbert Spencer
      - a. English scholar who coined the term "survival of the fittest"
    - 2. [William Graham Sumner](#)
      - a. The pre-eminent Social Darwinist
      - b. Author of What Social Classes Owe to Each Other (1884)

c. Government interference can only ruin the system, which produces benefits for everyone

3. Lester Frank Ward

a. A leading critic of Social Darwinism

b. Author of *Dynamic Sociology* (1883)

c. Denounced laissez-faire

i. Argued that poverty could be minimized or eliminated by the systematic

intervention of society

ii. Mankind wasn't helpless before the impersonal force of nature and evolution

iii. Through the power of Mind, man could take control of the situation and direct the evolution of human society

### 3. Social Changes during the Gilded Age

#### a. Urbanization

(i) Population in cities tripled; by 1900 40% of Americans lived in cities.

(A) Economic and social opportunities lured people to the city; rural America could not compete

1. Also lure of entertainment, amenities such as electricity, indoor plumbing, and telephones

(B) Commercial districts mushroomed, with department stores emerging

(C) By 1900, New York had 3.5 million people; 2nd largest in world (London 1st)

1. Chicago and Philadelphia had over 1 million people.

2. No American city had 1 million people in 1860.

(ii) Cities had deplorable conditions.

(A) Rampant crime: prostitution, cocaine, gambling, violent crime.

(B) Unsanitary conditions persisted as cities could not keep up with growth

(C) Perfection of "dumbbell" tenement in 1879; 7 or 8 stories high with little ventilation while

families were crammed into each floor (50% of New York City housing)

**b. New wave of immigration from Central and Eastern Europe**

- (i) Led to diversity in ethnicity, religion, political philosophy, and language
- (ii) [Led to ethnic violence](#) and sometimes labor violence

**c. Private charitable and reform efforts**

- (i) Settlement House Movement
  - (A) Primarily a women's movement of white, northeastern and Midwestern stock, college educated and prosperous.
  - (B) Jane Addams
    - 1. One of first generation of college-educated women
      - a. She believed living among the poor would give meaning to lives of young educated women who needed firsthand experience with realities poverty in the city.
    - 2. Established Hull House in Chicago — American settlement house where immigrants were taught English, offered classes in nutrition, health, and child care, discussed the day's events, and could hold celebrations.
  - (C) Settlement houses became centers of women's activism and social reform.
- (ii) American Red Cross launched in 1881 under leadership of Clara Barton who had been an "angel" of the Civil War battlefields.
- (iii) YMCA founded 1844 and became a major influence in urban areas
- (iv) YWCA founded in 1858 and eventually became a boon to young women in urban areas.

**d. The Social Gospel movement**

- (i) a Christian intellectual movement that applied Christian ethics to social problems
  - (A) especially issues of social justice such as economic inequality, poverty, alcoholism, crime, racial tensions, slums, bad hygiene, child labor, inadequate labor unions, poor schools, and the danger of war.

- (ii) Theologically, the Social Gospellers sought to operationalize the Lord's Prayer (Matthew 6:10): "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."
- (iii) they believed the Second Coming could not happen until humankind rid itself of social evils by human effort.
- (iv) Its leaders were predominantly associated with the liberal wing of the Progressive Movement Important leaders included
  - (A) Washington Gladden
    - 1. One of the early proponents of the Social Gospel
  - (B) Walter Rauschenbusch
    - 1. A Theology for the Social Gospel

#### **4. Minorities during the Gilded Age**

##### **a. Indians**

- (i) Sioux Uprising, 1862
- (ii) The war against the buffalo
- (iii) The Wounded Knee Massacre, 1890

##### **b. Blacks**

- (i) Disenfranchisement
- (ii) End runs around the Fifteenth Amendment
  - (A) The Grandfather Clause
  - (B) The poll tax
  - (C) The literacy test
  - (D) The white primary
- (iii) Jim Crow segregation
  - (A) Civil Rights Act of 1875
    - 1. An attempt to ban private discrimination
    - 2. Struck down by the Civil Rights Cases (1883)
      - a. [Why?](#)
  - (B) *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896)
    - 1. Establishes doctrine of Separate but Equal—legal segregation is permissible
    - 2. Leads to fifty years of Jim Crow segregation in the South

#### **5. Politics in the Gilded Age**

##### **a. The four main issues**

- (i) Civil Service reform
  - (A) Spoils System: federal jobs awarded by president to members of his party
  - (B) Republican factions battle for patronage

- 1. Stalwarts, led by Senator Roscoe Conkling and Chester Arthur: defenders of the Spoils System
- 2. Half-Breeds, led by Senator James Blaine: critics of the Spoils System
- (C) The New York Customs House scandal, late 1870s
  - 1. President Hayes replaces Collector Chester Arthur
- (D) Election of 1880
  - 1. Republicans choose a nonaligned Republican, James A. Garfield, as presidential nominee
  - 2. And Stalwart Chester Arthur as vice presidential nominee
  - 3. Garfield and Arthur win
- (E) Garfield makes Half-Breed Blaine his secretary of state
- (F) A disappointed Stalwart office-seeker, Charles Guiteau, [assassinates Garfield](#) so that the Stalwart Arthur will be president
- (G) This violence results in the passage of The Pendleton Act, 1883
  - 1. Establishes merit-based examinations for prospective Civil Service employees
  - 2. Replaces party loyalty with merit as the main qualification for federal officeholding
- (ii) National regulation of industry
  - (A) Railroads and the bureaucracy
    - 1. Wabash Case, 1886
      - a. Grows out of the attempt of the Granger movement to regulate railroad rates (particularly the [short-haul/long-haul discrepancy](#))
      - b. Supreme Court declares that state governments cannot regulate interstate railroads
    - 2. Interstate Commerce Act, 1887
      - a. A result of the Wabash decision
      - b. Establishes the federal Interstate Commerce Commission, the first federal regulatory agency
  - (B) Monopoly: The Sherman Antitrust Act, 1890



1. Designed to prevent monopoly but not enforced heavily until early 1900s
  2. Entities acting in restraint of the free flow of interstate commerce were in violation of the law
  3. Used by management in 1894 to break the Pullman strike
    - a. The striking unions were interfering with interstate trade since the strikes shut down the railroads
- (iii) The silver/gold money standard
- (A) Farmers and lower income groups want a gold and silver standard for softer, more available currency
  - (B) Industrialists want a gold standard only for sounder more valuable currency
  - (C) Became leading issue for the Granger and Populist movements and a major campaign issue
  - (D) 1890: Sherman Silver Purchase Act
    1. Permitted the coinage of some silver but not as much as the “silverites” wanted
- (iv) The tariff
- (A) A federal tax on imports
  - (B) A [protectionist](#) measure
  - (C) Generally high throughout the Gilded Age (an exception to laissez-faire)
    1. E.g., the McKinley Tariff of 1890, which raised average tariff rates to 50%
  - (D) Raised consumer prices while protecting rich manufacturers
    1. Justified by manufacturers and merchants
      - a. Manufacturers and merchants provided jobs and produced wealth, benefiting the entire economy; if they weren’t protected from foreign competition, the American economy would suffer
    2. Resented by farmers and laborers
      - a. Viewed the tariff as government subsidy to manufacturers at the consumer’s expense

**b. Panic of 1893 (depression lasted until 1897)**

- (i) Worst depression of the century

- (A) 1st large-scale depression in the new urban and industrial age.
- (B) Brought hardship to masses living in cities
- (C) 8,000 business collapsed in 6 months
- (ii) Causes
  - (A) Overbuilding of railroads, heavy loans to farmers, overspeculating.
  - (B) Reduced money supply from gradual withdrawal of European capital from U.S.
  - (C) Labor disorders
  - (D) Existing agricultural depression.
- (iii) Results
  - (A) Gold reserves dwindled to below \$100 million
  - (B) Cleveland saw no alternative but to repeal Sherman Silver Purchase Act.
    1. William Jennings Bryan argued against repeal
    2. Cleveland alienated Democratic silverites and disrupted the party.
- (iv) [Coxey's Army](#) (1894) – "Commonweal of Christ"
  - (A) Led most famous of the "industrial armies" of the unemployed on Washington, D.C.—gained national attention.
    1. Coxey was a wealthy businessman who curiously was a currency reformer.
    2. Coxey's platform included a demand for government to relieve unemployment by an inflationary public works program and increase money supply by \$500 million
  - (B) Coxey and his 500 followers arrested in Washington, DC for walking on the grass of the nation's capital.
  - (C) Suggested to the nation that the government had callous disregard for citizens in the middle of a major depression

### c. The Populists

- (A) The People's Party, also known as the "Populists" was
- (B) A short-lived political party in the United States established in 1891 during the Populist movement (United States, 19th Century).
- (C) Grew out of the Granger Movement and Farmers' Alliances of the 1870s and 1880s

(D) It was most important in 1892-96, and then rapidly faded away.

(E) Grew out of the belief that the Democrats and Republicans were controlled by bankers, landowners and elites hostile to the needs of the small farmer.

(F) Strongest among poor, white cotton farmers in the South and hard-pressed wheat farmers in the plains states

(G) Embraced a radical crusading form of agrarianism and hostility to banks, railroads, and elites generally.

1. Extensive national regulation of industry/railroads

2. An income tax to fund a regulatory government and redistribute wealth

3. unlimited silver to increase currency in circulation

4. Direct popular election of U.S. senators to bypass railroad lobbies in state legislatures (senators were currently chosen by state legislatures)

5. a subtreasury system: government warehouses that farmers could use to store crops and take out loans against those crops

(H) In 1896 the Populists endorsed the Democratic presidential nominee, William Jennings Bryan, who shared the Populists' stand on silver

#### **d. The Election of 1896**

(i) William McKinley, ex-Congressman from Ohio, Republican nominee for President.

(A) The creation of Marcus Hanna, an iron tycoon, who had bailed McKinley out of a \$100,000 obligation

1. Hanna believed function of government was to aid business.

(B) Republican platform supported the gold standard but advocated bimetallism

(ii) [William Jennings Bryan](#), Democratic nominee

(A) Democrats refused to endorse Cleveland for his silver-purchase repeal, Pullman strike

(B) Bryan, a 36-yr-old from Nebraska who was the premier orator of his day

(C) [Cross of Gold speech](#) given at Democratic convention in Chicago

1. Possibly the most electrifying political speech in American history
2. 'You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.'

(D) Democratic platform: unlimited coinage of silver at ratio of 16 to 1 (16 oz of silver to 1 oz of gold); silver in a dollar would be worth about 50 cents

(E) Bryan also nominated by People's party but Bryan did not acknowledge the Populist nomination early enough and the campaign began with uncertainty

(iii) Campaign

(A) Bryan forced silver issue to the forefront despite Hanna wanting to focus on tariff.

(B) Hanna waged high pressure campaign against silver.

(C) Hanna raised a huge war chest of \$3.5 million compared to only \$300k for Democrats.

(iv) Republican victory

(A) McKinley won in Northeast and North; Bryan in South and West

(B) Most significant election since Lincoln's victories.

1. Last serious effort by to win White House with agrarian votes.
2. Republicans remained White House for 16 consecutive years (28 of next 36 yrs)
3. Diminished voter participation as Republican party seen as party of the rich.
4. Beginning of the "4th party system" — large population centers determined elections; farmers discouraged and less politically active subsequently.
5. [The Wonderful Wizard of Oz](#)

**e. The Legacy of Populism**

(i) While the Populists rapidly declined after 1896, many of their proposals were later enacted into law by the Progressives, including

- (A) railroad legislation (1903 & 1906)
- (B) income tax (16th Amendment — 1912)
- (C) expanded currency and credit structure (1913, 1916)
- (D) direct election of senators (17th Amendment — 1913)
- (E) initiative, referendum and recall (early 1900s)
- (F) subtreasury plan for lending farmers money against surplus crops (1916)

## **PART IV. Foreign Affairs and American Imperial Expansion, 1865-ca. 1914 (Textbook Page 181 through end of Chapter 8)**

**Central idea: The Industrial Revolution and increasing trade in the late 1800s led America to move away from its traditional policy of isolationism to increasing involvement in world affairs, especially in the Far East and the Caribbean, poising it for even greater involvement in the near future.**  
**Legacy for modern America: Today America is arguably the most powerful force in international affairs, whether militarily, diplomatically, or economically. This fact has its main basis in the developments in American foreign involvement of the late 1800s and early 1900s.**

### **A. Possible essay questions:**

- 1. Write an essay on America's involvement in world affairs from the 1860s to 1914. How and why did America's role during this time differ from what had gone before?**
- 2. Write a history of the Spanish-American War, including its causes and results as well as the war itself.**
- 3. Write an essay describing the differences between tigers (continental powers) and sharks (maritime powers).**
- 4. Write an essay on the Industrial Revolution in the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century. What political (both domestic and foreign), economic, intellectual, religious, and social impacts did it have?**
- 5. The year 1890 is significant in American history for several reasons. Write a history of that year, including major legislation and other major events.**

**6. Write an essay on the Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt, 1901-09.**

**B. Possible short answer/ID questions**

- 1. American Exceptionalism**
- 2. Isolationism**
- 3. The Frontier Thesis**
- 4. Frederick Jackson Turner**
- 5. Alfred Thayer Mahan**
- 6. The Wilson-Gorman Tariff**
- 7. William Randolph Hearst**
- 8. Joseph Pulitzer**
- 9. The de Lôme letter**
- 10. The Treaty of Paris of 1898**
- 11. The Open Door Policy**
- 12. The Boxer Rebellion**
- 13. John Philip Sousa**
- 14. Nationalism and internationalism**
- 15. The Panama Canal**
- 16. The Roosevelt Corollary**
- 17. The Battleship**
- 18. The Treaty of Portsmouth**
- 19. The Great White Fleet**

**C. Major questions to consider:**

- 1. How did American foreign policy change in the late 19th century?**
- 2. What role did industrialization and Darwinism play in this change of policy?**
- 3. What areas of the world did The United States focus on, and why?**

**D. Section outline:**

- 1. American Exceptionalism**
  - a. The traditional belief that, due to the circumstances of its founding and its fundamental principles of republicanism, liberty, and equality, American civilization is fundamentally different from (and superior to) other civilizations**
  - b. A belief that America is to be an example for the rest of the world**
- 2. America's traditional foreign policy: Isolationism**

- a. Trade with foreign countries is good but political involvement with them is bad**
- b. First enunciated in George Washington's Farewell Address, 1796:**

- (i) "The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop."

- c. Digression/Fun fact: In the Farewell Address, Washington also:**

- (i) Warned America not to develop political parties
  - (ii) Advocated religion and morality as the proper basis of American prosperity
  - (iii) Warned against a large military establishment as being dangerous to American liberties
  - (iv) Cautioned against incurring a national debt
  - (v) In how many of these areas have we continued to take Washington's advice? When we haven't, do you think we're better off because of it, or not?

- d. The United States largely followed Washington's advice on foreign relations from the late 1790s until the late 1800s**

- (i) Helped by the fact of our insulation from Europe and Asia by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, greatly reducing the danger of invasion

- e. But as conditions changed in the late 1800's driven mainly by the Industrial Revolution, this policy of isolationism began to erode**

### **3. The transcontinental railroad and expansion into the Pacific Rim**

- a. Alaska, 1867**

- (i) Purchase from Russia

- b. Samoa, 1889**

- (i) The Joint Protectorate with England and Germany

- c. Hawaii, 1893/1898**

- (i) Revolution, 1893
  - (ii) Annexation by U.S, 1898

### **4. 1890: A year symbolizing transition**

- a. American industrial output surpasses agricultural output**

- b. Wounded Knee**

- c. The closing of the continental frontier**

- (i) The Frontier Thesis
    - (A) Put forward by historian Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893

(B) Argued that the frontier (a place where civilization and socio-political conventions disappeared, or “the meeting point between savagery and civilization”) was essential to the forming of the American character

1. “The peculiarity of American institutions is, the fact that they have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people—to the changes involved in crossing a continent, in winning a wilderness, and in developing at each area of this progress out of the primitive economic and political conditions of the frontier into the complexity of city life. ... But the most important effect of the frontier has been in the promotion of democracy here and in Europe. ... [T]he frontier is productive of individualism. Complex society is precipitated by the wilderness into a kind of primitive organization based on the family. The tendency is anti-social. It produces antipathy to control, and particularly to any direct control. The tax-gatherer is viewed as a representative of oppression. ... The frontier conditions prevalent in the colonies are important factors in the explanation of the American Revolution, where individual liberty was sometimes confused with absence of all effective government. ... The frontier individualism has from the beginning promoted democracy. ... What the Mediterranean Sea was to the Greeks, breaking the bond of custom, offering new experiences, calling out new institutions and activities, that, and more, the ever retreating frontier has been to the United States[.]”

(C) The federal census of 1890 indicated that the frontier no longer existed; Turner worried what this meant for the future of America

(D) The imperialist impulse of the late 1800s was to a degree an attempt to extend the



American frontier beyond the North American continent

## 5. Geostrategy: Tiger and Shark

### a. The importance of maritime trade

- (i) Travel by sea tends to be easier and cheaper than travel by land
- (ii) This is especially true when transporting bulk goods
- (iii) This was also especially true before the development of railroads and steam power, but continues to be true today
- (iv) “[W]hosoever commands the sea commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself.”—Sir Walter Raleigh

## 6. Alfred Thayer Mahan and The Influence of Sea Power Upon History (1890)

### a. Principles:

- (i) The need for foreign markets for domestic economic health
- (ii) The need for a navy to protect these markets
- (iii) The need for overseas naval bases to permit overseas naval operations
- (iv) Result: The rise of the modern American navy
  - (A) Unlike the old navy of the 18th and early/mid 19th centuries, the new navy was steam powered and built of steel
  - (B) E.g., the ABCD cruisers

## 7. The Spanish-American War, 1898

### a. The Cuban revolution, 1895

- (i) Cuba: A Spanish colony
- (ii) Wilson-Gorman Tariff, 1894
  - (A) High U.S. tariff on Cuban sugar
  - (B) Damaged Cuban economy and contributed to outbreak of a revolution in Cuba against the Spanish government
- (iii) American involvement
  - (A) Rebels’ attempts to import weapons from U.S.
  - (B) Rebels’ threat to American-owned sugar plantations
- (iv) Yellow Journalism
  - (A) William Randolph Hearst: New York Journal
  - (B) Joseph Pulitzer: New York World

- (v) The de Lôme letter
- (vi) [The battleship \*Maine\*](#) and [its sinking](#)

**b. The War**

- (i) [Theodore Roosevelt](#), Commodore Dewey, and the Philippines
  - (A) [The Battle of Manila Bay](#)
- (ii) [Theodore Roosevelt](#) and the invasion of [Cuba](#)
  - (A) [The Santiago Campaign](#)

**c. The Treaty of Paris of 1898**

- (i) U. S. gets
  - (A) the Philippines
  - (B) Puerto Rico
  - (C) Guam
  - (D) Permanent naval base in Guantánamo Bay
- (ii) U.S. is now an empire
  - (A) “Empire” can have many different meanings
  - (B) In this case it means that the U.S. owns foreign possessions that are culturally and ethnically different from the United States itself, and that have relatively little voice in their own government (e.g., no representation in Congress; no right to vote for president)

**8. The Open Door Policy**

- (i) U.S. diplomatic efforts to discourage economic [spheres of influence](#) by Western powers in China
- (ii) Leads to long-term American diplomatic involvement/entanglement in the Far East, beginning with:
  - (iii) The Boxer Rebellion, 1899-1901
    - (A) Rebellion of Chinese subjects against Western imperialism
    - (B) The Boxers besieged Western diplomats and missionaries in Beijing
    - (C) A multinational military force, including a few thousand Americans, marched to free the captives and put down the rebellion
    - (D) First large-scale U.S. overseas military intervention

**9. America through music: John Philip Sousa**

**a. The “March King”**

**b. celebrates the American and imperial spirit through upbeat, optimistic military and patriotic marches**

- (i) e.g., “[The Liberty Bell March](#)”
- (ii) e.g., “[The Washington Post](#)”
- (iii) e.g., “[The Stars and Stripes Forever](#)”

## 10. Theodore Roosevelt and Big Stick Diplomacy

- a. Theodore Roosevelt: A [nationalist](#), an interventionist, and an imperialist
- b. The Panama Canal, 1904
- c. The Roosevelt Corollary, 1904
  - (i) US will act as the policeman of Central and Latin America—European powers shouldn't intervene there directly
  - (ii) [Caribbean interventions, 1898-1941 \(map\)](#)
- d. TR's big stick: The U.S. Navy
  - (i) Major naval buildup continues and increases
  - (ii) New ship types:
    - (A) Torpedo boat
    - (B) Destroyer
    - (C) Cruiser
    - (D) [Battleship](#)
- e. The Treaty of Portsmouth, 1905
  - (i) Roosevelt brokers a peace treaty between Russia and Japan for fear that Japan is growing too powerful in the Pacific (threatening China, the Open Door, and the Philippines)
- f. [The Great White Fleet, 1907-09](#)

## 11. [Woodrow Wilson](#) and Mexico

- a. The Tampico incident Occupation of Vera Cruz, 1914
- b. The Punitive Expedition in Mexico, 1916

## **PART V. The Progressive Era, 1901-1920 (Textbook Page 195 through end of Chapter 9)**

**Central idea: The realization that the social and economic changes caused by the Industrial Revolution were permanent, and a new generation of political leaders, led to the rise of “big government” that involved itself heavily in American life to regulate the economy and address social problems.**

**Legacy for modern America: Prior to the Progressive Era, most Americans at most times would have said that government—especially the national government—should stay out of Americans' lives. The Progressive Era marks the first time that Americans embraced the idea of “big government” that involved itself in regulating society, imposing high taxes, and reducing Americans' freedom of action in exchange for greater security from the dangers of industrialization and social evils. The debatable and very American idea that change is always for the better—is always progress—dates heavily to the Progressive Era, as shown in its very name. But is change always really progress?**

### **A. Possible essay questions:**

1. Write a history of Progressivism as a movement in domestic American politics from 1901 to 1920.
2. Write a thorough description of various processes available for amending the Constitution.
3. Write an essay on the Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt, 1901-09.
4. Write an essay on the Presidency of William Howard Taft and the election of 1912.
5. Write a history of the domestic policies of President Woodrow Wilson, 1913-1916.

**B. Possible short answer/ID questions**

1. Lincoln Steffens
2. “The Shame of the Cities”
3. The Progressive Amendments
4. The Sixteenth Amendment
5. The Seventeenth Amendment
6. The Eighteenth Amendment
7. The Nineteenth Amendment
8. The Referendum
9. The Recall
10. The City Commissioner Plan
11. The coal miners’ strike
12. The Northern Securities case
13. The Meat Inspection Act
14. The Election of 1912
15. The Federal Reserve Act
16. The Adamson Act

**C. Major questions to consider:**

1. What was Progressivism?
2. What were the main components of Progressivism?
3. Why did Progressivism emerge as a major movement as the new century began?
4. What was the long-term impact of Progressivism?

**D. Section outline:**

1. Definition of Progressivism
  - a. A reform movement
  - b. A response to the problems of modernization
  - c. A belief that modern science, technology, and specialists can improve government and society

- (i) e.g., Frederick W. Taylor and scientific management
  - (A) A systematic, scientific approach to running industry and factories designed to maximize efficiency

**d. A commitment to greater democracy and efficiency in government**

**e. Two basic ideas that combine to create the American Progressive movement:**

- (i) The Social Gospel
  - (A) An optimistic view of human nature
  - (B) The very name “Progressives” indicated that they believed in a march of historical progress, and that the forces of conservatism were thus the enemies of progress and had to be curtailed
    - 1. An ideological “faith”
  - (C) Cf. The Whig view of history
    - 1. An idea later put forth by historian Sir Herbert Butterfield that helps to explain the Progressives’ world view
    - 2. The idea that history is the story of “Progress,” i.e., civilization’s advancement/improvement
    - 3. Things are always improving/moving towards a utopian perfect society
    - 4. So the people in history who are on the side of the changes that move us towards this society are heroes/good, while people in history who opposed these changes are villains/evil
  - (D) A commitment to elimination of social and economic evils, as perceived by the Progressives
- (ii) Lester Ward’s principles of sociology
  - (A) Society needs ordered growth
  - (B) And government is the logical agency to do the ordering
    - 1. Through bureaus staffed by specialists applying modern scientific, economic, and sociological principles

**f. A Reversal of the traditional American idea of freedom**

- (i) Americans’ traditional understanding of government: freedom from government
  - (A) Government should be restricted in power so as not to endanger individual’s natural rights to life, liberty, and property

- (B) i.e. freedom from government intrusion into peoples' lives
- (C) the emphasis is on liberty (a status, a condition), which means equality probably won't exist
- (D) E.g., Rockefeller and Carnegie had far more money than their workers
- (ii) The Progressive understanding of government: freedom from social and economic evils with the help of big government
  - (A) Government must be empowered to intrude in individual rights so as to provide for the peoples' well-being
  - (B) I.e., the emphasis is on equality, which necessarily limits liberty
    1. E.g., to raise labor's standards of living, the government would need to redistribute the wealth of the Rockefellers and Carnegies as well as regulate how they did business
    2. The danger in this: What if the regulations are so onerous that Rockefeller and Carnegie decide they can't be bothered to keep going to work every day?
  - (C) The emphasis is also on democracy (a process), the idea that the majority holds the power
    1. If the majority has all the power, then can the majority use that power to destroy individuals' liberty?
  - (D) Not freedom from government (laissez-faire) but instead freedom from bad social conditions, with government's help
  - (E) The emphasis is on equality
  - (F) Herbert Croly/Theodore Roosevelt: Hamiltonian means to achieve Jeffersonian ends
    1. Hamilton: champion of powerful government
    2. Jefferson: champion of prosperity and welfare of the people

**g. A basic tension/problem in Progressivism: democratic versus elitist/anti-democratic**

- (i) The belief that greater democracy and greater public awareness would lead to more responsible, more efficient, less corrupt government
  - (A) Based on the idea that the people are basically good, selfless, and understanding, and they know what's good for them
- (ii) BUT Progressivism also relied on increasing numbers of unelected specialists in government (bureaucrats) to make law without oversight by the electorate or control by the voters
  - (A) Based on the idea that the people in the modern industrial age can't know enough to protect themselves and their interests
  - (B) And the related ideas that the people aren't capable of knowing what's best for society and aren't qualified to run it; that they must be led by a progressive elite who know better than they do and who understand the true direction and march of progress

## **2. Reasons for the rise of Progressivism at this point**

- a. A realization, finally, that the new problems of industrialization and modernity were not going to go away**
- b. The influence of European thought (mainly the ideas of progress and collectivism)**
  - (i) Traveled to U.S. through European immigration during the Gilded Age
  - (ii) Influenced scholars and university graduates through adoption of the German university system in the Gilded Age
- c. The lasting influence of Populist ideas, although the Populist movement itself had begun to fade by 1900**
- d. A belief that the large/national scope of problems required national government action rather than private action**
  - (i) E.g., trusts/corporations bigger than some state governments
- e. The disappearance of the traditional American frontier in 1890 eliminated the traditional safety valve, requiring society to face problems more directly**

## **3. Progressivism's two goals:**

- a. Clean up the substance**
  - (i) i.e., regulate the social evils themselves
    - (A) e.g., poor working conditions

- 1. long hours, low wages
- 2. child labor
- (B) tainted foods and drugs
- (C) labor/management disputes
- (D) railroad rate problems
- (E) and so forth
- (ii) See the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson for specific examples
- b. Clean up the process of government itself, so government can then deal effectively with the above issues of substance**
  - (i) Investigative journalism/the Muckrakers
    - (A) 1902: Lincoln Steffens published a series of articles on corruption in the St. Louis government entitled “The Shame of the Cities”
    - (B) it resulted in a public outcry demanding reform in city government.
    - (C) This new style of factual, critical journalism describing social ills, which Roosevelt called muckraking, caught on quickly and had a big impact in mobilizing public support for a variety of reform measures.
    - (D) Other muckrakers include
      - 1. Jacob Riis
      - 2. Upton Sinclair
      - 3. Ida Tarbell
  - (ii) Government reforms
    - (A) National government: changes made via [the amendment process](#)
    - (B) [The Progressive Amendments](#)
      - 1. Sixteenth Amendment, adopted in 1913
        - a. Legalized a national income tax
        - b. Allows federal government to tap into a large new source of revenue that it could use for Progressive programs and national economic regulation
        - c. Supported by poorer classes as a fairer type of tax than tariffs
        - d. A way of taxing wealthy corporations
      - 2. Seventeenth Amendment, adopted in 1913
        - a. Provided for direct popular election of United States senators



- b. Prior to this amendment, senators were chosen by state legislatures
- c. Progressives charged that state legislators were in the pockets of the big corporations and, due to bribery and corruption, chose senators unduly favorable to big business
- d. Popular election eliminated this danger and at any rate was more democratic
- e. Criticism: direct election of senators weakened federalism and the voice of the states in the national government

3. Eighteenth Amendment, adopted 1919; effective early 1920; repealed by the Twenty-First Amendment in 1933

- a. Prohibited the manufacture, importation, and sale of alcohol nationwide
- b. Reflected Progressives' belief that alcohol in an industrial society produced industrial accidents and death, poverty, and destruction of family life

4. Nineteenth Amendment, adopted 1920

- a. Women's suffrage/right to vote
- b. Arguments in favor:
  - i. Would increase democratic participation
  - ii. Would bring women's natural purity and altruism to bear on social problems
- c. Arguments against:
  - i. Would subject women's purity and natural moral superiority to corruption

(iii) State and local governments (especially popular in the western states or at least having their origin there)

(A) New electoral devices

1. Initiative

- a. Allowed voters to petition state legislatures in order to consider a bill desired by citizens

2. Referendum

- a. Allowed voters to decide if a bill or proposed state constitutional amendment should be passed.

3. Recall

a. Allowed voters to petition to have an elected representative removed from office.

4. Direct Primary

a. Ensured that voters selected candidates to run for office, rather than party bosses.

5. Secret Ballot

a. Privacy at the ballot box ensured that citizens can cast votes without party bosses knowing how they voted.

(B) New systems of local government

1. City Commissioner Plan

a. Cities hired experts in different fields to run a single aspect of city government. For example, the sanitation commissioner would be in charge of garbage and sewage removal.

2. City Manager Plan

a. A professional city manager is hired to run each department of the city and report directly to the city council.

**4. The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt, 1901-09  
(domestic policy only)**

**a. Background: Roosevelt is**

(i) Republican

(ii) A Progressive president

(iii) An activist president—the first powerful president since Lincoln

(A) Sets the US on a road towards gradually increasing presidential power that will ultimately, one day, distort separation of powers

**b. The Square Deal**

(i) The name for Roosevelt's program

(ii) Consists mainly of

(A) Consumer protection

1. The Industrial Revolution means that, unlike in the past, most Americans are no longer self-sufficient

a. They don't grow their own food

b. They don't make their own clothes

- c. They don't know what's in the modern drugs they buy
  - 2. The Progressives believe that big government is needed as a watchdog and regulator to protect the consumer in these and other areas
- (B) Corporate regulation (trust-busting under the Sherman Antitrust Act)
  - 1. Roosevelt will actually begin enforcing the law
- (C) Conservation of natural resources
  - 1. Modern steam-powered machinery is capable of devastating the environment because of its speed
  - 2. Stewardship of resources will be necessary to make sure resources continue to be available
- (iii) 1902: The coal miners' strike
  - (A) Roosevelt facilitates discussions between labor and management by threatening armed intervention to make sure the country doesn't run out of coal in the winter
- (iv) Trust busting
  - (A) The Northern Securities case in 1902 (decided 1904)
    - 1. The first example of Roosevelt's use of anti-trust legislation to dismantle a monopoly, in this case a holding company controlling the principal railroad lines from Chicago to the Pacific Northwest.
  - (B) Roosevelt believed that there were "good trusts" and "bad trusts" which were greedy.
    - 1. "Bad Trusts" should be dealt with but good trusts were healthy.
  - (C) Roosevelt did not consider wholesale trust-busting economically sound policy.
  - (D) Roosevelt believed in regulating, not fragmenting trusts.
- (v) Meat Inspection Act (1906)
  - (A) Induced by TR, Congress passed the bill
  - (B) Preparation of meat shipped over state lines would be subject to federal inspection throughout the meat making process.
- (vi) Pure Food & Drug Act (1906)

(A) Prevented adulteration and mislabeling of foods and drugs.

(vii) Panic of 1907

(A) Wall Street suffered a short but brutal panic in 1907

(B) Causes: speculation and mismanagement in Wall Street banks and trust companies as well as overextension of credit

(C) "Runs" on banks, suicides, and criminal indictments against speculators.

(D) Business leaders assailed Roosevelt for causing the panic due to his anti-business tactics and called the financial setback the "Roosevelt Panic"

(E) Roosevelt cooperated with Morgan banks and other large banks to prevent a banking collapse by transferring millions of Treasury funds from one bank to another.

(F) Results:

1. Panic showed the acute need for elastic money supply.

2. During panic, banks unable to increase volume of currency in circulation.

3. Those with money reluctant to lend money to fellow banks.

4. This apparent weakness paved way for Federal Reserve Act of 1913.

(viii) Conservation

(A) TR, an outdoorsman, appalled at destruction of timber & mineral resources.

(B) Gifford Pinchot, head of federal Division of Forestry, had made significant contributions before Roosevelt and worked with Roosevelt during the latter's conservation efforts.

(C) Conservation is Roosevelt's most tangible enduring achievement.

(D) Newlands Reclamation Act of 1902

1. Authorized the government to collect money from sale of public lands in western states and use funds for development of irrigation projects.

2. repaid settlers the cost of reclamation by building successful farms.

3. Put money into revolving account to finance more such projects.
4. built dozens of dams on virtually every major western river in subsequent decades.

(E) Saving the forests

1. Roosevelt set aside 125 million acres of forests in federal reserves.
2. Also earmarked millions of acres of coal deposits, as well as water resources useful for irrigation and power.

## **5. The Presidency of William Howard Taft, 1909-13**

### **a. General approach**

- (i) Taft, unlike Roosevelt, was a natural conservative (not Progressive) even though Roosevelt had hand-picked him as his successor
- (ii) Taft was content to keep status quo rather than rocking the boat.
- (iii) Adopted an attitude of passivity toward Congress
- (iv) Taft thus became an ally of the old guard Republicans by default

### **b. Ballinger-Pinchot controversy, 1910**

- (i) Overshadowed Taft's conservation successes.
- (ii) Secretary of Interior Ballinger opened public lands in Wyoming, Montana, and Alaska to corporate development
- (iii) Ballinger was sharply criticized by Gifford Pinchot, chief of Agriculture Department's Division of Forestry and a strong Roosevelt supporter, as undoing Roosevelt's conservation efforts.
- (iv) Taft dismissed Pinchot on narrow ground of insubordination.
- (v) Storm of protest arose from conservationists and Roosevelt's friends
- (vi) Leads to . . .

### **c. Taft/Roosevelt break, 1910-12**

- (i) 1910, Roosevelt's Osawatomie speech, Kansas.
  - (A) Roosevelt had been out of country during 1909 and first half of 1910 but tariff and conservation issues galvanized him to become more active.
  - (B) Shocked Old Guard Republicans with new doctrine: "New Nationalism"

- 1. Based largely on Herbert Croly's book *The Promise of American Life* in which Croly prescribed Hamiltonian means (big government) for Jeffersonian ends (welfare of the people)
  - (C) Marked new era in politics where Old Guard Republican were now on defensive.
- (ii) 1911, Taft pressed an anti-trust suit against U.S. Steel Corp.
  - (A) Roosevelt had seen this as a "good trust" and had deliberately refrained from prosecuting it
  - (B) Saw Taft's prosecution of it as a rejection of Roosevelt and Progressivism
  - (C) Roosevelt thus decided to run for president in 1912 and take the nomination from Taft
    - 1. 1912 Republican convention in Chicago gave Taft nomination although Roosevelt clearly had a majority of Republican votes.
    - 2. Progressives left the party to form a third party: the Progressive Party

## 6. The Election of 1912

### a. Woodrow Wilson nominated by Democrats

- (i) A constitutional scholar, former president of Princeton and governor of New Jersey
- (ii) Platform: antitrust legislation, monetary changes, and tariff reductions.
- (iii) Wilson's "New Freedom" — Favored small enterprise, entrepreneurship, and free functioning of unregulated and unmonopolized markets; states' rights

### b. **Progressive-Republican party (Bull Moose party)**

- (i) Pro-Roosevelt convention met in Chicago in August, 1912 and nominated Roosevelt
  - (A) Party consisted largely of cultured, middle-class people: journalists, social workers, settlement house workers, young lawyers.
  - (B) "New Nationalism" — Favored continued consolidation of trusts and labor unions, paralleled by the growth of powerful regulatory agencies in Washington; more efficient government
- (ii) Roosevelt shot in chest in Milwaukee before giving campaign speech and had to cut back on campaigning

**c. Republicans nominated Taft who did no campaigning; dominated by "Old Guard"**

**d. Results: Wilson got only 41% of popular. Vote, but Roosevelt's party fatally split the Republican vote, thus giving Wilson the victory.**

**e.**

## **7. The Presidency of Woodrow Wilson, 1913-21 (domestic policy only)**

### **a. A. Background**

- (i) Believed president should play a dynamic role in government
- (ii) Dramatically successful as governor and president in appealing over heads of legislators to the sovereign people.
- (iii) Unlike Roosevelt, Wilson lacked common touch
- (iv) Moral righteousness made him often uncompromising
- (v) Aimed to attack the "triple wall of privilege": the tariff, the banks, and the trusts.

### **b. C. Underwood Tariff Bill — 1913 (Underwood-Simmons Tariff)**

- (i) In unprecedented move, summoned Congress into special session in early 1913 and read message in person rather than by a clerk (custom since Jefferson's day).
- (ii) Underwood Tariff Bill passed by House
- (iii) Wilson appealed to the people to demand their Senators pass the bill.
- (iv) Provisions:
  - (A) Substantially reduced tariff for the first time in this course
  - (B) Effect unknown since world War I substantially changed trade patterns within two years

### **c. D. Federal Reserve Act (1913)**

- (i) Nation's existing National Banking Act, enacted during Civil War, showed its weakness during Panic of 1907 with its inelasticity of money.
- (ii) Republican solution: a huge national bank
- (iii) Conservative Democrats favored a decentralized system privately owned and controlled but free from Wall Street.
- (iv) Result: the Federal Reserve Act of 1913.
  - (A) Most significant economic legislation between Civil War and New Deal.

(B) A compromise of central and decentralized systems

(C) Provisions:

1. Federal Reserve Board appointed by the president oversaw nationwide system of 12 regional reserve districts, each with its own central bank.
2. Board empowered to issue paper money "Federal Reserve Notes."
3. Gave the national government great potential control of the economy through monetary policy

#### **d. D. Attacking the trusts**

(i) Federal Trade Commission Act of 1914

(A) Early 1914, Wilson again went to Congress to appeal for regulation of trusts.

(B) Provisions:

1. Empowered presidentially appointed commission to monitor industries engaged in interstate commerce e.g. meat packers.
2. cease and desist orders:  
Commissioners could end unfair trade practices, including unlawful competition, false advertising, mislabeling, adulteration, & bribery.

(ii) Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914

(A) Purpose: To implement Sherman Anti-Trust by increasing list of business practices deemed objectionable including price discrimination & interlocking directorates.

(B) Exempted labor and agricultural organizations from antitrust prosecution while explicitly legalizing strikes and peaceful picketing.

#### **e. E. Other progressive reforms during Wilson's presidency**

(i) In order to win election of 1916, Wilson signed other reforms including

(A) Warehouse Act of 1916

1. Authorized loans on the security of staple crops.
2. A former Populist-supported measure

(B) Child Labor Act of 1916

1. Restricted child labor on products in interstate commerce.



(C) Adamson Act of 1916

1. Established an eight-hour day for all employees on trains in interstate commerce

**8. The Election of 1916: Completes the migration of all big government Progressives to the Democratic Party**

- a. Collapse of the Progressive Party
- b. Wilson wins re-election with support of former Progressive Party members
- c. Henceforth, the Democratic Party will be the party of big government, redistributionism, and collectivism, while the Republican Party will be the party of Laissez-faire and smaller government (though this Republican change will be de-emphasized after the New Deal)

**PART VI. World War I/The Great War, 1914-1920  
(Textbook Chapter 10 through page 207)**

Central idea: The nature of modern industrialized war, America's new industrial might, the Progressive impulse to "make the world safe for democracy," and recent American expansionist foreign policy, combined to drag the United States into the war that changed the course of the twentieth century.

Legacy for modern America: Today, Americans are used to the idea of American troops serving throughout the world and having a major say in European and world affairs. World War I marks the first occasion when the United States sent a massive army abroad in an effort to bring a major change of direction in European and even world civilization.

**A. Possible essay questions:**

1. Write an essay providing an overview of World War I and the events that led to the U.S. entry into the war, 1914-1917.
2. Write an essay on the United States in World War I and its role in the diplomacy of peacemaking, 1917-1920.

**B. Possible short answer/ID questions**

1. The Schlieffen plan
2. The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand
3. Trench warfare
4. The Battle of the Somme
5. The Battle of Verdun
6. Total war
7. The Lusitania
8. The Sussex

9. The Zimmermann note
10. The First Russian Revolution
11. The Bolshevik Revolution/Second Russian Revolution
12. The Lever Food and Fuel Act
13. George M. Cohan
14. The Red Scare, 1919-20
15. Nationalism and internationalism
16. The Fourteen Points
17. The Paris Peace Conference
18. The Treaty of Versailles
19. The League of Nations
20. Reparations

**C. Major questions to consider:**

1. Why was World War I so destructive?
2. World War I largely created the world of the twentieth century. How so?
3. How and why was the United States drawn into the war?
4. How, in the end, did the United States react to the war and the possibility of open-ended involvement in European affairs?

**D. Section outline:**

**1. The European Background**

**a. The Great Powers and the Alliance system**

- (i) Rising diplomatic tensions
  - (A) Triple Entente (France, Russia, England) versus
  - (B) Triple Alliance (mainly Germany and Austria-Hungary)
- (ii) Rise of the Machines
  - (A) Military training and plans for mobilization

**b. The Schlieffen plan**

- (i) A plan for Germany to avoid fighting a two-front war
- (ii) Defeat France quickly, then defeat Russia

**c. 28 June 1914: The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand [pic 1](#) [pic 2](#) [pic 3](#) [pic 4](#) [funeral](#)**

- (i) The first in a series of dominoes
- (ii) Leads to a chain reaction of all Great Powers declaring war

**d. The lineup:**

- (i) The Allied Powers (main ones)
  - (A) England
  - (B) France
  - (C) Belgium
  - (D) Russia
- (ii) The Central Powers (main ones)
  - (A) Germany
  - (B) Austria-Hungary
  - (C) Ottoman Empire

**e. The failure of the Schlieffen plan**

- (i) German troops dig trenches in France, go on defensive . . . leading to . . .

**f. Trench warfare**

- (i) Machine guns kill large numbers extremely fast (compare to earlier firepower)
- (ii) Trenches are the only safe place
- (iii) Preferably guarded with barbed wire
- (iv) Resupplied rapidly by railroad
- (v) All of this means that the defensive has the overwhelming advantage: offensives cannot break the enemy trench lines
- (vi) New technological weapons devised to try to break this stalemate
  - (A) Poison gas
  - (B) Combat aircraft
  - (C) tanks
- (vii) Battles are bloodbaths that cost enormous amounts of lives, materiel, and money, dwarfing anything from the pre-Industrial age
  - (A) 1915, France alone loses 1 1/2 million men and advances only 1 1/2 miles
  - (B) 1916, Battle of the Somme: British lose 60,000 men in one morning
  - (C) Battle of Verdun, 1916: an 8-month long battle in which the Germans alone lose nearly half a million men
  - (D) And despite all of this, the lines still don't break or move significantly

**g. Total war**

- (i) The speed of killing and resupply requires the mobilization of the whole society in order to keep up the war effort, requiring central (governmental) coordination, planning, and control of the economy and society

- (ii) This new industrialized sort of war is extremely destructive, kills vast numbers of men, consumes vast numbers of resources, costs vast sums of money
- (iii) This threaten to bankrupt the warring nations, destabilize them socially, and ultimately throw them into economic and political chaos (i.e., threat of revolution)

## 2. American Involvement, 1914-1917

### a. 1915

- (i) The U-boat campaign against the Allies
  - (A) U-boats: another new technology of WWI
  - (B) They violate international law by their very nature; Wilson, a student of law and government, is offended
- (ii) [The sinking of the Lusitania](#)
  - (A) Viewed by a shocked public as a terror attack
  - (B) Stirs up anti-German sentiment
  - (C) Wilson refuses to advocate war but calls on Germany to exercise restraint

### b. 1916

- (i) The torpedoing of the *Sussex*
  - (A) Stirs up anti-German sentiment further
- (ii) The growing Allied war debt to the US
  - (A) An allied loss would thus hurt the United States economically

### c. 1917

- (i) [The Zimmermann note](#)
  - (A) A German proposal for a German-Mexican alliance against the United States
  - (B) Convinces American public that Germany is an aggressor and must be stopped
- (ii) March 1917, First Russian Revolution
  - (A) Russia's new democratic regime means that the US won't have to fight alongside a friendly government that is as autocratic as Germany's—removes an obstacle to US involvement
- (iii) March 1917, Unrestricted submarine warfare
  - (A) Germany decides that it must strangle flow of supplies to the Allies by torpedoing American (neutral) ships
  - (B) This will bring the US into the war, but Germany calculates that it will have starved the Allies to death by the time the US can gear up to fight

(iv) April 1917, US declares war in response to German sinkings of American ships

(A) Wilson declares that the world must be made safe for democracy

1. Outgrowth of American exceptionalism: the goal of the war, for Wilson, is to bring American ideals to the rest of the world, not to gain territory or wealth or material advantage to America

2. Complete abandonment of any pretense to isolationism

#### **d. The United States at War, 1917-1918**

(i) Initially, the main thing require of the US is naval action

(ii) Convoy system used to defend against U-boats

(iii) November 1917, Bolshevik Revolution/Second Russian Revolution

(A) Marxism/Communism's take on the war:

1. The proper way to understand the world isn't [nationalism but internationalism](#)

2. Rich man's war, poor man's fight

a. I.e., the true fight isn't between/among states or nations but between the handful of rich capitalists who are making money selling weapons and war supplies and the poor masses who are drafted to fight and die in the trenches

b. The proletariat of Germany and the proletariat of Russia shouldn't be fighting each other

(B) Thus, the new communist regime concludes a separate peace with Germany

(C) Germany is thus free to concentrate all of its forces on the western front (France/Belgium)

(D) This means that the US will have to reinforce the western front

(iv) Spring 1918, the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) a 1 million man army, arrives in France, helps the Allies to survive the German offensive and pushes the German Army back

(v) 11 November 1918: Armistice

### **3. The United States and Total War**

**a. Wilson on the war effort: “It is not an army that we must shape and train for war; it is a nation.”**

- (i) An excellent one-sentence summary of the concept of total war
- (ii) Total war always endangers civil liberties
  - (A) It requires a collective effort, and collectivism is always dangerous to individualism

**b. Progressivism and total war pave the way for centralized government control of economy, manufacturing, production, transportation, and public opinion, with corresponding restrictions on personal and property rights**

- (i) The Draft/Selective Service
- (ii) Lever Food and Fuel Act
- (iii) The Food Administration
- (iv) Propaganda
  - (A) The Committee on Public Information/Creel Committee
- (v) Intolerance at home: Coerced conformity
  - (A) The Espionage and Sedition Acts
  - (B) Anti-German sentiment
  - (C) The American Protective League

**c. The Red Scare, 1919-20**

- (i) American fear of communist or anarchist rebellion within the United States
- (ii) Fueled by
  - (A) Labor unrest during the war
  - (B) The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia
  - (C) Anarchist mail bombs delivered to various state and national officials in 1919
- (iii) Led to arrests of known and suspected communist and anarchist labor leaders and union members, often without warrants
- (iv) Origins of both the FBI and the ACLU

**d. America through music: George M. Cohan**

- (i) One of the most important figures on Broadway in the early 20th Century
- (ii) Many of his songs were patriotic
  - (A) E.g., “You’re a Grand Old Flag”
  - (B) E.g., “Over There,” written as a war song in 1917
    - 1. Optimistic, in sharp contrast to the devastation the Allies had been suffering
    - 2. Reflects American exceptionalism

**4. Woodrow Wilson and the Diplomacy of Peace**

**a. Woodrow Wilson: Internationalist**

- (i) Wilson envisions a new world order based on Progressive and democratic principles
- (ii) Believes himself uniquely qualified to speak on behalf of humanity
- (iii) Intolerant and dismissive of anyone who disagrees with him
- (iv) A hypocrite
  - (A) Loves humanity
  - (B) But dislikes and uses the government to persecute people or groups who oppose or don't fit in with his views, e.g.
    1. German-Americans
    2. African-Americans
    3. Draft dodgers/conscientious objectors
    4. Political critics
    5. Suffragettes
  - (C) Wilson is so busy trying to save the world that he permits and even encourages repression at home in the name of the war effort
  - (D) This hostility alienates liberals/progressives and leads to Republican majorities in Congress by 1918

**b. The Fourteen Points**

- (i) Wilson's plan for building the new world order: includes, among other things
  - (A) Self-Determination of Peoples/ethnic nationalities
  - (B) Open treaties, openly arrived at
  - (C) A League of Nations
    1. A permanent world body to resolve international disputes peacefully
    2. The idea of collective security; collective, not unilateral, action
    3. An internationalist rather than a nationalist approach to world affairs

**c. The Paris Peace Conference, 1919**

- (i) Wilson's goal: A new world order based on the Fourteen Points
- (ii) Allies' goal: to punish Germany and make it pay for the cost of the war
  - (A) David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of England
  - (B) Georges Clemenceau, president of France

**d. The Treaty of Versailles: Punishment wins out**

- (i) Germany must pay heavy reparations
- (ii) Germany formally accepts war guilt
- (iii) But due to Wilson's leverage, the treaty does create a League of Nations

**e. Wilson and the Treaty**

- (i) Wilson believes that the League of Nations will make the treaty worthwhile
- (ii) Campaigns for Senate ratification and U.S. membership in the League
  - (A) Ratification would mean permanent, ongoing American involvement in European affairs
- (iii) Wilson's stroke
- (iv) Senate, now led by republicans due to Wilson's earlier intolerance, refuses to ratify treaty
  - (A) Americans are tired of Progressivism at home and involvement abroad
- (v) Wilson's messianic vision of the new world order goes down in flames, largely due to his own intolerance
- (vi) 1920, Warren Harding (Republican) wins presidency by promising a "return to normalcy"

**PART VII. The 1920s (Textbook page 207 through page 211)**

**Central idea: Disillusioned by two decades of intrusive "big government" and the recent involvement in the slaughterhouse of World War I, Americans strongly rejected Progressivism and ongoing involvement in European and world affairs, instead returning to laissez-faire and isolationism, questioning the traditions and certainties of the past that the war and modern science had destroyed. Fear for the future, and wealth gained because of the war, led many to adopt the philosophy "Eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die."**

**Legacy for modern America: Today's moral relativism, consumer culture, popular music, modern art, fear of a dystopian future, and modern skepticism towards tradition and authority all heavily echo the mood of the 1920s. Is this healthy for the nation or society? If not, how do we combat it?**

**A. Possible essay questions:**

1. Write a history of United States domestic and foreign policy during the 1920s.
2. Write an intellectual, economic, and social history of "the Roaring '20s."

**B. Possible short answer/ID questions**

1. Calvin Coolidge
2. The Washington Naval Conference



3. **The Five-Power Pact**
4. **The Kellogg-Briand Pact**
5. **The assembly line**
6. **KDKA**
7. **The Jazz Singer**
8. **Freud**
9. **Heisenberg**
10. **George Gershwin**
11. **The KKK (1910s/1920s)**
12. **Eugenics**
13. **The Scopes trial**

**C. Major questions to consider:**

1. **The 1920s is both a decade and an era. Why this coincidence?**
2. **How and why were 1920s politics a throwback to the Gilded Age?**
3. **How and why did the 1920s culturally resemble modern-day America?**

**D. Section outline:**

**1. Domestic politics**

**a. The revival of laissez-faire**

**b. Harding and Coolidge: Republican throwbacks to Gilded Age presidents**

(i) **Warren G. Harding (1921-23):**

(A) Not up to the job of president

(B) His political cronies engaged in a number of major scandals during his presidency

(C) Died suddenly after less than two years in office

(ii) **Calvin Coolidge (1923-29):**

(A) Unlike Harding, known to be highly ethical

(B) The last “small government” president

(C) Traditional view of the role of the national government

1. Laissez-faire conservatism: “[T]he chief business of the American people is business. They are profoundly concerned with buying, selling, investing and prospering in the world.”

2. Most social welfare legislation should be left to the states, not the national government

3. National government should be fiscally restrained—Under Coolidge, the government

- a. balanced the budget and even ran surpluses, and
- b. reduced the national debt
- c. largely because of his many vetoes of spending laws

## **2. Foreign affairs: arms control and military spending control**

### **a. Washington Naval Conference, 1921-22**

- (i) Nine-Power Pact and Four-Power Pact
  - (A) Attempts to maintain the Open Door in China and stability in the Pacific
- (ii) Five-Power Pact
  - (A) A naval arms limitation agreement to save money and prevent the destabilization of an arms race
  - (B) Relative tonnage ratios:
    - 1. U.S.—5
    - 2. England—5
    - 3. Japan—3
    - 4. France—1.75
    - 5. Italy—1.75

### **b. Kellogg-Briand Pact, 1928**

- (i) An international agreement initiated by the United States and France and ultimately signed by more than 60 states
- (ii) Renounced the use of war as an instrument of national policy/dispute resolution
- (iii) Merely led to increased pattern of military hostilities without declarations of war—did nothing to reduce or eliminate war itself

## **3. The Roaring Twenties and the Lost Generation**

### **a. The rise of consumer and pop culture**

- (i) Reasons:
  - (A) World War I
    - 1. Allies' War purchases from U.S. greatly increased U.S. wealth
  - (B) The assembly line
    - 1. Highly efficient means of production
    - 2. First used in automobile industry in first two decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century

3. Made high quality goods affordable enough for average consumers to buy in large quantity
  - a. Automobiles
  - b. Refrigerators
  - c. Vacuum cleaners
  - d. Radios
  - e. Many other goods
4. Automobiles: A special case
  - a. Winston S. Churchill, the Royal Navy, and Oil
  - b. Henry Ford and the Model T
    - i. Produced fast and very cheaply by the assembly line
    - ii. Rapid increase in number of cars led to
      - o Mobility
      - o Sprawl/suburbs
5. Radio: A communications and pop revolution
6. The dawn of commercial broadcast radio
  - a. [KDKA Pittsburgh, November 1920](#)
  - b. The first networks
  - c. The rise of the entertainer cult
  - d. Speech homogenization
7. Motion pictures
  - a. Talkies, 1927: [Al Jolson, The Jazz Singer](#)
    - i. Added to the entertainer cult
    - ii. Standardized fashion

#### **b. The Lost Generation**

- (i) Lost as in aimless, drifting, disoriented
- (ii) Fatalism and pessimism in the lingering shadow of World War I: Eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die
  - (A) The destructiveness of World War I was an overwhelming challenge to the “Idea of Progress” championed by the Progressives
- (iii) New social mores, drawn from scientific discovery
  - (A) Darwin: We’re just animals (but some races of animals are better than others)
  - (B) Freud: people are ruled by unconscious desires (especially sexual ones)

- (C) Einstein: Everything is relative (and that's the absolute truth)
- (D) Heisenberg: We can't know the truth (and that's the truth, too)
- (iv) modernism in art, literature, and music
  - (A) Literature
    - 1. F. Scott Fitzgerald: *The Great Gatsby*
      - a. The Great American Novel; The corruption of the American Dream
    - 2. Ernest Hemingway: *A Farewell to Arms*
      - a. Spare, terse writing style
      - b. The manly man
    - 3. Sinclair Lewis: *Babbitt*
      - a. A satire of mainstream, conventional American values
  - (B) Jazz/Popular music
    - 1. Folk roots, especially African-American
      - a. St. Louis Blues
      - b. New Orleans Jazz
    - 2. Aided by black migration north during World War I for factory jobs
    - 3. Promulgated through radio
    - 4. George Gershwin
      - a. *Porgy and Bess*/"Summertime"
      - b. "Rhapsody in Blue"
  - (C) Art
    - 1. nontraditional: emphasized the emotional, the subconscious, modern industrialism, streamlining
    - 2. examples
      - a. expressionism
      - b. surrealism
      - c. Art Deco

**c. Prohibition**

- (i) Unenforceable—too unpopular and too many loopholes
- (ii) Leads to upsurge of organized crime and high levels of violence

**4. Reaction to the new morality:**

**a. The new KKK**

- (i) Nativism
- (ii) WASPs

**b. KKK closely related in outlook to the Eugenics movement**

c. The darwinian idea that only the right sort of people should reproduce

d. Fundamentalism

(i) The Scopes trial, 1925

## **PART VIII. The Great Depression and the New Deal, 1929-1938 (Textbook page 211 through page 219)**

Central idea: The Great Depression—the greatest domestic crisis in America since the Civil War—caused the government, under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, to take massive and far-reaching steps of redistribution of wealth and economic regulation. At least one of the two great constitutional safeguards against excessive government power—federalism—was severely damaged by the New Deal.

Legacy for modern America: The New Deal marked the final triumph of “big government” in America. To this day, the national government has always been engaged heavily in social and economic regulation/redistribution—and perpetual deficit spending. Few people today maintain that we should return to laissez-faire, but debate over how far big government should extend continues even today regarding questions such as Obamacare and welfare programs.

### **A. Possible essay questions:**

- 1. Write a history of the New Deal, 1932-1938. What long-term significance did it have for American government and society?**

### **B. Possible short answer/ID questions**

- 1. The Great Depression**
- 2. The stock Market crash of October 1929**
- 3. Bread lines**
- 4. Hoovervilles**
- 5. The Dust Bowl**
- 6. The Emergency Banking Bill**
- 7. The Fireside Chat**
- 8. The AAA**
- 9. The CCC**
- 10. The TVA**
- 11. The FDIC**
- 12. The SEC**
- 13. EPIC**
- 14. The Share our Wealth program**
- 15. The Social Security Act**
- 16. The WPA**
- 17. The NLRB**

- 18. The Court-packing plan
- 19. The Fair Labor Standards Act
- 20. Wickard v. Filburn

**C. Major questions to consider:**

- 1. What caused the Great Depression?
- 2. How did the New Deal permanently change the nature and philosophy of American government?

**D. Section outline:**

**1. Causes of the Great Depression**

- a. Industrial overproduction
- b. Agricultural overproduction

**2. Effects of the Great Depression**

- a. [The Stock Market Crash, October 1929](#)
  - (i) The first major sign of the Depression's onset
  - (ii) Buying stocks on margin with no reasonable chance of making a profit
- b. High unemployment figures
- c. [Bread lines](#)
- d. [Hoovervilles](#)
- e. [The Dust Bowl](#)
  - (i) [Dust storms in the Midwest](#) destroy thousands of farms, lead to thousands of farm foreclosures
- f. The Bonus Army
  - (i) WWI veterans who want their pensions now, not later
  - (ii) Fired upon by U.S. Army

**3. [Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal](#)**

**a. The First New Deal, 1933-34**

- (i) The goal: to use big government to jump-start the economy
  - (A) The Bank Crisis
    - 1. Bank closings, early 1933
    - 2. [FDR's First Inaugural Address](#)
    - 3. The Emergency Banking Bill, 1933
    - 4. [The Fireside chat](#)
      - a. FDR and the power of media
  - (B) Agricultural Adjustment Act/Administration (AAA), 1933—farm quotas
  - (C) Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), 1933—irrigation and reforestation of Dust Bowl
  - (D) [Tennessee Valley Authority \(TVA\), 1933](#)—damming and power generation in Tennessee Valley

- (E) FDIC, 1933—insuring of bank accounts
- (F) SEC, 1934—regulating Wall Street

**b. Criticism of the New Deal**

- (i) From the Right
  - (A) FDR is a traitor to his class, and enemy of capitalism
- (ii) From the Left
  - (A) Roosevelt hasn't gone nearly far enough to cure the Depression: more government involvement is needed
  - (B) Upton Sinclair and EPIC
  - (C) Huey Long's Share Our Wealth Plan

**c. The Second New Deal, 1935: FDR responds to critics from the Left**

- (i) The Goal: to go even farther down the road to redistribution and government involvement with the economy and society
  - (A) Social Security Act, 1935
  - (B) Works Progress Administration (WPA), 1935
  - (C) The Wagner Act and the NLRB, 1935

**d. FDR's court-packing plan, 1937**

- (i) The New Deal and the Supreme Court
  - (A) Most New Deal laws were based on Congress's power to tax or to regulate interstate commerce
  - (B) From 1934 through 1936, the Supreme Court had struck down several New Deal laws on the basis that they weren't proper exercises of the tax or commerce power
  - (C) Many of these decisions were 5 to 4, meaning that the change of a single vote would have meant that the court would have upheld the laws in question
  - (D) This outcome frustrated FDR
- (ii) FDR's court-packing plan was an attempt to prevent the Supreme Court from ruling more New Deal laws unconstitutional
  - (A) [A proposal to add several new seats to the court](#)
  - (B) This would let FDR appoint a large number of new justices to the court, thus neutralizing/countering the votes of the anti-New Deal justices
- (iii) Causes backlash

- (A) The plan doesn't go through
- (B) FDR strongly criticized for proposing it
- (iv) But two justices on the court change their minds and start voting to uphold New Deal laws
- (v) As older justices die and retire, FDR does get to pack the court anyway
- (vi) From this point until the present day, the court generally allows Congress to do whatever it wants regarding property redistribution
- e. Fair Labor Standards Act, 1938**
  - (i) The last major New Deal law
  - (ii) Establishes maximum hours
  - (iii) Establishes minimum wage
  - (iv) Bans child labor in businesses engaging in interstate commerce
  - (v) Upheld in *U.S. v. Darby* (1941)
- f. The full extent of the New Deal and the permanent triumph of big government: *Wickard v. Filburn* (1942)**
  - (i) Congress's power to control interstate commerce allows it to regulate the activities of a farmer who doesn't actually buy or sell goods in interstate commerce
  - (ii) Removes practically all limitations on federal power
  - (iii) Endangers federalism

## **PART IX. World War II, 1939-1945 (Textbook page 219 through end of Chapter 11)**

**Central idea: The social, political, and economic upheavals caused by World War I led to the rise of modern totalitarian states and dictators, many of them driven by a Darwinist view of national/racial supremacy. Because Allied leaders believed that literally anything would be better than another cataclysmic war such as World War I, they followed a policy of appeasing the dictators until, at last, war was forced upon them. The United States, initially isolationist, was enraged by the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor and responded by venting the full force of its industrial and economic systems on foreign enemies for the first time.**

**Legacy for modern America: World War II marks the coming of what has been called "the American Century," an era in which the United States not only became the most powerful nation on earth but fully embraced the role of becoming a major force in world affairs. Since Pearl Harbor, America has never again been an isolationist country, involving itself in all corners of the globe, often controversially, often at great economic or moral cost. Is this good? If not, how do we change the dynamic?**

### **A. Possible essay questions:**



- 1. Write a history of the events that led up to World War II, 1933-1941, including special emphasis on the United States.**
- 2. Write a military history of the United States in World War II, including the elements of total war.**
- 3. Write a history of the diplomacy of the United States in World War II, 1941-45.**

**B. Possible short answer/ID questions**

- 1. Marxism**
- 2. Joseph Stalin**
- 3. Nazism**
- 4. Hitler's Bloodless Conquests**
- 5. The Rhineland**
- 6. The Sudetenland**
- 7. The Munich Conference**
- 8. The Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact**
- 9. The Neutrality Acts**
- 10. Blitzkrieg/mobilized warfare**
- 11. The Destroyers for Naval Bases deal**
- 12. The Lend-Lease Act**
- 13. Hemispheric defense**
- 14. The Pearl Harbor Raid**
- 15. Rainbow Five**
- 16. The Battle of Midway**
- 17. Operation TORCH**
- 18. Strategic bombing**
- 19. D-Day/Normandy**
- 20. Hiroshima and Nagasaki**
- 21. Rosie the Riveter**
- 22. The American Century**
- 23. Oklahoma!**
- 24. Executive Order 9066**
- 25. The Grand Alliance**
- 26. The Casablanca Conference**
- 27. The Teheran Conference**
- 28. The Yalta Conference**
- 29. The Potsdam Conference**

**C. Major questions to consider:**

1. Why is World War II sometimes considered a continuation of World War I?
2. Why did World War II result in America's rise to the status of a superpower?
3. How did World War II lay the foundation for the Cold War and the radical postwar changes in American society?

**D. Section outline:**

**1. The European Background**

**a. The rise of totalitarianism**

(i) The USSR

(A) Marxism

(B) [Extreme economic collectivism](#)

1. The dictatorship of the workers
2. Goal is to eliminate private property and establish a utopian existence

(C) [Lenin](#): The man who revolutionized Russia

(D) [Stalin](#): The ultimate dictator of the twentieth century

(ii) Italy

(A) Fascism

(B) [Mussolini](#)

(iii) Germany

(A) Nazism (National Socialism)

1. The superiority of the German state and people
2. Heavily Darwinist/eugenic/racist
3. [The perfect Aryan male](#)
4. [The perfect Aryan female](#)
5. [The not-so-perfect Nazi leaders](#)

(B) [The Rise of Hitler](#)

**b. [Hitler's Bloodless Conquests](#)**

(i) Repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles

(A) Hitler halts reparations payments

(B) Expands the German army beyond treaty limits

(ii) Formation of the Axis Pact with Italy beginning in 1936

(iii) Occupation of the Rhineland, 1936

(iv) Allied Appeasement

(A) Anything is better than another World War I

(v) Austria, 1938

(vi) Sudetenland, 1938

- (A) The Munich Conference and Neville Chamberlain
- (vii) Czechoslovakia, early 1939
- c. Poland and the Outbreak of World War II in Europe**
  - (i) The Polish Corridor/East Prussia
  - (ii) The Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, summer 1939
    - (A) Stuns the world
    - (B) Frees Hitler to move into Poland without fear of Soviet reprisal
  - (iii) Blitzkrieg, Poland, September 1, 1939-October 1939
  - (iv) The Phony War, fall 1939-Spring 1940

## 2. The US Response

### a. 1930s: isolationism

- (i) Public opinion
  - (A) Remains isolationist and reluctant to get involved in foreign affairs because of experiences in World War I
- (ii) Neutrality Acts, 1935-37
  - (A) Designed to avoid WWI-style entanglements with Europe
  - (B) No arms sales to belligerents
  - (C) All other sales to belligerents on cash basis and carried in belligerent (not US) ships
- (iii) FDR
  - (A) Believes that we must fight Hitler in Europe now to avoid having to fight him in the New World later
  - (B) Wants to intervene against Germany but limited by isolationist sentiment

## 3. Blitzkrieg in the West (Holland, Belgium, France), May-June 1940

### a. The failure of the Maginot Line

- (i) A static line of “super-trenches” (i.e., buried fortifications) inspired by the lessons of World War I
- (ii) Rendered obsolete by blitzkrieg, i.e., mobilized warfare
- (iii) Germany bypasses the Maginot Line and conquers France and the Low Countries in six weeks

### b. Mobilized warfare

- (i) Based on the internal combustion engine (tanks personnel carriers, planes)

- (ii) Restores movement to the battlefield, unlike the static trench lines of World War I
- (iii) Gives the offensive more of an advantage, unlike World War I

**c. Sir Winston Churchill**

- (i) Along with Roosevelt, Hitler, and Stalin, one of the giants of the 20th century
- (ii) Becomes Prime Minister of England as Germany is conquering France

**4. The Battle of Britain, summer/fall 1940**

- a. Air Umbrella saves England from defeat, but just barely

**5. Deepening US involvement, 1940-41**

- a. Roosevelt and the Destroyers for naval bases, summer 1940

- b. The Lend-Lease Act (post FDR re-election), December 1940

- (i) Modification of the Neutrality Acts, allowing US to help England while still avoiding danger that US will be dragged into the war
- (ii) Allows the leasing, or even lending, of war materiel to England
- (iii) Designed to eliminate the dollar sign from aid to England and avoid the war loan problem of World War I

- c. Blitzkrieg against the USSR, Spring 1941

- (i) Hitler's biggest mistake
- (ii) U.S. extension of Lend-Lease to USSR

- d. Hemispheric defense, summer 1941

- (i) Roosevelt declares western Atlantic to be a neutral zone: US Navy will escort merchant shipping there
- (ii) Effectively helps England by in practice doubling size of the Royal Navy
- (iii) U-boats versus United States Navy, fall 1941

**6. The Rise of Japanese militarism, 1920s-1941**

- a. Japanese invasion of Manchuria, 1931

- b. Second Sino-Japanese War, 1937: Full-scale Japanese invasion of China

- c. Japan joins the Axis Powers, 1940

- (i) In response, US cuts off oil/scrap iron sales to Japan, 1940

- d. 1940-41, Japan invades French Indo-China (Vietnam)

- (i) In response, US freezes Japanese assets, 1941
- (ii) In response to US actions, General Hideki Tojo decides to eliminate US ability to prevent further

Japanese expansion in the Far East: i.e., destroy US Pacific Fleet

e. **The Pearl Harbor Raid, 7 December 1941**

- (i) Goal: to prevent US interference in Far Eastern Japanese conquests
- (ii) Method: Surprise raid by aircraft carrier-based planes on a Sunday morning
- (iii) Raid inadvertently took place before the Japanese broke off negotiations with US in Washington
- (iv) **Result: US enraged at Japan, enters war the next day**

(A) The isolationism of the 1920s and 1930s evaporates overnight

(B) A major turning point in American history: From this point on, U.S. will be an interventionist country in world affairs

**7. The United States at War, 1941-1945**

**a. Rainbow 5**

- (i) Original plan is to defeat Germany first while holding Japan, then defeating Japan
- (ii) Not practicable after sinking of US battleship fleet at Pearl Harbor

**b. Japan, December 1941-June 1942**

- (i) Japanese conquests, December 1941-May 1942
  - (A) Philippines
    - 1. Bataan Death March
  - (B) Singapore
  - (C) Wake Island
  - (D) Guam
- (ii) The US response, December 1941-June 1942
  - (A) The Battle of Coral Sea
    - 1. The first “carrier battle”
    - 2. The first stumble of the Japanese offensive—attack on Australia blocked by US Navy
  - (B) **Doolittle Raid**, April 1942
    - 1. A token bombing of Tokyo by US planes
    - 2. Boosts American morale
    - 3. Makes Japan decide to finish off the US fleet and leads to the Battle of Midway
  - (C) The Battle of Midway, June 1942
    - 1. The turning point of the Pacific War

2. US Navy breaks Japanese code and ambushes the Japanese fleet, destroying four aircraft carriers with their pilots
3. After Midway, Japan will be on the strategic defensive until the end of the war
4. US now has time to gear up for war
5. US may now return to Rainbow 5's premise of defeating Germany first

**c. Europe, Summer 1942-May 1945**

- (i) TORCH, Autumn 1942
  - (A) Invasion of North Africa
  - (B) First US ground combat in European Theater
  - (C) Followed up by invasions of Sicily and Italy
- (ii) Strategic aerial bombing of Germany, 1942-45
  - (A) A natural outgrowth of the concept of total war
  - (B) Attacks on civilian and industrial targets far behind enemy lines to weaken the enemy's war efforts
  - (C) Shows a dangerous blurring of the traditional line between combatants and non-combatants
- (iii) OVERLORD/D-Day/Normandy, 6 June 1944
  - (A) Invasion/liberation of France
  - (B) Followed by invasion of Germany
- (iv) Defeat of Germany, 8 May 1945

**d. Japan/Pacific, July 1942-September 1945**

- (i) The two areas of command/operations
  - (A) Southwest Pacific Area
    1. Commanded by General Douglas MacArthur
    2. Primarily an army/land campaign
    3. e.g., Guadalcanal, August 1942-January 1943
  - (B) Central Pacific Area
    1. Commanded by Admiral Chester Nimitz
    2. Primarily a naval campaign with marine landings
    3. Island hopping
      - a. Capture of islands to extend air umbrella over the next islands closer to Japan

- b. Goal was to extend US air umbrella over Japan and facilitate strategic bombing and invasion
  - i. e.g., Iwo Jima, 1945
  - ii. e.g., Okinawa, 1945
  - iii. both of these showed that Japanese were willing to fight to the death, making any US invasion of Japan itself very costly to US
  - iv. over one million US casualties predicted as a result of Japanese invasion

4. Strategic bombing of Japan

- a. Many Japanese cities wiped out by bombing in 1945
- b. Large civilian casualties

5. Atomic weapons: seen at the time as merely an extension of the strategic bombing campaign

- a. Hiroshima, 6 August 1945
- b. Nagasaki, 9 August 1945

6. Surrender of Japan/end of World War II, 2 September 1945

**e. The war at home: Total War**

(i) Superior American warmaking potential

- (A) Nearly twice the population of Japan
- (B) 5 times the steel production
- (C) 7 times the coal production
- (D) 80 times the automobile production
- (E) US an oil exporter; Japan dependent on imports
- (F) far better manufacturing facilities for
  - 1. merchant shipping
  - 2. warships
  - 3. aircraft

(ii) mobilization of 12 million members of the armed forces

(iii) women entered the work force to take jobs left by the men (“Rosie the Riveter”)

- (A) Gives millions of women a taste of life outside the home that they will want to continue after the war
- (B) An early reason for the later feminist movement

- (iv) blacks entered higher-paying industrial jobs, continuing a migration north that had begun in World War I
- (v) By war's end, the United States is well out of the Great Depression and outproducing all other countries in the world
- (vi) The American Century
  - (A) The rise of the United States to superpower status and a feeling that we should spread good will and the blessings of liberty throughout the world
  - (B) Inaugurated by FDR's Four Freedoms speech in 1941
    - 1. People throughout the world ought to have the four fundamental freedoms:
      - a. Freedom of speech
      - b. Freedom of worship
      - c. Freedom from want
      - d. Freedom from fear
  - (C) [A sense of optimism: we are saving the world](#)
  - (D) Rodgers and Hammerstein, *Oklahoma!*
    - 1. [People Will say We're in Love](#)
    - 2. ["Out of My Dreams"](#)
    - 3. ["Let People say We're in Love" \(a happy ending\)](#)
    - 4. How America views itself, put into music
      - a. The frontier
      - b. the common man
      - c. The rugged individual
      - d. Optimism and hope for the future
- (vii) Japanese relocation/effect on civil liberties
  - (A) Carried out by executive order (mainly Executive Order 9066)
  - (B) More than 100,000 American citizens of Japanese descent on the west coast are placed in concentration camps unless/until they can prove their loyalty

## **8. The Diplomacy of World War II, 1941-45: Segue to the Cold War**

### **a. [The Grand Alliance](#)**

#### **(i) Members**

- (A) United States
- (B) British Empire



- (C) USSR
- (ii) Nature
  - (A) A maritime alliance of US and England to fund/support the tiger of the USSR against the tiger of Germany
    1. US: the arsenal of democracy
    2. England: strategic “second front” position
    3. USSR: manpower
- (iii) Goals
  - (A) Hold the alliance together long enough to defeat the Axis
    1. US and Soviet political and economic systems are vastly different and opposed to each other
    2. The only thing we have in common is a common enemy

#### **b. Major Allied Conferences**

- (i) [Casablanca, January 1943](#)
  - (A) US and England demand unconditional surrender of the Axis
  - (B) A policy designed to encourage the USSR not to make a separate peace with Germany
- (ii) [Teheran, November 1943](#)
  - (A) The first face-to-face meeting of The Big Three (Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin)
  - (B) US and England promise to invade France within six months
  - (C) USSR agrees to a post-war United Nations
  - (D) English power begins to fade: US and USSR become predominant
- (iii) [Yalta, February 1945](#)
  - (A) Disagreements over how to administer postwar Germany leads to the compromise of [occupation zones](#)
  - (B) US unable to prevent Soviet takeover of eastern European countries that the USSR has “liberated” from the Nazis
- (iv) [Potsdam, July 1945](#)
  - (A) Still no agreement on Germany: the occupation zones become permanent/indefinite
  - (B) The alliance begins to come apart
  - (C) The disagreements between US and USSR over postwar Germany, together with the mutual

suspicion of capitalism and communism, lay the foundations for the Cold War

**PART X. The Cold War, 1945-1991 (Textbook pages 258 through 267, pages 283 through 285, pages 311 through 316)**

Central idea: Tensions between the capitalist United States and the Marxist USSR, together with disagreements over how to deal with post-war Germany, led to a half-century of nuclear, diplomatic, and political confrontation that threatened the existence of the modern world and had a massive impact on the American psyche and American society.

Legacy for modern America: The massive armed forces and military budgets of modern America became the norm for the first time in American history because of the Cold War. Heavy American involvement in world affairs during the Cold war has made the United States hated, feared, and resented in some quarters and continue to pose dangers to the United States. Will America become a national security state with permanent curtailment of citizens' traditional liberties? The jury is still out.

**A. Possible essay questions:**

1. Write a history of the Korean Conflict, 1950-1953.
2. Write a history of the Cold War from 1945 to 1991.
3. Write a history of American society in the decades following World War II.

**B. Possible short answer/ID questions**

1. The Nature of the Cold War
2. George F. Kennan
3. The Long Telegram
4. Containment
5. The Truman Doctrine
6. The Berlin Airlift
7. The Marshall Plan
8. NATO
9. The Second Red Scare
10. Joseph McCarthy
11. Limited war
12. Douglas MacArthur in the Korean War
13. The Nuclear Triad
14. The space race
15. The Berlin Wall

**16. The Cuban Missile Crisis**

**17. The Test Ban Treaty**

**18. MAD**

**19. Ronald Reagan**

**C. Major questions to consider:**

**1. What were the causes of the Cold War?**

**2. How did the Cold War shape American society and the American economy?**

**D. Section outline:**

**1. Timeline: American Cold War presidents, 1945-90**

- a. Harry S Truman (D), 1945-53
- b. Dwight D. Eisenhower (R), 1953-61
- c. John F. Kennedy (D), 1961-63
- d. Lyndon B. Johnson (D), 1963-69
- e. Richard M. Nixon (R), 1969-74
- f. Gerald R. Ford (R), 1974-77
- g. Jimmy Carter (D), 1977-81
- h. Ronald Reagan (R), 1981-89

**2. The Nature of the Cold War**

- a. [A half-century confrontation between the US \(and its allies\) and USSR \(and its allies\)](#)
- b. US and USSR remain on a wartime footing (politically, economically, diplomatically, and militarily) but actual combat directly between the two is extremely rare

**3. Reasons for the Cold War**

- a. Different and antagonistic political systems of US and USSR (republicanism versus authoritarianism)
- b. Different and antagonistic economic systems of US and USSR (capitalism versus Marxism/communism)
- c. Mutual suspicion, born of WWI and WWII, that each is trying to destroy the other

**4. Immediate cause of the Cold War**

- a. Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe during World War II: The Iron Curtain
- b. Disagreement over administration of Germany
  - (i) US wishes to prevent another Hitler by building up Germany economically (empty stomach theory)
  - (ii) USSR wishes to prevent German aggression by destroying German industry

**5. History of the Cold War**

- a. 1946: The Long Telegram
  - (i) Written by American diplomat George F. Kennan from Moscow

- (ii) Argues that traditional Russian fear of invasion, combined with Marxism/ communism, has made the Soviets believe that capitalism was a threat to Soviet existence
- (iii) Argues that the only way to stop Soviet expansion and aggression is to contain the Soviets within their current sphere of influence
- (iv) This becomes the basis of the doctrine of Containment

**b. 1947: The Truman Doctrine**

- (i) The clearest sign that the US has adopted the idea of Containment
- (ii) President Harry S Truman states that US policy will be to help any nation that is facing either
  - (A) Invasion or
  - (B) An internal uprising by an armed minority

**c. 1948**

- (i) The [Berlin Blockade](#) and the [Berlin Airlift](#)
  - (A) In response to unification of western zones of Germany, USSR cuts off US/British land access to West Berlin
  - (B) In a year-long airlift, US supplies West Berlin entirely by air
- (ii) US peacetime draft begins
  - (A) continues until 1972
- (iii) The Marshall Plan
  - (A) Named for Secretary of State George Marshall
  - (B) U.S. sent \$13 billion to Europe for rebuilding and economic/political stabilization (equivalent to \$160 billion in 2014 dollars)

**d. 1949: Rising tensions**

- (i) Formation of NATO, 1949
  - (A) Largely a response to the Berlin Crisis
  - (B) The North Atlantic Treaty: the first peacetime military alliance the US has joined since the 1700s
  - (C) Creates the North Atlantic Treaty Organization
    1. A maritime alliance of North Atlantic and Western European nations against the tiger of the USSR
    2. Designed to prevent/discourage a Soviet invasion of western Europe

- 3. An attack against any NATO member is an attack against all, and all will retaliate
- (ii) China becomes communist, 1949
- (iii) The USSR explodes its first atomic weapon, 1949
  - (A) Threat of atomic strike against the US is the first time the US has genuinely feared a major foreign threat
  - (B) The oceans can no longer protect us
  - (C) Deeply affects the American psyche
    - 1. Shift in emphasis from freedom to security (compare what happened with New Deal and shift from laissez-faire to big government in domestic affairs)
    - 2. Begins the assault on traditional American civil liberties and the rise of the national security state
- (iv) McCarthyism: A new Red Scare
  - (A) A period of anti-communist hysteria beginning in the late 1940s and exacerbated by the events of 1949
  - (B) A threat to American civil liberties
  - (C) Lasted until mid-1950s
  - (D) Major figure was Senator Joseph McCarthy
    - 1. Argued that Communists had infiltrated the State Department, other organs of the American government, and Hollywood
- e. **The Korean War, 1950-53**
  - (i) Communist-aligned North Korea invades pro-western South Korea, June 1950
  - (ii) US and United Nations rush to South Korea's defense
  - (iii) By 1951, Truman has adopted policy of limited war
    - (A) Objective is not victory but stalemate
    - (B) Demoralizing to soldiers
    - (C) But designed to prevent escalation into atomic war
  - (iv) General MacArthur publicly criticizes Truman's decision: "In war there is no substitute for victory"
    - (A) Truman fires MacArthur as a result
  - (v) Truce, but not peace, reached between North and South Korea, summer 1953
    - (A) War is still technically underway
- f. US develops **hydrogen bomb**, 1952

- (i) Makes the Hiroshima bomb [look like a popgun](#)
- (ii) Soviets develop hydrogen bomb by 1955

**g. The Nuclear Triad**

- (i) Delivery systems developed by both the US and USSR, 1950s/1960s
  - (A) Long-range nuclear bombers
  - (B) Land-based missiles (ICBMs)
  - (C) Submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs)
- (ii) Creates a “balance of terror”; any war between the two sides will likely go nuclear and result in devastation of each

**h. 1957: Sputnik**

- (i) The space age begins
- (ii) USSR orbits mankind’s first artificial satellite
- (iii) Raises danger of atomic attack upon any portion of US
- (iv) Gives rise to the space race
- (v) Culminates in 1969 with Apollo 11, the first manned moon landing, by US

**i. 1961**

- (i) [JFK’s Inaugural Address](#)
  - (A) A classic example of Containment and Cold War rhetoric
- (ii) The Berlin Wall
  - (A) Built by Soviets and East Germans to surround West Berlin and deter defection of East Germans to West Berlin

**j. 1962: The Cuban Missile Crisis**

- (i) The coldest moment of the Cold War
- (ii) The closest we have ever come to a nuclear exchange/World War III
- (iii) By 1959, Cuba has had a revolution
  - (A) The New Cuban leader, Fidel Castro, allies himself with the USSR
  - (B) 1961, US backs a failed counterrevolution; counterrevolutionaries’ invasion at the Bay of Pigs is defeated
- (iv) October 1962, US learns that [USSR is placing nuclear missiles on Cuba](#)
  - (A) These missiles [would kill 80 million Americans within 15 minutes of launch](#)
- (v) [US Blockades Cuba](#)
- (vi) Each side prepares for war

- (vii) Immediate result: USSR withdraws missiles in exchange for American agreement not to invade Cuba
- (viii) Long-range result: a desire on both sides to reduce the tensions of the Cold War

**k. 1963**

- (i) Moscow–Washington hotline
  - (A) Direct communications link between US and USSR
  - (B) Result of slow communications between the two during the Cuban Missile Crisis
  - (C) Designed to reduce the possibility of nuclear war
- (ii) The Test Ban Treaty
  - (A) an early result of the Cuban Missile crisis
  - (B) a US/Soviet agreement to ban atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons

**l. 1972: The Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty**

- (i) Another result of lessening tensions
- (ii) A US/Soviet Agreement to ban efforts to shoot down incoming enemy missiles
- (iii) Designed to promote a policy of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD)
- (iv) According to MAD, no country can start a nuclear war without being destroyed itself; this is the best protection against war
- (v) A missile defense system would interfere with this possibility, and so is banned by the ABM Treaty

**m. Post-1972: various arms limitations discussions and agreements**

**n. 1981-88: The Reagan Years**

- (i) Reagan sees communism as evil and refers to the USSR as an “[evil empire](#)”
- (ii) Reagan oversees massive US military buildup
  - (A) The buildup is designed to
    1. push the USSR into bankruptcy and
    2. discourage Soviet aggression
  - (B) the buildup pushes the US national debt to dangerous levels
- (iii) But Reagan is also an [excellent negotiator](#)
- (iv) [Develops friendship](#) with [Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev](#)

**o. 1989-91: Breakup of the Soviet Union/end of the Cold War**

- (i) 1989-90: Berlin Wall torn down
- (ii) 1990: Germany reunified

- (iii) 1991: Soviet Union formally dissolved
- (iv) post-2000: Putin and the resurgence of Russian imperialism

## **PART XI. Postwar America, 1945-ca. 1965 (Textbook pages 267 through 283, pages 285 through 287)**

**Central idea: World War II had lasting impacts on American society: an end to the Great Depression and greatly increased wealth, technological advances leading to television, the transistor, and the computer, new roles for women, and an uncomfortable realization that segregation was rooted in the same views of human nature and racial supremacy held by the Axis powers. The big government established by the New Deal attempted to deal with issues of poverty and discrimination, but with only limited success.**  
**Legacy for modern America: Modern media consumer culture, the feminist movement, costly entitlement programs, and major civil rights issues continue to make headlines in twenty-first century America. Everything from suburbs to sound bites have their origins in postwar affluence and modern technology.**

### **A. Possible essay questions:**

1. Write a history of the Civil Rights Movement.
2. Write a history of American society in the decades following World War II.

### **B. Possible short answer/ID questions**

1. The Baby Boom
2. The G.I. Bill
3. Levittown
4. Television
5. The Kennedy-Nixon debates
6. Brown v. Board of Education
7. Rosa Parks
8. Martin Luther King, Jr.
9. The Montgomery Bus Boycott
10. The Civil Rights Act of 1964
11. The Voting Rights Act
12. The Great Society
13. *The Feminine Mystique*
14. The New Left
15. The Counterculture

### **C. Major questions to consider:**

1. What brought about the changes in American society and culture after World War II?



## 2. How are these changes still visible today?

### D. Section outline:

#### 1. American affluence

a. After World War II, The US is the only major world power in excellent economic shape

b. The rise of consumer culture

(i) Baby Boom

(A) Huge spike in births, 1946-64, as soldiers returned home to affluence

(ii) Cars

(A) America's love of speed, power, and the open road

(iii) Education

(A) The G.I. Bill, 1944

1. A federal benefits law that allows far more people (veterans) than ever before to get a college education

(iv) Houses/suburbs

(A) G.I. Bill also offers low-cost mortgages to veterans; home ownership now much easier

(B) [Levittown](#)

1. [The modern suburb](#)

(v) Modern electronics

(A) Spurred by wartime developments and the needs of the Cold War

(B) Examples

1. The digital general-purpose computer, 1946

a. [Filled an entire room and extremely expensive](#)

b. Desktop computers wouldn't become widespread until 1980s

2. [The transistor](#)

<http://www.buckmelton.com/transistor-next-to-a-vacuum-tube.jpg>, 1947: the basis of modern electronics

a. The key to smaller, cheaper, more efficient, tougher electronic devices

3. [The integrated circuit](#), 1960

a. The key to miniaturization and scaling

(C) A specific electronic device: Television

1. Broadcast TVs had existed in very limited numbers/locations in 1940s

2. Begins taking off in 1948

- 3. Sweeps the country in the 1950s as radio had in the 1920s
- 4. Offers homogenized view of American life
  - a. Idealistic family life
    - i. e.g., Leave it to Beaver
    - ii. e.g. [Father Knows Best](#)
- 5. And celebrates American rugged frontier individualism in the face of the Soviet threat
  - a. e.g., westerns—lots and lots of westerns
    - i. Gunsmoke
    - ii. Bonanza
    - iii. Maverick
    - iv. Have Gun, Will Travel
    - v. [The Magnificent Seven \(motion picture\)](#)
- 6. Television and the age of image
  - a. [The Kennedy-Nixon debates, 1960](#)
    - i. The first televised presidential debates
    - ii. [The better-looking candidate \(John F. Kennedy\) won](#), even though the other candidate's presentation was better

## **2. 1950s/1960s, The Civil Rights Movement**

- a. Reaction to US war against a highly racist regime (Nazis and the Holocaust/Shoah)**
- b. Result of black inequality being seen on television**
- c. 1954, Brown v. Board of Education**
  - (i) Overturns Plessy v. Ferguson (1896): Separate is inherently unequal
  - (ii) Begins the age of desegregation in schools and other public accommodations
- d. Aided by activism led by people such as Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.**
  - (i) King's tactics: non-violent non-resistance
    - (A) Cf. Thoreau, Gandhi
- e. Closely related to the black churches**
  - (i) e.g., [Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955](#)
- f. The Civil Rights Act of 1964**
  - (i) Congress uses its interstate commerce power (See U.S. v. Darby/Wickard v. Filburn) to ban

discrimination by private businesses that are engaged in interstate commerce

**g. The Voting Rights Act of 1965**

(i) Federal effort to prevent discrimination in voting

**h. Affirmative Action**

(i) Begun in 1960s

(ii) Controversial policy of preferential treatment of blacks by government institutions in order to make up for centuries of discrimination

**3. The Great Society**

**a. A new wave of social welfare programs by President Lyndon B. Johnson in the mid-1960s**

**b. A “war on poverty” and racial injustice**

**c. Johnson promised to eradicate hunger, poverty, and injustice**

**d. Included Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965**

**e. Medicare and Medicaid**

**f. Results:**

(i) Considerably reduced numbers of Americans living below the poverty line

(ii) But vastly increased federal budget and deficit spending

(iii) Today, roughly \$1 trillion per year devoted to social welfare programs, \$18 trillion national debt, with poverty still not eradicated

(iv) Tests limits of big government

**4. 1960s/1970s: The Feminist movement**

**a. During WWII, women had moved into the workforce as men went into the military**

**b. After WWI, many women were reluctant to move back into domestic homemaking**

**c. 1963, The Feminine Mystique**

(i) a book authored by Betty Friedan

(ii) examined women’s sense of dissatisfaction with traditional roles

(iii) kicked off the feminist movement

**5. 1960s-1970s: The New Left and Counterculture**

**a. Movements consisting largely of Baby Boomers who rejected traditional morals and political views**

**b. Spurred largely by**

(i) Selfishness resulting from affluence (“If it feels good, do it”)

(ii) The lessons of the Civil Rights Movement

(iii) The fear of nuclear war

- (iv) Vietnam
- c. **The New Left: Intellectual criticism of traditional political views, instead being**
  - (i) Marxist
  - (ii) Feminist
  - (iii) Radical
- d. **The Counterculture: Rejection of traditional social behavior**
  - (i) Anti-authoritarian
  - (ii) Anti-establishment
  - (iii) Revolt against
    - (A) Government
    - (B) Educational institutions
    - (C) Religious institutions
  - (iv) Embraced
    - (A) Sex
    - (B) Drugs
    - (C) Rock and Roll
      - 1. During the Vietnam era, modern music will become a music of protest and the rejection of authority and traditional values

**6. Cold War, New Left, and Counterculture, are a segue to Vietnam**

**PART XII. Vietnam and Watergate, ca. 1960-1975  
(Textbook pages 287 through 292)**

**Central idea: American involvement in Vietnam began as a natural result of the Cold War policy of Containment, but American failure to understand the nature of the struggle within Vietnam led to a debacle: American involvement in an unwinnable foreign civil war to support an oppressive regime, using tactics that bred hatred of America abroad and large-scale dissent within American society. At home a presidential administration's use of criminal means to keep itself in power led to a near-impeachment and ultimate resignation of a president.**

**Legacy for modern America: Vietnam led the American people to perceive Democrats as incompetent butchers; Watergate led the American people to perceive Republicans as liars and crooks. Moderates departed both parties in droves, leading each to fall under the control of its more extreme elements.**

**Americans' deep skepticism and cynicism of American politics and politicians, American motives, and American principles, as well as the current distrust of the government and extreme partisan hatred between Democrats and Republicans, date from the Vietnam/Watergate era.**

**A. Possible essay questions:**

- 1. Write a history of America's involvement in Vietnam from 1945 to 1975.**
- 2. Write a history of 1968.**
- 3. Write a history of the Watergate affair, 1972-74.**

**B. Possible short answer/ID questions**

- 1. Ho Chi Minh**
- 2. The Viet Minh**
- 3. Dien Bien Phu**
- 4. The NVA**
- 5. The Viet Cong**
- 6. Ngo Dinh Diem**
- 7. ARVN**
- 8. The Gulf of Tonkin Incident**
- 9. Limited War**
- 10. Body Count**
- 11. Television**
- 12. The Tet Offensive**
- 13. Robert F. Kennedy**
- 14. Martin Luther King, Jr.**
- 15. The Kent State Massacre**
- 16. The Pentagon Papers**
- 17. CREEP**
- 18. Archibald Cox**
- 19. The Saturday Night Massacre**
- 20. The Nixon tapes**

**C. Major questions to consider:**

- 1. How did the Cold War bring about American involvement in Vietnam?**
- 2. How did post-World War II social changes in America affect American perception of the Vietnam conflict?**
- 3. How did Vietnam help bring about the Watergate scandal?**
- 4. What are the effects of Vietnam and Watergate that are still with us today?**

**D. Section outline:**

- 1. Vietnam**
  - a. A spin-off of the Cold War**
  - b. [The Vietnamese background](#)**

c. Map

- (i) Pre-1941: Vietnam a French colony
- (ii) 1941-45: Vietnam controlled by Japan
- (iii) 1945, Ho Chi Minh rebuffed by Washington when he asks US to help establish an independent Vietnam
- (iv) Upon rebuff by US, Ho Chi Minh founds the Viet Minh

(A) A military/political coalition designed to win Vietnamese independence from France

d. **1954, Battle of Dien Bien Phu**

- (i) Final major battle between french forces and the Viet Minh
- (ii) France loses the battle and its bid to keep control of Vietnam

e. **1954: Division of Vietnam into North and South**

- (i) North: under control of Ho Chi Minh/communist

(A) Communist forces included

1. People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN), better known in USA as the North Vietnamese Army (NVA)

a. The NVA is the army of the North Vietnamese regime, under the control of Ho Chi Minh

2. The National Liberation Front, better known in USA as the Viet Cong (VC, phonetically Victor Charlie, giving rise to the American slang name Charlie)

a. The Viet Cong are soldiers in South Vietnam who are allied to and supported by North Vietnam

b. They are opposed to the pro-western regime that rules South Vietnam and want Ho Chi Minh to take over the south

- (ii) South: Pro-Western/Pro-US, under control of Ngo Dinh Diem

(A) The south's main military force is the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN); its mission is to protect South Vietnam from aggression by the NVA and the VC

f. **U.S. involvement, 1954-64**

- (i) Diem very unpopular with his own people, but pro-American

(A) Facing threat of invasion from north (NVA)

(B) Facing internal rebellion (Viet Cong)

- (C) Therefore, US applies policy of Containment
- (ii) Late 1950s, President Eisenhower sends military advisors to train South Vietnamese Army (ARVN)
  - (A) By 1963, 15,000 US advisors and troops to protect them
- (iii) Diem is corrupt and often uses ARVN against his own political opponents within South Vietnam—sparks protest and hatred of Diem’s regime
  - (A) E.g., 1963, several Buddhist monks in South Vietnam [burn themselves alive](#) to protest Diem’s persecution of Buddhists
- (iv) 1963, US-backed coup leads to [assassination of Diem](#)
  - (A) Diem had become a liability; by backing coup, US hoped that a more popular leader would replace him
  - (B) A string of US-backed puppet governments followed the assassination for the next ten years
- (v) 1964: Gulf of Tonkin incident
  - (A) North Vietnamese patrol boats attack US destroyers once
  - (B) US possibly fired first
  - (C) President Lyndon Johnson reports two attacks
  - (D) Results in Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
    1. Congressional authorization for Johnson to take measures to defend American interest in Southeast Asia
    2. Provides authority for escalation of the war

**g. The US at war, 1965-73**

- (i) 1965: Operation Rolling Thunder
  - (A) Pursuant to Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, US begins air war against North Vietnam
- (ii) 1965, Pursuant to Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, US begins ground combat against Viet Cong and NVA
- (iii) The nature of the war
  - (A) Limited War
    1. Ho Chi Minh trail off-limits to prevent escalation
    2. An attempt to preserve South Vietnamese independence without full-scale invasion of north
  - (B) Search and destroy missions

1. Gives too much authority to inexperienced junior officers
  2. US success measured in terms of body count
  3. Results in excessive force
  4. Alienates Vietnamese population
- (C) The Television War
- (D) US public watches war unfold on television
- (E) US government deceives the public about how well the war is going
- (iv) 1968: The most divisive year in American history except for the Civil War
- (A) By 1968 student and counterculture protests against the war are commonplace
- (B) January: The Tet Offensive
1. A coordinated Viet Cong attack throughout South Vietnam
  2. Coverage shocks the American people and turns public opinion against the war overnight
    - a. [Nguyễn Ngọc Loan's televised execution of Nguyễn Văn Lém](#)
    - b. [commentary](#)
  3. As a result, Johnson realizes that he cannot possibly win re-election and announces he will not run
- (C) March: The [My Lai Massacre](#) (becomes public in 1969)
1. US troops kill nearly 500 unarmed Vietnamese civilians
  2. Provokes world outrage and public condemnation of the war
- (D) April: The [assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.](#)
1. Causes rioting in major cities
- (E) June: The [assassination of Democratic presidential hopeful Robert F. Kennedy](#), who was campaigning on an antiwar platform
- (F) August: televised [riots at the Democratic National Convention](#), including police beatings of protestors
- (G) November: Republican Richard Nixon wins the presidency
1. Campaigns on a law and order platform



2. Promises to end the draft

(H) Christmas Eve, One bright spot: [Apollo 8 saves 1968](#)

**h. Nixon and Vietnam, 1969-73**

(i) 1969: Nixon promises to bring peace to Vietnam and begins reducing US troop numbers there

(ii) April 1970: Nixon invades Cambodia

(A) Causes a new wave of student riots

(B) May 1970: The [Kent State Massacre](#)

1. National Guard units [open fire on student protestors](#) at Kent State College in Ohio

(iii) 1971: The New York Times publishes the classified Pentagon Papers

(A) These were classified government studies that revealed that the US government had deliberately misled the American people as to the conduct of the war

(B) Photocopied and given to the press by Daniel Ellsberg, a civilian employee in the Pentagon

(C) Nixon tries and fails to censor the publication

(D) As a result, Nixon begins using illegal efforts to protect his administration from leaks, leading directly to Watergate

(iv) 1972: US signs Paris Peace Accords with North Vietnam

(A) Accords provide for removal of all US forces and a cease-fire in Vietnam

(v) 1973: the last American troops leave Vietnam

**i. The end game**

(i) 1974: North Vietnam resumes the war against South Vietnam

(ii) 1975: North Vietnamese forces capture Saigon

(A) [US refuses to intervene](#)

(B) [South Vietnam falls](#)

(iii) Legacy

(A) Vietnam remains the worst US military and foreign policy disaster in history

(B) Leaves America polarized and demoralized regarding its role in world affairs until today

**2. Watergate**

**a. 1972, a break-in takes place at the Democratic National headquarters in the [Watergate Office Building](#)**

- (i) Burglars are discovered to be linked to the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP)
- (ii) Nixon denies any involvement or knowledge and wins re-election

**b. Summer 1973, a congressional investigation discovers that Nixon has been taping conversations in the Oval Office**

**c. October 1973: The Saturday Night Massacre**

- (i) Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox tries to subpoena the tapes to discover what Nixon knew and when he knew it
- (ii) Rather than comply, Nixon ordered his attorney general to fire Cox
- (iii) The attorney general resigns rather than do so
- (iv) The deputy attorney general also resigns rather than do so
- (v) Finally, the solicitor general fires Cox
- (vi) This Saturday Night Massacre convinces the American public that Nixon is hiding something
- (vii) This reaction [forces Nixon](#) to appoint a new special prosecutor, Leon Jaworski

**d. 1974: The tapes and Nixon's resignation**

**e. Jaworski again subpoenas Nixon for the tapes**

- (i) Nixon claims executive privilege (refuses to give up the tapes, claiming to do so would endanger national security) and Jaworski takes him to the Supreme Court
- (ii) July 1974, Supreme Court rules that Nixon must hand over the tapes
- (iii) The tapes reveal that just days after the Watergate break-in, Nixon had ordered the CIA to stop the FBI from investigating the burglary
- (iv) [18 minutes of the tapes had been erased](#), suggesting that it contained information showing that [Nixon had ordered the break-in \(never proven\)](#)
- (v) [9 August 1974, Nixon, facing certain impeachment by Congress, resigns](#)

**3. The combined legacy of Watergate and Vietnam**

**a. The American people trust politicians less than ever before**

**b. The American public comes to believe that the Democrats are incompetent liars**

**c. The American public comes to believe that Republicans are lying criminals**

**d. Moderates desert both parties, leaving the hardliners in charge, with both parties becoming far less moderate as a result**

- e. Since Watergate, the parties are more doctrinaire and more polarized
- f. Presidents have tended to be more ideologically extreme
  - (i) e.g., Ronald Reagan—conservative
  - (ii) e.g., Bill Clinton—liberal
  - (iii) e.g., Barack Obama—very liberal

### **PART XIII. Comprehensive essay questions:**

- A. The period covered by this course sees the rise of what is often called "big government" in regard to domestic (not foreign) economic regulation and social welfare laws. Trace this development from its beginnings in the Gilded Age through the rest of the course. When and why did government see its biggest growth? When and why did Americans retreat from big government, if only for short periods?**
- B. Darwinism is an idea that has had a tremendous impact on many aspects of American thought, life, and culture since the mid-1800s. Write an essay on all aspects of Darwinism as covered in this course.**
- C. Write a history of American involvement in world affairs from the 1860s until 1990.**
- D. Write an essay on the role of modern media in American political, social, and cultural life from the Gilded Age through the late 20th century.**